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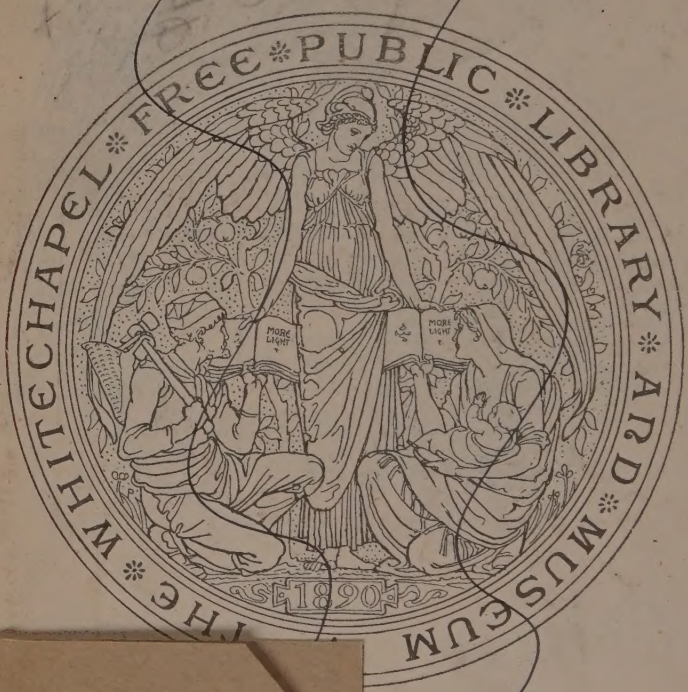


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*TWO OF THE*

# SAXON CHRONICLES

PARALLEL

*WITH SUPPLEMENTARY*

*EXTRACTS FROM THE OTHERS*

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION NOTES AND A GLOSSARIAL INDEX

BY

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Erat enim historia nihil aliud nisi annalium confectio: cuius rei memoriæque publicæ retinendæ causa ab initio rerum Romanarum usque ad P. Mucium Pontificem maximum, res omnes singulorum annorum mandabat literis Pontifex maximus referebatque in album et proponebat tabulam domi, potestas ut esset populo cognoscendi; ii qui etiam nunc Annales Maximi nominantur. Hanc similitudinem scribendi multi secuti sunt, qui sine ullis ornamentis monumenta solum temporum hominum locorum gestarumque rerum reliquerunt.—Qui neque tenent quibus rebus ornetur oratio, modo enim huc ista sunt importata, et dum intelligatur quid dicant, unam dicendi laudem putant esse brevitatem.—Non exornatores rerum sed tantummodo narratores fuerunt.—CICERO *De Oratore* ii. 12. § 52 sqq.

And now it was that I began to keep a journal of every day's employment; for indeed at first I was in too much hurry.—*Robinson Crusoe.*

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# INTRODUCTION

General Preliminary Remarks on the Origin and Structure of the Chronicles.

CHRONICLES are the simplest form of History; and early attempts at History have generally taken the form of Chronicles. When we use the word History in the fullness of its meaning, we understand by it the study of human events in the complexity of their mutual relations and bearings on each other. A Chronicle (as the name implies) is only a narrative of events in the order of time—and we hardly call it History until these facts have undergone a new arrangement, having been re-examined, criticised, distributed and grouped.

Out of this difference between History and Chronicle there follows another. A History, when once cast into its form, is impatient of after modifications; the Chronicle admits alterations indefinitely. History is like a web of cloth; you cannot add to it or take from it without destroying its integrity. The Chronicle is like a set of tesseræ arranged on a recurring mathematical plan that can be continued *ad infinitum* in any direction, and can accommodate insertions in any part.

There are places in the Saxon Chronicles where the narrative exhibits a touch of genius and approaches to the dignity of history; nor is there anything in the chronicle-form which absolutely excludes the exercise of a higher talent, though it provides only an imperfect arena for it. But without any special gift a man might make a sufficient Chronicler, as his office was merely to write a statement of fact, or to copy an extract from an author and insert it under the right date. There was no need of observing proportion—a great event might be told briefly, and yet no reason why a minor event should not be told with local prolixity. Nothing more was required than that the records should be truly arranged in order of time.

With all this simplicity and elasticity and capacity of development, the Chronicle was particularly calculated to be the vehicle of history in early times, when literary facilities were scanty, and when the work of history had to be done in fraternities by a succession of very unequal hands. We do not look for shape or symmetry in any Chronicle, more especially in Chronicles which have grown without a plan, by the work of many hands labouring without concert. After a period of accumulation, the compiler enters, and then for the first time the whole collection is rendered subject to the law of one mind. But his operation turns chiefly on selection or rejection, and the new Chronicle shews where modern interests have ejected the more ancient.

For about four centuries the whole of our contemporary history (excepting Beda) is contained in vernacular Chronicles, and this literature survived a century after the fashion of it had been superseded by Latin chroniclers. The main features of the anonymous and many-handed Chronicle may be seen in a high state of preservation in the Saxon Chronicles. They represent various stages of literary progress, and they exhibit the taste and historical demands of many different generations. Towards their close we have historical composition of considerable maturity, but in their most primitive parts we have almost the rudest conceivable attempts at history. It is in this wide range of variety and diversity, and the illustration it affords of the early national progress, that the worth of the Saxon Chronicles (considered as a literary monument) must be discovered; and they must not be judged, as some writers have inconsiderately judged them, by the literary standards of the nineteenth century.

The diversity of language and of style which exists in these Chronicles is in some places so palpable that a short examination would enable the student to trace it, and mark off a series of distinct sections. But as the distinguishing features are not everywhere equally plain, and as the investigation is sometimes embarrassed by the circumstance that new compilers imparted something (however little) of their own to the old materials; and further, from the fact that the most primitive work is not to be found (where it might perhaps be looked for) at the earliest date, or even near it; it may

be useful to set before the student a somewhat minute analysis, so as to enable him to resolve the composite work into its elementary parts, at least with some approach to verity. This dissecting process will fall chiefly upon two of the Chronicles, A and E, the two which are printed entire in this Edition. And that will be the case, not by an arbitrary selection, but by natural incidence. For these two are, in different senses, the most prominent, and challenge the largest amount of notice; the one because it is the highest source, the other because it presents the latest and largest development, and the most composite structure of the whole set.

Earliest Chronicles, what?

But before we enter upon this analysis, it is desirable to form a right notion of the first rude uses of chronicling. Originally a Chronicle was not a device for arranging a store of events, and for reducing the accumulations of history to literary order. It was not (what it at length became) a method, a system of registration, whereby each event was put into its chronological place as soon as it reached the bureau. The chronicle-form had a more primitive use. This was to *characterise* the receding series of years, each by a mark and sign of its own, so that the years might not be confused in the retrospect of those who had lived and acted in them. The same thing is done in our day when a man in middle age begins to experience that the hurry of life engenders confusion in the memory, and the bygone years grow less and less distinguishable. In such a case he probably creates for himself a little ten or twenty years' chronicle—very brief, each entry only a single notice.

Such a Chronicle as this is not a depository of the accumulations of past events, but a chart of time for preserving chronological order among the stores of the memory. This is naturally the first kind of Chronicle which men require. Perhaps the following may represent the chronological outline as inscribed in some cotemporary memories:—

1807. Abolition of the Slave Trade.
1815. The year of the Peace.
1829. Catholic Emancipation.
1830. Death of George IV—Accession of William IV.
1832. The Reform Bill passed.
1837. The Accession of Queen Victoria.

1848. Year of Revolutions.
1851. The Great Exhibition.—Anticipations of Universal Peace.
1854. The English and French landed in the Crimea—The Battle of Alma.
The *Definition* of the Immaculate Conception.
1857. The Indian Mutiny.
1858. The grand Comet, and the drought so great that in some midland parts the green corn was cut to feed the cows.
1859. Magenta and Solferino. — The last of the dry summers.
1860. The severe winter.
1861. April. Fort Sumter.
December. The Prince Consort died.
1862. The International Exhibition.

In early times the particulars of past events were much more trusted to the memory than they are now; and only the chronological scaffolding was committed to parchment.

We are informed in Professor Wilson's *Prehistoric Man* that the Peruvians had a *memoria technica*, made of knots upon diversely-coloured strings. A Peruvian woman shewed a bundle of knotted strings, and said her whole life *was there*. Each knot was the index to a story, and all the stories were preserved in her memory.

Our own early Chronicles are something like this series of knots; for in their laconic annals much was implied and little expressed, and therefore they are a set of knots of which the solution died out with their authors. To posterity they present merely a name or two—as of a battle-field and a victor—but to the men of the day they suggested a thousand particulars, which they in their comrade-life were in the habit of recollecting and putting together. That which to us seems a lean and barren sentence, was to them the text for a winter evening's entertainment.

Their unfagged memory was richly stored with the events of their own day, and the legends of their ancestors. What one had forgotten another remembered, and where memory failed, imagination came to aid. So far were they from needing books as depositories of events, they were overwhelmed

with the treasures of their own memory, and only needed some guarantee of order amidst the riches of which they were in possession. Tradition and experience furnished them with more facts than they had the capacity to accommodate. Where memory failed, fancy promptly entered, as into a forfeited domain. The wild and frolic fancy was ever ready, in the absence of any controlling system of order, to promote dislocation by an arbitrary reconstruction, to foment confusion and revel in it, and to conjure up out of the chaos new and grotesque combinations. Therefore they wanted—not History, but Chronology.

When men had felt the necessity of guarding themselves against mytho-poesy, they found their first guarantee for the security of historical truth in tables of chronology. As long as past events were regarded only as material for an evening's entertainment, no one cared to preserve them from confusion and embellishment; but when a desire of certainty about the past began to be felt, and unadorned facts came to be valued, even above the more specious legend, then it is interesting to watch the steps by which they arrived at what they wanted. The Saxon Chronicles exhibit this process more than any (perhaps) in existence.

Mechanical Structure of Chronicles.

A numerical list of years was prepared, with a blank space, generally only a single line, opposite each number. The smallness of the space shews that nothing great was designed, but only a year-mark to know and distinguish the year by. As many of these blanks were filled in as the compiler had matter ready for, and the rest were left open for supplementary insertions. Capgrave in the Dedication of his *Chronicle of England* (to be spoken of below) thus explains the utility of such blank spaces: *If othir studious men, that have more red than I, or can fynde that I fond not, or have elde bokes whech make more expression of thoo stories that fel fro the creacion of Adam onto the general Flod than I have, the velim lith bare, save the noumbir, redi to receyve that thei wille set in.* Many of them remained blank to the last, and in the older Chronicles they are seen as blank lines; but in the later the figures have been copied continuously, as if they formed part of the text. Out of this mechanical process of construction grew the fashion of begin-

ning the annals with an adverb not of time but of *place*, HER, *in this place, at this point of the series.* The blanks which were left were not without their use; they served to give a quick and almost pictorial measure of the intervals between the entries.

A tabular system of this sort was appropriately designated by a word which we find in the Latin chroniclers, *Chronographia**, a sketch or chart of time, a time-table. And this is but an amplification of the more general term *Chronicon*, a Chronicle, a Time-book, a book of years; דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים. How long the historical mind continued to stand at this incipient stage, and by what steps it came to require history of a maturer sort, may in some measure be seen by the analysis of these Chronicles. And as they range through a space of many centuries, we must try to fix that point or epoch of time, at which they originated and from which they have grown in two directions, backward and forward. It will be a main object of our analysis to form some clear opinion on this point. Dr. Pauli has concurred in the opinion "that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles were first commenced under Alfred." That the reign of Alfred is an important epoch in the history of these Annals, and that in some sense it was a starting-point, is plain from the great uniformity of all the several members of the series up to a date in Alfred's reign, as compared with their divergencies after that date. But the difficulties of imagining that such a collection of annals (meagre as it often is), covering a period of 437 years, *could* have been made in 892 if Chronicles had not been kept before, are insuperable. Had there been a series of authors like Bede, offering to the collector whatever he chose to select, it would be different. But even during the period for which Bede is available, we find Annals purely domestic, and derivable neither from Bede nor from any source that is known to us. I propose then to analyze the præ-Ælfredic Chronicle, not with the expectation of arriving at an incontestable natural dissection, but in the hope of exhibiting as well the heterogeneousness of the *materials* that enter into the compilation, as also the diversities and tran-

* "Chronographia pangenda est," Ordericus Vitalis, vi. 1. "Marianus chronographus," Flor. 1052.

sitions of plan and purpose which mark it as a compilation made from earlier Chronicles.

The seven Chronicles are designated by the seven first letters of the Alphabet: A, B, C, D, E, F, G. And first of

## A

*A Saxon Chronicle containing Annals from* B.C. 60 *to* A.D. 1070.

The Winchester Chronicle (A).

This is a manuscript in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. (MS. C.C.C.C. CLXXIII.) That Society acquired it by the gift of Archbishop Parker. It is described by Wanley, p. 130, and by Mr. T. Duffus Hardy, vol. i. p. 651. It has every title to rank first in the list of Saxon Chronicles. Its original handwriting stops at 891, and the summary of Wessex Kings with which the book is prefaced ends with Alfred. These features indicate a Chronicle which was composed in Alfred's reign, or a copy of such a Chronicle. Whether it is really a manuscript of the last decade of the ninth century I hesitate to judge.

The penmanship is almost too mature for so early a date. The style certainly exhibits archaisms fitting the reign of Alfred, but from the irregular way in which they are scattered up and down, they appear like exceptional instances in which the copier lapsed into the manner of his original. There are, however, a few ancient forms in the first handwriting which are so constant as to give this MS. an appearance of the highest originality. Such are *a* for *ea*, as in *al*, *Walas;* some archaic uses of the rare diphthong *ie*, as in *hiera, Miercna;* and the form *cuom* for *com*. These have been sometimes called Mercian, and have been supposed to indicate a Mercian nativity for the early parts of the Chronicle. But it should be remembered that the vernacular was first cultivated in Northumbria, and that the Wessex orthography must at first have been more or less borrowed from the north.

At the Reformation this book belonged to the monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury, as we learn from some notes of Joscelin's, preserved in a volume of the Cotton Library*. But

* Vitellius D. vii.—See below, in the description of manuscript B, where Joscelin's note will be quoted in full.

its association with Canterbury is almost wholly of the external kind; the internal characteristics connect it rather with Winchester. It will appear from the analysis of the contents that this book or its original was a native of Winchester, and was compiled there in Alfred's reign. If not an original, we may suppose that when in process of time this Chronicle had become famous and venerable, a careful transcript of it was ordered for the Library of Christ Church, Canterbury.—(See below on § 11.)

But to proceed to our analysis.

A § 1. § 1. The prefatory list of the Wessex kings from Cerdic was originally like a Table of Contents to the Chronicle, and developed with it *pari passu*. It seems to have at one time stopped at Beorhtric, and then again at Æthelwulf, and lastly to have been brought down to Alfred's accession, at some time during his reign. It closes with the mention of his age at the time of his accession, and computes the years from the foundation of the dynasty to the same point. To Alfred's reign we must assign all the Annals down to 449, and many inserted Annals down to 731. The former were derived entirely from Latin authors, and chiefly from Bede. They are often a bold verbal translation of the Chronological Epitome appended to the *Historia Ecclesiastica:* e.g. Anno 47. Her Claudius oþer Romana cyninga Bretene lond gesohte, &c. is a verbal rendering of Bede's "Claudius secundus Romanorum Britannias adiens." But the Annals between 449 and 731 are mixed; and here we have only to do with those which are borrowed from Bede. These are—449, 538, 544, 547 (*to* onwoc), 565, 601, 603, 604, 606, 616, 625, 626, 627, 633, 640, 642, 644, 650, 651, 653, 654, part of 655, 660, 664, 668, 670, parts of 673 and 675, the last clause in 676, 678, 679, 680, a line and half in 685, 688 (the genealogy excepted), half of 690, 704, 705, the last clause of 709, parts of 716, 725 (part), 728 (part), 729, 731 (part).

Of this whole section, only the preface is original; the rest is a work of collection, translation, and bookmaking. It belonged to the editorial task of throwing the book into shape, and giving it the required completeness as a Chronicle embracing the Christian era generally. It was probably done

about the year 887. The reasons for this opinion will appear when we come to that date.

§ 2. The annals from 455 to 634 which have not been classed in the former section. This represents the gleanings and reconstruction of the half-lost early history of Wessex, at the time of the first compilation (855). Embodying antiquities of a high type, it is not the oldest composition preserved in this Chronicle. It is such history as could still be made out of oral traditions, and it probably represents the collected information of the bardic memory aided by the runic stones, and the roll of kings. Its character is betrayed by an artificial chronology, in which the numbers 8 and 4 are prevalent factors. We find for example the following series: 457, 465, 473, 477, 485. Again, 552, 556, 560, (565 belongs to the previous section) 568. Certain statements appear to be only fanciful, the offspring of rude etymological speculations. Among such may with probability be reckoned the names of Ælle's sons in 477, Cymen, and Wlencing, and Cissa, which correspond with a suspicious resemblance to three Sussex townships, Shoreham (see note on 477), Lancing, and Chichester. No doubt the first adventurers did often call places after their own names, and therefore it cannot be denied that the above *may* be historical. ¶ § 2.

But no critic will admit the personality of Port, who is said to have arrived in 501 in the place called (of course, after himself) Portsmouth. Clearly the existence of such a hero as Port was a presumption that arose out of a mistaken notion of the name Portsmouth, a name which embodies the Latin word *portus*, a harbour.

In 508, a local name, Neatanleah (now *Netley*), which probably meant *a pasture for oxen*, is ambitiously associated with one of the most famous of British dynastic names. (See the note on 508.)

That the hero Wihtgar (514, 534, 544) is a fiction, and his name merely an eponym for Wihtgaræsburh (530) or Wihtgaraburh (544), is beyond doubt; whether we suppose -garæs- or -gara- to be another form of -wara- (=inhabitants), as in Cantwaraburh; or whether we take this "gar" to be *caer* or *car* (the form usual in Cornwall), the British word for a castle or stronghold.

No general assertion can be made concerning the historical quality of this section: each clause must be estimated and valued for itself. Some parts are pure dream-work, while others have a historical and trustworthy appearance. These prevail more and more towards the close of the period, as if indicating the existence of better documents, which it is natural to suppose would have been kept with more or less care from the reception of Christianity. And therefore the date 634 has been fixed on as the close of this Section, although there is no appearance of a division, the traditional being intermingled with the earliest traces of documentary annals.

A § 3. § 3. The annals from 635 to 682, except those which are disposed of in § 1. This period, which covers a long generation of men, contains the first documentary annals of this Chronicle, and indeed of the whole series of Saxon Chronicles. In order to understand the nature of this Section, we must carefully exclude adventitious matter. The insertions from Bede have already been collected under § 1. Here and there may be seen an annal, expressed in riper language, which (though not found in the Chronological Epitome of Bede) must be marked as the interpolation of a later Editor. Such a one is 650. Further, we must eliminate occasional amplifications, also by a later Editor. Two such may be found on page 26, in the annals 643 and 648, which have both been continued by a later hand. The continuation is betrayed in both instances by the employment of the demonstrative SE in a peculiar manner. In 643, the original annal, the part which alone belongs strictly to this Section, ends at "wiñt." A later Editor added: "*And* this *Cenwalh bade build the church in Winchester.*" Similar continuations are found also in the previous Section, e. g. 597, 611. The probable author of these will be pointed out by and bye. When all these accretions are struck off, there remains a set of very simple and sober annals, quite free from the romancing air which discovers itself in the foregoing Section, and without any of that attempt at detail which learning afterwards demanded. These annals are mere land-marks of time, points fixed here and there to save memory from chaos, a *Chronologia* rather than a *Chronicon*.

The note appended to 643 about the foundation of Winchester Cathedral is a guiding one for us in this dissection. It gives the ὀμφαλός of which we are in search, the central and germinating point of the Chronicle. The Chronicle which was begun at Winchester in Cenwalh's churchtown, supplied the base of all after collections and accretions, and to this we trace back the course of English History.

We can hardly suppose that these annals are all strictly contemporary. Their irregularity forbids the notion. They were from time to time, perhaps not oftener than once in a generation, posted up to the current date. Consequently we may expect to find here and there some tokens of approach to the actual time of writing. Such an indication may perhaps be traced in the annal 682, which I have fixed on for the close of this Section. It is the first instance in which we find "On þissum geare—" instead of HER. This feature recurs 889; and the greater certainty of contemporary writing in that place may be reflected back on this.

§ 4. The next trace of an ancient cessation is at the word 'Cumbran' in the annal 755. Between 682 and 755 there were probably one or more intermediate terminations, and the marks of such may perhaps be discovered, with more or less distinctness. A likely spot is between 718 and 725, where the annals are strongly archaic, relate almost exclusively to Wessex, and are comparatively circumstantial. But at the date of 755 we find the conditions of a break more completely satisfied. The entries of the Bishops of Winchester, which are given with great regularity from Birinus in 634 down to the accession of Cyneheard in 754, are henceforth omitted, and are never again entered except in the most fitful and accidental manner. This seems to indicate a change of some significance. Hitherto their accession is recorded as regularly as that of the kings, and even (as in 676) taking precedence of the king: but now they are dropped altogether. It is clear that in the year 755 the State of Wessex fell into disorder, and that there was a political schism if not a civil war. The prolongation of the annal of 755 from "and se Cynewulf &c." has been appended by a later collector. This Section is almost purely composed of royal and ecclesiastical *Fasti*: not domestic merely, but also Kentish, Northumbrian, and Mercian. A § 4.

A § 5. § 5. The next break was probably at the close of 822. In the beginning of this Section (758 sqq.) we have mere chronography—an ineffectual attempt to fill out the tale of years with corresponding events. The annal 784 seems to shew that the prolongation of 755 had not yet got into the Chronicle.

The annal 800 though not very long is very circumstantial, and it relates the death of Beorhtric, of whom at the mention of his accession in 784 it is said, "and his ryht fædren cyn gæþ to Cerdice;" being the last instance of this archaic formula. Of Beorhtric it is used in the prefatory list of Saxon Kings, and with him it ceases *there*, as well as here in the body of the Chronicle*. These marks seem to indicate a pause somewhere in the reign of Ecgbryht, and it is fixed at 822 because there the prevalent characteristic of this Section suddenly ceases. For this Section is highly ecclesiastical, not only by notices of English bishops and synods, but also it venerates Rome more than any section previous to the twelfth century. Nor may we suppose that this is due to later insertions; because the matter is suited to these times, because it would be hard to say to what other epoch it should be assigned, and because we can trace the same disposition on for a few years after 800, which we fix as the first cotemporary pause of this chronographer. The same hand may be recognized down to the close of 822, where there appears to be a sudden change in the character of the entries. No more about Popes and Synods; all is military and political.

To this hand I should attribute the insertion of that interesting observation on the death of Abp. Theodore in 690: *Ær wærun Romanisce biscepas. siþþan wærun Englisce.*

A § 6. § 6. At the year 855 the Termination of an ancient Chronicle is plainly seen, like the lines of some ancient sea-coast high up in the mainland. At the close of Æþelwulf's reign we find a grand genealogical demonstration, in a style that implies the utmost heraldic effort of which the times were capable. In the Preface also we find Æþelwulf distinguished by a pedigree attached to his name, running back to Cerdic. But in the Termination of 855 the line of Wessex progenitors

* The length of the reign of Ecgbryht is not proleptically told at his accession, as Beorhtric's is in 784.

is continued through Cerdic back to Woden, and through Woden back into the mists of high mythology, whence the line of Scripture patriarchs is laid hold of, and so up to Adam, whose name is then spiritualized into Christ. Whether this represents merely the epilogue of that ancient royal Stemma, of which we have had instalments from time to time, or whether it was composed expressly for this place, it is observable that from this point forward we have no more of the old pedigrees which in the former part are so frequent. Either supposition lends itself readily to the probability that here we are nearing contemporary history again. For if it was merely a Stemma that was incorporated into the Chronicle, the termination with Æthelwulf seems to imply that he was at the time of its incorporation the king last deceased.

There is an appearance of recent interest about the reign of Æthelwulf. The Capitals at his accession, and in the year 851, strengthen the significance which we might be inclined to attach to the triumphal and solemn air of his Pedigree, with its final Amen. At one time I thought this Section might with fair probability be brought home to Swiðhun who was Bishop of Winchester when Æthelwulf died. There is something about the second paragraph of 853 and the whole of 855 that seems to prompt such an idea. The expression *Þa was domne Leo pāp &c.* would very naturally proceed from one who had accompanied Alfred to Rome. Leo died the same year as Æthelwulf. The first clause in 855 is probably there by error instead of under 851, as may be seen by a comparison of Asser. Putting that clause aside, the remainder of 855 is very germane to such a character as Swiðhun. The devotion of one-tenth of his land to religious uses is told with pious satisfaction; and the troubles, domestic and civil, which were averted by Æthelwulf's return from the continent, with a discreet reticence not expressed but only glanced at in the phrase, *and his people were fain of his return.* But such an idea seems untenable, if only for the following reason. The continuation of 855 and the annal of 860 appears like a later appendix by the same hand, and as the duration of the reign of Ethelbryht is given under 860, this could not have been written earlier than 865—whereas Swiðhun died in 862.

Any how, we have here an *Editor* whose work we can define and whose hand we can trace even through the mazes of this composite Chronicle. To him must be assigned, not the Chronicle as it now stands from the beginning, but from 455 (Hengist and Horsa) to 855, making the necessary exceptions for later insertions, chiefly those already indicated in § 1. The Chronicle of Swiðhun then, (for so I may surely be permitted to call it, *honoris causâ*, as it is at least probable that it was first wound up during his episcopate and at his See,) consisted of the Sections § 2—§ 6. In this *Edition* the old genealogical Preface which had been closed with Beorhtric, was carried down to "Cerdicing" (p. 4). To this *Editor* must be assigned all those amplifications of annals, in which the connection is effected by a somewhat marked use of the Demonstrative SE with a Proper Name, a use which was not continued in the sequel of the language (as it was in Greek, ὁ Σωκράτης &c.), but which seems to have had its crisis about this time. Instances are 597, 611, 643, 648, 660, 670, 674 (without Proper Name), 685, 688, 694, 709 (without Proper Name), 728, 731, 755, 827, 836, 855, 860. The "se Eþelbryht" of 860 is (I think) the last instance of this peculiar usage, which is rendered in F by "ðes Æðelbyrht." The repeated "se Carl . . . . . se Carl" of 885 is a different thing. Here there is a contra-distinction, like that expressed by the Greek ὁ μέν . . . ὁ δέ.

Another little trait may be noticed as marking this Editor. He has here and there put a Latin title, dux, 837 and 851, domne Leo pāp, 853; which is a thing that merits notice only because of its extreme rarity in these times. On this account we may almost venture to fix on the annal 792 as an insertion by this Editor, on account of its "Æþelbryhte rex," in which it is not followed by any of the more recent editions B C D E F. The prefix *domne* to the Pope's name had more favour, it is kept by B C. In G it is Saxonised thus, "þa wæs *ðonne* Leo papa on Rome."

Another interesting feature in this Section is the mention (for the first time) of *the present day*, and the appearance of the grammatical First Person; "and these made the greatest carnage on heathen marauders that we have heard tell of up to the present day" (851). This expression might

be used in a contemporary annal, but I am inclined to think it a later insertion; and partly because B C D E have a different order of the paragraphs here.

§ 7. The next division is marked by the change of hand-writing in 891. Whatever uncertainty may beset the previous analysis, there is no doubt that here we have a natural Section. It covers a period of 27 years, and every year has its annal; a circumstance which (occurring here for the first time) is in itself a ground of distinction. Some of the annals are full and circumstantial, chiefly 867, 871, 878, and 885; others are so in a less degree: while those which are brief, as 869, 872, 873, 879, 880, 886, contain well-selected matter, even where the scene is altogether beyond seas, as in 881, 883, 884. But these characters change very remarkably at the close of 887. Here we have a singular transition to trivial notices; and one annal, that of 889, consists of a twofold observation, half *negative* and half *positive;* one if not both of which would soon have perished from memory, had it not been quickly committed to writing. What makes it more remarkable, these small matters which from their very insignificance indicate a contemporary pen, are ecclesiastical, whereas the general character of the Section is by no means so. Moreover, it is to be observed that the annal 889 opens, not with the customary H E R, but with *On þissum geare;* a feature which has already been noticed in § 3, where the use I made of it might seem questionable, but for this confirmatory example. Here then it appears to me that we are actually on co-temporary ground, and I differ from Mr. Wright (*Biographia Lit.—Asser*), who thinks that this part of the Chronicle "was most probably not in existence till long after Alfred's death." A contrary view of the case would have dispelled one of his perplexities, and he would have been at no loss to account for the discontinuance of the contribution from the Saxon Chronicle at the year 887, in a work which purports to be composed in 893. No doubt there were copies made of a Chronicle which ended with 887, and one of these was in the hands of the composer of the Asserian Biography. The last clause of 887 and thence to the close of the first hand at "gefor" in 891, is largely the work of a man of peace, whereas the Section as a whole sounds of war. Rare inser- A § 7.

tions in keeping with this appendix appear at 874, 878, 885. In this Section we have some of the most archaic Saxon in the whole Chronicle, and this may appear strange to those who are not familiar with the intricacies of its structure. The annal of 876 is one of the best preserved and least altered pieces of pristine Englisc, and its antiquated style has baffled the interpreters. Except the story under 755 there is hardly anything to match it. And this is only a strong instance of what is felt at many parts of this Section ; it is very stiff and primitive. The obvious inference is, that the older parts have undergone a process of modernisation, to which this has not been subjected. But there are certain archaic forms which are found both in this and the previous Sections, which we here take leave of. After this Section we have no more *cuom, cuomon,* but *com, comon;* no more *hiera,* but *hiora* and *hira;* no more instances of *wærun* or other plural præterites in *-un.* It appears doubtful what is the exact position of the remainder of 891 (after the change of handwriting) down to the close of 893. It does not claim to belong to the next Section, and it is contained in manuscripts (E F) which omit the next Section. The expression at the opening of 893, "se micla here þe we gefyrn ymbe spræcon," *i.e. the great host which we before spoke about,* seems to claim for this isolated portion identity of authorship with the annals immediately preceding, and therefore we will consider it as an Appendix of this Section.

T § 8. § 8. Here we have the hand of one who is something more than an ordinary Continuator, in the author who furnishes the six and half pages which follow. This is the most remarkable piece of writing in the whole series of Chronicles. It is a warm, vigorous, earnest narrative, free from the rigidity of the other annals, full of life and originality. Compared with this passage, every other piece of prose, not in these Chronicles merely, but throughout the whole range of extant Saxon literature, must assume a secondary rank. There is some fine diction in C and D, there is fluent and rhetorical language in Ælfric, but the present passage is to these what Thucydides is to Xenophon.

Here the reader may feel the personal presence of the narrator more sensibly than anywhere else. It is not merely

that he speaks in the first person (swa ic ær sæde, p. 92); this we may find elsewhere, as in E 1086, which is also a passage of much freshness. But this piece of A is so full of native force, that its life seems always fresh in it, and it reads more like a narrative of our own times than of Alfred's.

The writer closes his annual periods with a colophon like Thucydides, who sums up as each ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα τῷδε ὃν Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν. So this writer:

§ and þæt wæs ymb twelf monaðˇ þæs þe hie ær hider ofer sæ comon.

§ þæt wæs ymb twa ger þæs þe hie hider ofer sæ comon.

§ þæt wæs ymb þreo ger þæs þe hie on Limene muðan comon hider ofer sæ.

As to the date of this Continuation it is almost superfluous to enter into detail, when once the vigour and earnestness of the narrative are appreciated. Dr. Pauli in his *Life of Alfred* says, that this was written "in the following century." As the end of the century was so near, this may be literally true; it may have been written as late as the spring of 901. I should however prefer to believe that it was composed in the winter following the campaign of 897, and there is a style about the paragraph at the foot of page 94 which invites such a conjecture. It flags after 897, and I doubt not it was on parchment before Alfred's death in 901. That the Section belongs to that group of Anglo-Saxon literature with which the name of Alfred has been justly associated, is manifest in every part of it, as might be illustrated by several particulars. E. g. the unusual expression which puzzled Wheloc, "buton swiþe gewaldenum dæle" (p. 91) = "*except a very considerable division.*" This we meet with again in Orosius iv. 9, "mid gewealdenan fultume"—and I have not noticed it elsewhere. (Adverbially *gewealden* occurs in the fragment of Zosimas, p. 110. l. 20. Appendix to my Swiðhun.)

But while the annals 894–897 form a complete episode in themselves, I cannot distinguish them in anything except their fullness and exuberance and warmth, from the annals which follow down to 924 *fin.* These two parts appear like the work of one mind in different moods. The piece 894–897 exhibits greater intensity of feeling, and so far keeps true to the drama of history. That the latter items of 897, and

especially the paragraph about the death of the king's horse-thane, as also (though less manifestly) the annal of 898, are contemporaneous entries—desultory and incidental jottings in a dormant interval of the Chronicle—seems, under all the circumstances, presumably certain. The death of Alfred and the sedition of Æðelwold do not appear to have been inserted till after the latter had run its course in 905, or rather perhaps until five years later, 910. The two sections of Æðelwold's *escapade*, under 901 and 910, have not the force of the piece at the head of the Section, but they bespeak the same hand. The ten years 901–910 are however but scantily furnished, and in a chronographic manner. The notices of ecclesiastics may partly be due to personal distinction, as in the cases of Grimbald and Asser; but as they are isolated and exceptional, forming part of no sequence (the line of Winchester bishops, for example, having been neglected since 754), we must regard them partly as an eking out of the chronography. From the middle of 910 to the close of 924 we have a steady, regular, well-written narrative, homogeneous and unmixed in matter, like the head-piece of this Section, and unlike all the rest of the Chronicle. It is all sieges and battles, and fortifications and garrisons, and surrenders and armed pacifications. Not a word of home affairs whether of Church or State. It is a model of uniformity both in matter and manner.

One might be prompted to find a break at 920 where A first parts company with B C D, after they have gone thus far together from the beginning. But this indication, standing alone, is no evidence of a break in the continuity of A,—it concerns only the literary history of BCD. As in the last Section, so in this, the Termination coincides with a change in the handwriting; and it may not be amiss to record the fact, that this transition of penmanship has only made our division to be put at the close of 924 instead of 925, at which, from internal evidence (before I noticed the change of hand), I had long ago placed it.

A § 9. § 9. The annals 925–975. This Section is so conspicuously contrasted with the preceding, so clearly defined at its close, and so strongly characterized in every respect, that I speak with less diffidence in pronouncing it a natural division. In

the first place it is wonderfully *meagre*, a charge which is often unreasonably alleged against these Chronicles in the most undiscriminating manner, but which may be justified here by a comparison with the historical literature of two earlier generations. When a critic opens the Saxon Chronicle, in the seventh century, and cries "*How meagre!*"—we wonder what standard of comparison he is thinking of, and we should like to be informed where he has found a nobler vernacular work produced by any nation at a like stage of its history! But here we are in the Tenth Century, and we have behind us a period of 59 years, during which scarcely a year but has been chronicled. The earlier chronography or year-marking-calendar has gradually expanded, and a genial interest in detail has been unfolding itself—when by a transition from hot to cold we suddenly find ourselves again in a bare chronography such as we took leave of as far back as 822, the last year of § 5.

In the next place it is devoid of all uniformity—there is no appearance of a plan. What served instead of a plan, was a taste for collecting and preserving the national songs. This Section is as irregular as the last was uniform. The first twelve years are disposed of in less than as many lines; the first six having only one entry, viz. the demise of the crown. Here we find bishops again, the long-neglected succession of bishops—a mere expedient to fill out the vacant years. This poverty is however disguised, and not inadequately redeemed by the insertion of those poetical pieces which constitute the singular merit and ornament of this Section. There are four pieces: The Battle of Brunanburh, 937; the Annexation of Mercia, 942; The Coronation of Edgar at Bath, 973; The Death of Edgar with attendant circumstances, 975. There is a very observable difference between the first three of these pieces and the last of them. The first three are concerned each with a single and momentary event; the last is a narrative poem and covers a considerable space of time. To say the least, it enters upon a second year. The first three have the semblance of popular songs which the collector of 975 merely enshrined in the Chronicle; but the closing poem of the Section appears to have been composed for the place in which we find it. It would seem to be the work of the collector

himself, who had a taste for poetry and was himself a poet and an admirer of poets. The matters contained in the poem of 975 are not heroic or otherwise proper to poetry (as those in 937, 942 and 973 are), they are simply historical and would make excellent prose. Nothing but that love for versification which at a later date produced a special form of rhyming literature, can account for the poetic dress of this annal. But this singularity on the one hand corresponds strikingly with the composition of this Section on the other—a Section whose chief merit lies in the old songs it has provided a setting for. It appears to me we can get at one little particular in the biography of this Collector and Poet. He was a friend and admirer of Cyneweard, whom he has contrived in the course of his brief contribution to mention twice; once in prose 964, as Abbot of Middelton, and once in verse 975, as Bishop. We cannot say that Cyneweard's name would have literally perished but for these two notices, because his name was enrolled among the Bishops of Wells, and there is a Charter extant with his signature (Cod. Dipl. 589). But name and office are hardly enough to quicken the memory of a man; and this Collector it is who has given Bishop Cyneweard a niche in history. Not the public importance of the man, but the personal affection of the chronicler, dictated the language of this commemoration:

| | |
|---|---|
| And him tir fæst hæleð | tyn nihtum ær· |
| of Brytene gewât· | biscēop se goda |
| þurh gecyndne cræft· | ðam wæs Cyneweard nama. |
| *And forth away the far-famed hero,* | *ten nights before* [Edgar's death] |
| *from Britain had departed,* | *the bishop who was good* |
| *by inherited craft;* | *whose name was Cyneweard.* |

The expression "from Britain departed" has been interpreted to signify his death. If this is the meaning, it is a great solecism, and must be supposed to convey the great loss his native land had sustained. But the phrase which tells us most about Cyneweard is "se goda þurh gecyndne cræft," the meaning of which has (I suspect) been overlooked. **Cræft** is *scientia;* thus the astronomers are called in this same piece **cræft gleawe men,** scientiæ periti homines; and Cyneweard is said to have been "good by inherited craft," bonus per patriam indolem, artem, scientiam; πατρῴαν τέχνην (Soph.

El. 1500). And what craft is it likely to have been that endeared Cyneweard to our Collector—what but the minstrel's craft? I venture to suggest that Cyneweard Bishop of Wells was the *Poet Laureate* of his day, and that he is really the author of the three pieces in this Section, which are so nobly and truly poetic, and so unlike the rhythmic labours at its close. But can we make out anything more about this Cyneweard? If the above exposition is admitted, Cyneweard was a poet, and the son of a poet. Now we have in Anglo-Saxon Literature a poet of a kindred name, of whom we would gladly know more than we do. The poet of the "Elene" has conveyed his name to posterity in Runes, which he has woven into his poem, and hence we know that his name was Cynewulf. Grimm seeks to connect this Cynewulf with Aldhelm, early in the eighth century. To dissent from an opinion of Jacob Grimm is like disputing parental authority—but in regard to the date of the "Elene" I cannot follow him. To my eyes it is palpably a work of the tenth century, and I know that I am not swayed to this view by the present exigency, because I find observations to this effect which I had long ago forgotten, and which were made when I had no theory to serve in the matter. Indeed the diction of the "Elene" is so like that of these three minor poems, that it must be pronounced certainly to belong to the same period. I venture then to imagine that Cyneweard the Bishop of Wells may have been a son of Cynewulf the poet of the "Elene." It is well known that in Anglo-Saxon families the first part of the name was held in common by many members of the family, while the second was changed. Thus four of the sons of Æðelwulf had names beginning with Æðel—viz. Æðelstan, Æðelwald, Æðelbriht, and Æðelred. At another time we find the word **Ead** continued from generation to generation in the the Royal Family: Eadweard, Eadmund, Eadred, Eadwig, Eadgar, Eadweard. And now as to the 'departure' of Cyneweard, which is expressed in these well-marked words, "him . . . . . of Brytene gewát"—it seems to be suited to a setting forth to go to a foreign land, and unsuited to signify death. It appears to be the just opposite of that on p. 115:

ofer bradbrimu Brytene sohtan
*over the broad sea, came to Britain.*

As far as this text is concerned, we should not be authorised to fix the death of Cyneweard in 975, but rather his quitting the country whether into exile or otherwise. His successor Sigar dates from 975, which would not prove the death of his predecessor, but would provide a sufficient account for Cyneweard's death being entered in the Chronicles under 975; which entry would cause an unguarded interpretation of this poetical notice about his departure. In the tenth century the natural country for an exiled ecclesiastic to retire to was Italy; and it is from Italy that we have obtained the only known original of the "Elene," as well as the other poems of the *Codex Vercellensis*. These fragments of our tenth century literature, which the desolations of the eleventh century caused to perish at home, come back to us (like the Paris Psalter) from the lands to which they were carried by exiled Englishmen. May not Cyneweard have carried into Italy the poems of Cynewulf*?

A § 10. § 10. The annals 978–1001. At the close of 1001 the handwriting again changes, and it is up to that point that a later MS. (G) is copied from this. Also the matter changes; so that we have no doubt of a natural Section here. But it is hardly worthy of the name of a Section at all; it shows the neglect of an age when the vernacular literature could not keep its ground against the now much-cultivated Latin. There is this point of interest about it, that the whole Section is peculiar to A (G). The only annal which merits particular notice is the last, that of 1001. This annal has all the appearance of contemporaneous writing, and most of the others were perhaps a mere chronography to connect this with the Chronicle. Also, this annal, and indeed the whole Section, bears the local impress of Winchester, thus offering a contrast to the subsequent entries.

A § 11. § 11. The annals 1005–1070. Eleven scattered entries covering a period of 69 years, and consisting of matters interesting at Christ Church, Canterbury. The succession of the Archbishops of Canterbury, and the accession of one or

* It is not impossible that Cynewulf and Cyneweard may be *the same person*. Examples are not wanting in which the first part of the name remaining constant, the second part varies: e. g. Wigþen (833) is Wigferð in E.

two kings, among whom Cnut the benefactor of Christ Church. His gift of the harbour of Sandwich is commemorated in 1031, a mutilated annal. The annal of most importance is that of 1070, the year of Lanfranc's arrival in England. This annal is the earliest record of the dispute for precedence between the Sees of Canterbury and York. It is significant, that this Chronicle should cease its vernacular entries at the arrival of Lanfranc, that distinguished patron of literature. Such a phenomenon as that of a Saxon Chronicle stopping at such an epoch, may have been among the causes which led to the belief that William the Conqueror had entertained the design of extinguishing the native language. If, however, we examine the evidence of this Chronicle more closely, we shall be rather disposed to conclude that Lanfranc may have been the instrument of bringing this Chronicle to Canterbury, and lodging it in the place which kept it till the days of the Reformation. For the whole of this Section agrees in diction with its last entry—was therefore all written at Canterbury and after Lanfranc's accession; but the latest previous entry (1001) is conspicuously localised at Winchester—the MS. was then probably fetched from Winchester about Lanfranc's coming when the monks of Christ Church were collecting books, for their own Library had been consumed in the recent fire. It was then brought down (in a way) to 1070 in Canterbury matters and in Canterbury Saxon, and it was never taken in hand again until the influence of the continental professor had made the learned society of Christ Church look down on their mother tongue. This took place about five years after Lanfranc's death, and then a summary was appended in Latin, which carried the history down to the consecration of Anselm*.

This Latin continuation represents the transition, which (after long vacillation) was at length effected from vernacular Saxon to Latin as the language of English history. However, the latest work done on this manuscript has yet to be noticed, and it is in Saxon. This is by an interpolator and reviser of the twelfth century, whose entries are in this Edition printed in small italics. I have sometimes indicated him by the sign *α*, as on p. 18 n. Many of his entries are on

* In the present Edition this is given in the Appendix, p. 271.

erasures which he has made of ancient matter uninteresting to himself and therefore condemned—such are especially the old pagan pedigrees. Then in his insertions, he discovers himself to have a local affection for Kent (e. g. 784), and this, with the likeness of penmanship, makes strongly for his identity with the compiler of F.

The next three manuscripts have so much in common that they may be considered as forming a group

B, C, D.

The great features which these have in common are as follows:—1. Their relationship to A is very similar though not identical, that is, they are rather cousins to each other than sisters. 2. They all belong to a central period, the period when the Saxon Literature culminated, and 3. they are central in the sense that they are free from provincialisms of language, and 4. their local characteristics are frequently, though not always, in common—e.g. the chronicle of Mercia, 902–921. 5. These three, and no others after A, possess the great passage 894–901; and indeed this agreement stretches further (while E F are almost silent) to the end of 918.

With these great features in common, they have also their several characteristics, which shall next be considered.

## B

*A Saxon Chronicle from the Incarnation to* A.D. 977.

The Chronicle of Saint Augustine's, Canterbury.

This is one of the Cotton Manuscripts in the British Museum (MS. Cott. Tiber. A. vi. ff. 1–34). It is described by Wanley, p. 224; and by Mr. T. Duffus Hardy, vol. i. p. 655.

This Manuscript had originally a genealogical Frontispice like that of A; but carried down to Edward the son of Edgar, who was the reigning monarch at the final date of this book. This piece is now wanting to the MS., and our knowledge of it is derived from notes in the handwriting of Joscelin, and from a transcript in the Bodleian, made in the 16th or 17th century, before B had lost its 'Genealogia.' Joscelin'snote is preserved in a volume of the Cotton Library (Vitellius D. vii.), entitled *Joh. Joscelini Collectanea.* This is a volume

of disjointed papers, and on No. 138 Joscelin has copied the genealogical Preface, and at its conclusion he notes:

*Hic desinit historia Saxonica* . . . [burnt] . . . *Chr'i Cant: quam habet Doct. Wutton. Tradit jam historia Saxon* . . . . *Cant: quam habet Joan' Twyne, Cant.* ælfred heold oðran . . . . . læs ðe 30 wintra. ða feng eadweard to ælfred . . . . . ða he forð ferd ða feng æðelstan to his . . . . . ða feng eadmond . . . . . ðer to ⁊ heold 9 gear ⁊ 6 wucan. ða feng eadwig eadmundes sunu to rice. ⁊ heold 3 gear ⁊ 36 wucena buton 2 dagum. ða he forðferd ða feng eadgar to his broðor ⁊ heold 16 gear ⁊ 8 wucan ⁊ 2 niht . . . . . he forðferd ða feng eadweard to eadgares sunu ⁊ heold *Hic d*[*esinit*] *historia Saxonica monasterii Augustini Cant.*

We know from other notes by the same scholar, that his *Historia Saxonica Monasterii Augustini Cant.* is our MS. B: and therefore we have Joscelin's evidence as well as that of the Bodleian Transcript, to prove that B *had* a genealogical frontispice which terminated in the same reign as the annalistic portion.

There is a single leaf in a volume of the Cottonian Library (Tiber. A. iii. f. 175.) which has been identified both by Wanley (p. 199) and Hardy (p. 576) with the missing frontispice of B. It contains a genealogy almost entirely corresponding with what we have of Joscelin's copy from B, even to the circumstance of breaking off abruptly at *and heold—*. The variations are these: Tiber. A. iii. has eadmund (*eadmond*, Joscelin) and, þa feng eadwig to eadmundes sunu cinges (*ða feng eadwig eadmundes sunu to rice*, Joscelin). Insignificant as these variations are, they are perhaps enough to make us doubt the identity of the said leaf with that which has disappeared from B. If it is not the identical leaf, the coincidence of its fitting our MS. is all the more curious. Dr. Pauli (*Life of Alfred*) thinks it has come from some lost MS. If so, that MS. must have been nearly related to our B, for it is plain their historical area was coincident, and the penmanship is so like that of B, that it requires close scrutiny to distinguish the one from the other. Upon careful examination it does however appear that the writing of this odd leaf is firmer and more vigorous than that of B, and therefore I am inclined to agree with Dr. Pauli that it is a fragment from a MS. unknown to us, but probably one made at the same time and even the

same place. A Facsimile of this leaf is given in Mr. Thorpe's Edition of the Chronicles.

The date indicated by the close of this Preface corresponds perfectly with the date of 977 at which the annals terminate: and everything tends to render it probable that this was the true date of this Compilation. As a slight confirmation may be noticed the insertion of a single word in the annal for 643. It is in B that "the church at Winchester" is first altered to "the *old* church at Winchester"—and this emendation would naturally occur to a copier in 977, when Bishop Æðelwold's *new* church was in building. But it does not appear probable that B itself is the identical Chronicle that was made in 977. It is in the same hand throughout, which though not conclusive against its originality, is injurious to such a pretension. For the autograph itself would have been usually written by a scribe down to the close of the Chronicle which served as a copy, and after that the Annalist would commence his work in his own handwriting. And the appearance of B suggests the idea that it is in fact a scribe's copy of this kind prepared for a stock to graft further annals upon, which intention was never carried out. It is a nice question for the Saxon expert to decide, what is the true date of our manuscript B. Mr. Duffus Hardy has in fact decided the question differently in two places of his Catalogue. When speaking of the odd leaf he has attributed it to the eleventh century, and when speaking of the Chronicle itself he has assigned it to the twelfth. Yet he holds that these two are only parts of one whole. *Verum operi longo fas est obrepere somnum.* There is an oversight here, and I take Mr. Hardy to mean the eleventh century in both cases. First, for the penmanship is decidedly bolder and rounder than that of our known examples of the twelfth century, such as E, F; and "*a*" the interpolator of Æ. These are specimens of twelfth century handwriting, and they already betray a tendency to that pinched angular and cursive hand which after the twelfth century changed the aspect of MSS. Secondly, the language in so far as it has a distinct character, claims kindred with Æ § 11, of which the date is plainly 1070 or thereabout. In both there is a great proneness to the termination in **-an,** instead of **-on** (plural of verbs) and instead of **-um** (dative). This

is a variation from which hardly any Anglo-Saxon writing is free, but it is found in B in such uncommon abundance as to constitute a feature of the text: e. g. gefuhtan 881, wurdan, weran, eodan 882, naman 886, forhergodan 887 &c., gecyrdan 867, where all the others have -on, and wæs cuman (instead of the participal termination *-en*) p. 1781., is more marked.

Few peculiarities in B.

This manuscript is one of the least valuable of the extant Chronicles. It has fewer special characteristics than any one of the others, and contains very little historical matter which is peculiar to itself. Consequently, there is no one of the set which could be spared with less detriment to Saxon literature. Even those which stand much lower in the scale of excellence, such as F and G, are more historically important, because they have peculiarities to recommend them.

Rarely, it offers a variation which is interesting; there is one such at 709, where A C D E F all say that Aldhelm was bishop on the western side of the wood (se wæs be westan wuda biscop)—B has 'Selwood,' (be westan Selewuda,) to the west of Selwood. A peculiarity in 755, utan ymbeodan, where the others have the simple *be-*, is not without its use in illustrating the prefix **be-**. Where A (p. 95 m) with C and D have "sume hæfdon LX ara" B has the weak form of the genitive plural, **arena**. But most of its peculiarities are of a feeble and indistinct kind. Bryten-walda 827, where C D E have -wealda, may be called a faint archaism. A singularly strange form occurs at 891, **betuh**—which B has with C; where betueoh A, betueoh D G, betwix E, betwyx F.

B has a marked affinity for the next Chronicle C; beyond that of a common relationship to A. They have modifications of A, and additions to A, and one peculiarity of arrangement in common with each other, and in contradistinction from the later D E. For example: Anno 643 B C agree in the addition **ealdan** which is not in A, and most likely was not in D (now mutilated in this part), as far as we may judge of the hiatus from its imitator E. Under 855, in the close of the genealogy, B and C have *Haðra Hwalaing. Hwala Bedwiging. Bedwig Sceafing. id est filius Noe,* where D reads *Haþra. Hwala Beowung. Beowi Sceafing. id est filius Noe;* thus exhibiting B and C united in a strong

divergence (we should have said a corruption—but Kemble accepted the form *Bedwig*) from D, where all three are yet more widely at variance with A. A decisive instance of the agreement of B and C against D and E occurs under 877 —where B and C coincide in an omission that mutilates the grammar, while D and E present complete transcripts of A, thus demonstrating that they derived through a channel independent of B C. The words omitted are, "*and þa mette hie mycel yst on sæ.*" A second time in the same annal, B and C have an omission in common, as compared with A, where D and E give the full text of A. The words are, "*ær hie on þam fæstene wæron þær him mon to ne mihte.*" Again, the Mercian Chronicle of Æthelflæd, which is printed in the Appendix (p. 269) has been embodied by B, C, D. But in B and C it figures as an *indigesta moles* after the year 915, whereas in D it is chronologized and distributed among the other materials.

From the above considerations I regard B as an eleventh century copy (made probably at St. Augustine's) of a Chronicle which was compiled about 977, upon the basis (not indeed of A itself but) of one of that family of transcripts of which A is the extant representative. All the evidence favours the supposition that its existence is due to some local stimulus which was imparted to literary pursuits in the first half of the eleventh century; and of which G (A) is another relic.

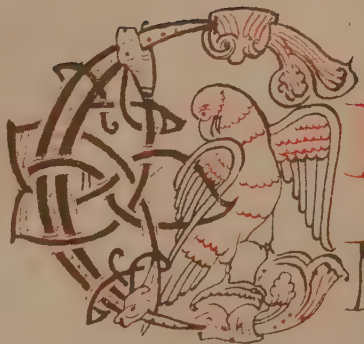
## C

*A Saxon Chronicle from the Invasion of Julius Cæsar to* A.D. 1066.

The Abingdon Chronicle.

This is one of the Cotton manuscripts in the British Museum; Cott. Tiberius, B. i. It is described by Wanley, p. 219; by Hardy, p. 656. The first handwriting stops at 1046. It is preceded by two poetical compositions, with which it is written consecutively, and which look as if they had been meant to stand as a sort of prelude to the Chronicle. The one is a description of the months and marked days of the year, a sort of versified Calendar; the second is a string of proverbs. Joscelin has set his Title *Chronicle of Abingdon* at the head of both of these pieces. Their intimate association with the Chronicle seems to call for their insertion here;

*Cronica Saxonica Abbingdoniæ ad annum 1066*



RIST PÆSACEN

NYD·ÉNINGA PVL·DOR·

onmidne pinter·mære þeoden·éce ælim hæg·on

þy·ealhteoðan dæg·hælend ge haten·heofon ruces

*From Cottonian Ms. Tib. B. 1. fol. 110. (Ms. C.)*

and they illustrate the condition of some branches of knowledge and culture which are cognate to the study of history. The first poem may be considered as the text to a Runic Club-Almanack. The native month-names are preserved in it, while the Roman are put forward more prominently: and under the Christian modifications we may perhaps discern some traces of the old heathen Calendar. Thus in the month of February, after fixing the 7th as the day on which winter ends and spring begins, it seems the ancient Year-Rime went on to tell how the warrior then began to bestir himself, "and se wigend þa . . ." The sentence thus begun is diverted from its original course, and the warrior melts away into S. Matthias, whose Festival is seventeen days later.

*Cronica Saxonica Abbingdoniæ ad annum* 1066.

* Crist wæs acennyd cyninga wuldor
on midne winter mære þeoden
ece ælmihtig on þy eahteoðan dæg
hælend ge haten heofon rices weard.
Swa þa sylfan tiid side herigeas
folc unmæte habbaƿ fore weard gear.
for þy se *kalendus* cymeƿ geþincged
on þam ylcan dæge us to tune
*forma monaƿ* hine folc mycel
*January* ianuarius gerum heton.
And þæs embe fif niht þætte fulwiht tiid
eces drihtnes to us cymeƿ
þæne twelfta dæg tir eadige
hæleƿ heaƿu rofe hataƿ on brytene
in foldan her.
Swylce emb feower wucan
þætte *sol monaƿ* sigeƿ to tune
butan twã nihtum swa hit ge tealdon geo
*February* februarius fær frode ge siþas
ealde æ gleawe. And þæs embe ane niht
ƿ we Marian mæssan healdaƿ
cyninges modor for þan heo Crist on þã dæge
bearn wealdendes brohte to temple.
Đænne þæs emb fif niht ƿ afered byƿ

* These Poems have been published by Hickes in his *Thesaurus* (1705), vol. i. p. 203, with a Latin translation: and again in a separate form by the Rev. Samuel Fox with an English translation; *Menologium seu Calendarium Poeticum, etc.* (1830.)

winter of wićum and se wigend þa
æfter seofentynū swylc þrowade
niht ge rimes nergendes þegen
Mathias mære mine ge fræge
hræd monaþ *March* þæs þe leucten on tun ge liden hæfde
werum to wićum.
Swylce eac is wide
cuþ ymb iii. and twa þeodum ge wel hwær
his cyme Kalend ceorlum and eorlum
(butan þænñ *bises* ge boden weorþe
feorþan geare þæñ he furþor cymeþ
ufor anre niht us to tune)
hrime ge hyrsted hagol scurū færþ
geond middan geard Martius reþe
*hlyda* healic. Đænne se halga
þæs emb xi niht æþele scynde
Gregorius in Godes wære
breme in Brytene. Swylce Benedictus
embe nigon niht þæs nergend sohte
heard and hige strang þæne heriaþ wel
in gewritum wise wealdendes
þeow rincas regol fæste swylce eac rim cræftige
on þa ylcan tiid em niht healdaþ
forþan wealdend God worhte æt frymþe
on þy sylfan dæge sunnan and monan.
Hwæt ymb feower niht fæder on sende
þæs þe em nihte eorlas healdaþ
heah engel his · se hælo abead
Easter monaþ *Aprylł* Marian mycle ƿ heo meotod sceolde
cennan kyninga betst swa hit ge cyþed wearþ
geond middan geard wæs ƿ mære wyrd
folcū ge fræge.
Swylce emb feower and þreo
niht ge riimes ƿ te nyrgend sent
Aprelis monaþ · on þam oftust cymþ
seo mære tiid mannū to frofre
drihtnes ærist þæñ dream ge rist
wel wide ge hwær swa se witega sang.*
"Þis is se dæg þæne drihten us.
wisfæst worhte wera cneorissū

* Psalm cxviii. 24. The rhythmical version here quoted is that of the Paris Psalter (Oxonii, 1835. Ed. Thorpe)—where it is (according to the Latin Psalter) Ps. cxvii. 22.

eallum eorðwarum eadigū to blisse."
ne magon we þā tide be ge tale healdan
dagena rimes· ne drihtnes stige
on heofenas up for þan he hwearfaþ á á
wisra ge wyrdū· ac sceal wintrum frod
on *circule* cræfte findan
halige dagas. Sculan we hwæðere gyt
martira ge mynd ma areccan
wrecan wordum forð wisse ge singan
þ embe nihgon tyne niht
þæs þe *Easter monaþ* to us cymeð
þæt man *reliquias* ræran on ginneð
halige ge hyrste· þ is healic dæg
þrymylce monaþ *May* bentīīd bremu.
Swylce in burh raþe smicere on gearwum
wudū and wyrtū cymeð wlitig scriðan
þrymlice on tūn þearfe bringeð
Maius micle geond menigeo ge hwær.
Swa þi ylcan dæge æþele geferan
Philippus and Jacob feorh agefan
modige mago þegnas for meotudes lufan.
And þæs embe twa niht þte tæhte God
Elenan eadigre æþelust beama
on þam þrowode þeoden engla
for manna lufan meotud on galgan
be fæder leafe. Swylce ymb fyrst wucan
butan anre niht þte yldum bringð
sigel beorhte dagas Sumor to tune
wearme ge wyderu þæñ wangas hraðe
blostmū blowaþ swylce blis astihð
geond middan geard manigra hada
cwicera cynna. cyninge lof secgaþ
mænifealdlice· mærne bremaþ
ælmihtigne. Þæs emb eahta and nigon
dogera rimes þte drihten nam
in oðer leoht Agustinus
bliðne on breostū· þæs þe he on Brytene her
eaðmode him eorlas funde
to Godes willan· swa him se gleawa be bead
Gregorius. ne hyrde ic guman awyrn *

* Sic MS. A correction has been indicated by Grein (*Glossar.* v. *fyrn*), who would, as I understand him, read *gumena fyrn*.

anigne ær æfre bringan
ofer sealtne mere selran lare
bisceop bremran. nú on Brytene rest
on Cantwarum cyne stole neah
mynstre mærū.

Liða monað *June*

Þænne monað bringð
ymb twa and þreo tīida lange
*ærra liða* us to tune
Junius on geard· on þā gim astihð
on heofenas up hyhst on geare
tungla torhtust· and of tille* agrynt
to sete sigeð. wyle syððan leng
grund be healdan and gangan lator
ofer foldan wang fægerust lohta
worulde sceafta. þæñ wuldres þegn
ymb þreotyne þeodnes dyrling
Iohannes in geardagan wearð acenned
tyn nihtum eac· we þa tiid healdað
on midne sumor mycles on æþelum.
Wide is ge weorðod swa þ wel ge rist
haligra tid geond hæleða bearn
Petrus and Paulus. hwæt þā apostolas
þeoden holde þrowedon on Rome
ofer midne sumor miccle ge wisse
furðor fif nihtū folc bealo þrealic
mærne martyr dom. hæfdon mænige ær
wundra ge worhte geond wær þeoda·
Swylce hy æfter þam unrim fremedon
swutelra and ge synra þurh sunu meotudes
ealdor þegnas. Þænne ædre cymð
emb twa niht þæs tidlice us

*Julius* Iulius monað on þā Iacobus
ymb feower niht feorh ge sealde
on twentigū trum in breostum
frod and fæst ræd folca lareow
Zebedes afera. And þæs symle scriþ
ymb seofon niht þæs sumere ge brihted
*weod monað* on tun· wel hwæt bringeð

*Augustus* Augustus yrmen þeodum

---

* Tille.—A rare and interesting word, *nom.* til: which Ethmüller (*Lex.* p. 519) identifies with the German ziel, goal, aim, butt. The sun having ascended to his highest elevation, then *from his goal* descends to the ground.

hlaf mæssan dæg· swa þæs hærfest cymð
ymbe oðer swylc butan anre wanan
wlitig wæstmū hladen· wela byð ge ywed
fægere on foldan. þæñ forð ge wat
ymb þreo niht þæs þeodne ge trywe
þurh martyr dom mære diacon
Laurentius. hæfð nu lif wīð þan
mid wuldor fæder weorca to leane.
Swylce þæs ymb fif niht fægerust mægða
wifa wuldor sohte weroda God
for suna sibbe sige fæstne ham
neorxna wange· hæfde Nergend þa
fægere fostor lean fæmnan for golden
ece to ealdre. þæñ ealling byð
ymb tyn niht þæs tiid ge weorðad
Bartholomeus in Brytene her
wyrð wel þungen. swylce eac wide byð
eorlū ge ypped æþelinges deað
ymb feower niht se þe fægere iu
mid wætere ofer wearp wuldres cyne bearn
wiga weorðlice· be him Wealdend cwæð
þ nan mærra man geond middan geard
be tux wife and were wurde acenned.
Ond þæs ymbe þreo niht geond þeoda feala
þte *halig monð* heleþū geþinged
ferеð to folce swa hit fore gleawe
ealde uþ witan æror fundan.
*September* Septembres fær· and þy seofoþan dæg
þ acenned wearð cwena selost
drihtnes modor. þæñ dagena worn
ymbe þreo tyne þegn un for cuð
god spelles gleaw gast on sende
Matheus his to metod sceafte
in ecne ge fean. þæñ ealling cymð
ymb þreo niht þæs þeodū wide
emnihtes dæg ylda bearnum.
Hwæt we weorðiað wide geond eorðan
heah engles tiid on hær feste
Michaheles swa þ menigo wat
fif nihtum ufor þæs þe folcū byð
eorlū ge ywed em nihtes dæg.
And þæs embe twa niht þ se teoða monð

winter fillеð *October*

on folc fereð frode ge þeahte
October on tun us to ge nihte
*winter fylle*ð swa hine wide cigð
igbuende Engle and Seaxe
weras mid wifum. swylce wigena tiid
ymb twentig þæs twegra healdaþ
and fif nihtum samod æt gædere
on anne dæg we þa æþelingas
fyrn ge frunan þ hy fore mære
Simon and Judas symble wæron
drihtne dyre· for þon hi dom hlutan
eadigne up weg. and þæs ofstum bringð
embe feower niht folce ge nihtsum
*blot mona*ð on tun beornum to wiste

*November*

Novembris niða bearnū
eadignesse swa nan oðer na deð·
monaþ maran miltse drihtnes.
And þy ylcan dæge ealra we healdaþ
Sancta symbel þara þe siþ oððe ær
worhtan in worulde willan drihtnes.
Syþþan wintres dæg wide gangeð
on syx nihtū sigel beortne genimð
hærfest mid herige hrimes and snawes
forste ge feterad be frean hæse
þ us wunian ne mot wangas grene
foldan frætuwe. þæs ymb feower niht
þte Martin' mære ge leorde
wer womma leas wealdend sohte
up engla Weard. þænne embe eahta niht
and feowerum þ te fangode
be senctun on sæ grund sige fæstne wer
on brime haran þe iu beorna felda
Clementes oft clypiaþ to þearfe.
and þæs embe seofon niht sige drihtne lof
æþele Andreas up on roderum
his gast ageaf on Godes wære

alibi Julmonaþ *December*

fus on forð weg. þæñ folcū bringð
morgen to mannum monaþ to tune
Decembris drihta bearnū
*ærra jula.* swylce emb eahta and twelf
niht ge rimes þæt te nergend sylf
þrist hydigū Thomase for geaf

wiþ earfeðum ece rice
bealdum beorn wigan bletsunga his.
Þænne emb feower niht þæt te fæder engla
his sunu sende on þas sidan ge sceaft
folcum to frofre. nu ge findan magon
haligra tiid þe man healdan sceal·
swa bebugeð ge bod geond Bryten ricu
Sexna kyninges on þas sylfan tiid.

CYNING SCEAL RICE HEALDAN

ceastra beoð feorran ge syne
orðanc enta ge weorc (þa þe on þysse eorðan syndon)
wrætlic weall stana ge weorc. wind byð on lyfte swiftust.
þunar byð þragū hludast. þrymmas syndan Cristes myccle.
wyrd byð swiðost· winter byð cealdost·
lencten hrimigost· he byð lengest ceald·
sumor sun wlitegost· swegel byð hatost·
hærfest hreð eadegost hæleðum bringeð
geres westmas þa þe him god sendeð.
soð bið swicolost·* sinc byð deorost
gold gumena ge hwam· and gomol snoterost
fyrn gearū frod se þe ær feala ge bideð.
wea bið wundrum clibbor·† wolcnu scriðað.
geongne æþeling sceolan gode ge siðas
byldan to beaduwe and to beah gife·
ellen sceal on eorle· ecg sceal wiþ hellme
hilde gebidan· hafuc sceal on glofe
wilde ge wunian· wulf sceal on bearowe·
earn an haga· eofor sceal on holte
toð mægenes trum· til sceal on eðle
domes wyrcean· daroð sceal on handa
gar golde fah· gim sceal on hringe
standan steap and geap· stream sceal on yðum
mecgan mere flode· mæst sceal on ceole
segel gyrd seomian· sweord sceal on bearme
driht lic isern· draca sceal on hlæwe
frod frætwum wlanc· fisc sceal on wætere
cynren cennan· cyning sceal on healle

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* This maxim, *Truth is most misleading*, has a strange Machiavellian look—but the virtuous rendering of Hickes, *Verus facillimè decipitur*, can by no means be admitted.

† 'clibbor,' adj. adhesive. *Woe is wonderfully clinging*. Cf. Halliwell, v. *Clibby*.

beagas dælan · bera sceal on hæðe
eald and eges full · eá of dune sceal
flod græg feran · fyrd sceal æt somne
tir fæstra ge trum · treow sceal on eorle
wisdom on were · wudu sceal on foldan
blædum blowan · beorh sceal on eorþan
grene standan · God sceal on heofenū
dæda demend · duru sceal on healle
rum recedes muð · rand sceal on scylde
fæst fingra ge beorh · fugel uppe sceal
lacan on lyfte · leax sceal on wæle
mid sceote scriðan · scur sceal on heofenū
winde ge blanden in þas woruld cuman ·
þeof sceal gangan þystrum wederum ·
þyrs sceal on fenne ge þunian *
ana innan lande · ides sceal dyrne cræfte
fæmne hire freond ge secean gif heo nelle on folce ge þeon
þ hi man beagū gebicge · brim sceal sealte weallan
lyft helm and lagu flod ymb ealra landa ge hwylc
flowan firgen streamas · feoh sceal on eorðan
tydran and tyman · tungol sceal on heofenum
beorhte scinan swa him be bead Meotud ·
god sceal wið yfele · geogoð sceal wið yldo ·
lif sceal wið deaþe · leoht sceal þið þystrum ·
fyrd wið fyrde · feond wið oðrum
lað wið laþe ymb land sacan
synne stælan. · a sceal snotor ycgean
ymb þysse worulde ge winn wearh hangian
fægere on gildan þ he ær facen dyde
manna cynne. Meotod ana wat
hwyder seo sawul sceal syððan hweorfan ·
and ealle þa gastas þe for Gode hweorfað
æft' deað dæge · domes bidað
on fæder fæðme · is seo forð ge sceaft
digol and dyrne. Dribten ana wat
nergende fæder. næni eft cymeð
hider under hrofas þe þ her
for soð mannum secge hwylc sy Meotodes ge sceaft
sige folca ge setu · þær he sylfa wunað ;

ÆR CRISTES GEFLÆscnesse &c. &c.

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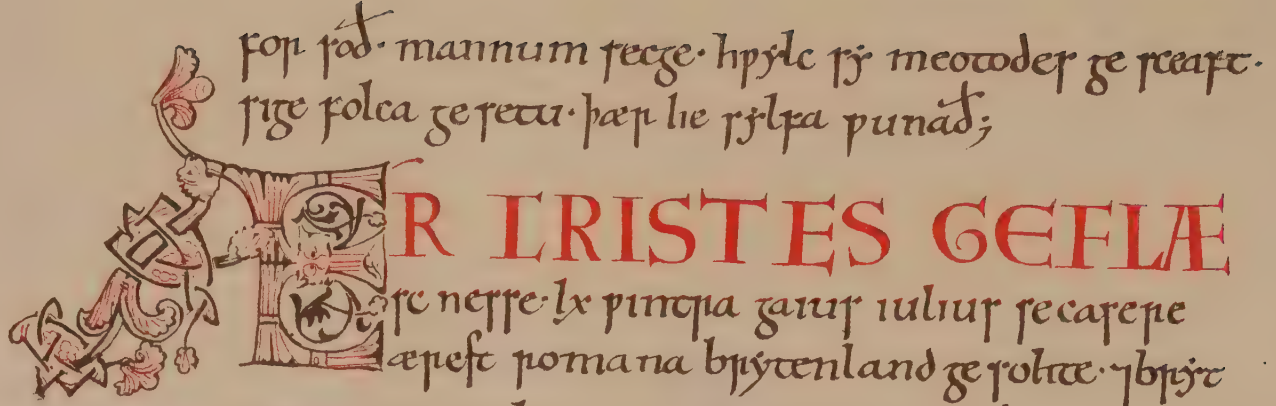
* gewunian (Hickes) weakens the sense, and destroys the alliteration.


for ðð· mannum secge· hwylc ys meotodes gescæft·
ðisse folca gesceaft· swæ hie ys swylce gesomnad;
ER CRISTES GEFLÆ
sc nesse· lx pinqia gaiuf iuliur secafere
æresc romana brytenland gesohte· ybrys
tas mid ge feohte cnyssede hiy ofer spidde· ysse ealh

*From Cottonian Ms. Tib. B. I. fol. 113$^{b}$ (Ms. C.)*

LIBRARY

The Abingdon nativity of C rests mainly on the note of Joscelin, but it may be corroborated, though not abundantly yet in some measure, by internal evidence. Both C and D (as compared with the previous Chronicles) tend to enlarge our view on the north of the Thames towards the west, in the line from Abingdon to Hereford. These two are evidently works of nearly the same date; they are one in language, style, and general complexion.

Their general similarity gives special value to the contrasts discoverable between them: an interesting illustration of their substantial agreement with verbal differences is to be seen under 1040. Some of the independent entries of C countenance its Abingdon origin. For instance, D is silent where C relates in 1044, the promotion of Siward Abbot of Abingdon to be Archbishop of Canterbury, and the election of churchwarden Eðelstan to fill the vacant Abbacy:—1047, the death of Abbot Eðelstan:—1048 Siward's return from Canterbury to Abingdon. When we find such entries as these, not appearing in the intimately related D, occurring in C just before and after the date (1046) at which the first handwriting stops, we can hardly hesitate to conclude that the book was written at Abingdon in the midst of these events. To the same effect is the evidence of the language, which is of the most ripe and polished kind, marking the culmination of Saxon Literature.

Towards the close of the first hand, we find a series of terse and spirited annals, offering some of the finest extant samples of the highly developed Saxon of the eleventh century. The annal of 1040 may be cited as a fine piece of history in small. It is full of fact and full of feeling—brief and clear—and leaves no doubt as to the sentiments and judgments of the writer. No one could have written that annal who had not a vivid remembrance of the occurrences. The like may be said of others on p. 166 sqq.

There are some vigorous annals in the Continuation between 1046 and 1056, after which the narrative is suspended until 1065. The death of Edward the Confessor is then narrated with extraordinary solemnity, and the accession of Harold is noticed in terms which imply that the catastrophe of his reign was already known. Yet his story is pursued only so far as success attended him. Halfway through the drama of 1066

our anonymous author conducts us, to the point where he leaves Harold victorious at Stamford Bridge. This Abingdon historian seems to have enjoyed some peculiar opportunity of information concerning the two great northern fights of Wednesday, Sept. 20, 1066, and the following Sunday;—possibly some Northumbrian was visiting Abingdon in his travels, and repaying their hospitality by a contribution to their historical collection.

A Northumbrian paragraph at the close of C.

One might go on to surmise, that at last he took the pen in his own hand and added the incident which closes the book. The dialect of this paragraph is not well defined, but the more salient and constant features appear to be northern. That old and strong Northumbrian feature of CT where the Anglo-Saxon spelling is HT, and which is so familiar to the readers of Beda's Church History, who never writes Beorht or Berht but *Berct*, e.g. Bercta, Berctfrid, Berctgils, Berctham, Berctred, Ædilberct, Cudberct, Erconberct, &c., as also Drycthelm, Wictgils, Wictred, Wictuarii, and many more such,—this feature is found twice in the strange addition to C, without a single case of HT. There is *micte* for mihte, and *nactes* for nahtes. The (so early) examples of CH as *gerechen, chinge, michel;* the forms *seite, þurustang*, and, not least, the Norsk word *brunie*, seem all to indicate a northern penman.

There are a few marginal annotations in C, in a handwriting of the sixteenth century, chiefly in the way of identifying localities. They are the work of a hand whom it would be interesting to discover. The first of the series occurs at 457, and the note on that annal will indicate where the others are to be found.

In 976 there is an isolated little annal, of a great famine, unnoticed in any other Saxon Chronicle: but not overlooked by Florence. Another annal peculiar to C is that dated 1039 (p. 166 of this Edition), where the Welsh part of the entry seems to answer to what we read in *Annales Cambriæ* under the same date.

The relations between C and D are sometimes so intimate, as almost to suggest that the one may have been actually on the table at which the other was written. Such a solecism as that in 992, where three verbs stand in unbroken series, would

not survive many transcriptions. Both C and D have "sceoldon cunnian meahton hi"=*should try whether they could* &c. —but E (who gives the passage almost word for word with C and D) varies at this place and writes "gif hi muhton."

There is no apparent reason for assigning to C a priority over D—except the undecisive circumstance, that it closes thirteen years earlier. The body of C and D is identical, being the Chronicle which is represented in the Latin Annals of Florence of Worcester. At the same time, together with this central agreement, there is a divergence in the accretions of each. C embodies extracts from A and B, which do not appear in D. On the other hand the latter amplified his history by the incorporation of northern affairs, and became the parent of a strain of Chronicles of which E represents the fullest development.

Conclusion as to the origin of C.

While therefore it is doubtful whether the serial position of C between B and D is chronologically true, it is convenient as an expression of the relation which C bears to B on the one hand and to D on the other. I suppose then that in or about the year 1045, the community at Abingdon borrowed books from Canterbury (B) and from Worcester (D) and composed from them the present Chronicle: making use of the briefer Canterbury records for the earlier period. That this part was copied from a Canterbury book like B, is suggested by an omission of an essential clause in 877 init. which C imitates, but which is not followed by D. Another argument for the close relations between B and C is found in 902, where a premature entry of the death of Ealhswiþ, which must have originated in a blunder, appears in B and C only.

## D

*A Saxon Chronicle from the Incarnation to* A.D. 1079.

The Worcester Chronicle.

This is one of the Cotton Manuscripts in the British Museum: Cot. Tiber. B. iv. It is described by Wanley, p. 220; by Hardy, p. 657. It is written in the same hand to A.D. 1016, after which it exhibits varieties of penmanship, which are but faintly distinguishable.

This manuscript was called by Josselin *Chronicon Wigorniæ:*

and there is internal evidence to confirm this designation. Many of its marks of locality are common to it with C—and accordingly much that might belong here has been anticipated.

It remains to fix our attention on that which signalizes this Chronicle and distinguishes it from the others which have been described, but more especially from C. Here, for the first time, we find a *descriptive* Preface taking the place of the old genealogical one. But the chief distinction of this Chronicle arises from the introduction of additional materials, enlarging the field of history by digesting the Mercian and Northumbrian Annals in their relative chronological position. This amounts, as Mr. Hardy has already hinted, to the incorporation of a distinct Chronicle, or more than one, unless we suppose it to have been of a composite nature.

This element may be discerned forming a part or the whole of the annals 737, 744, 752*, 759, 760, 761, 762, 765*, 766*, 768*, 774, 776*, 777, 778*, 779, 780*, 782*, 785 (the legatine embassy from Rome is likewise found first in D), 788*, 789*, 790, 791*, 792, 793*, 794, 795*, 796, 797, 798*, 800, 802 (both these are eclipses of the moon, which appear to rest upon the northern authority), 803, 806*, at which point this source seems to stop. Here there is a large influx of material, which appears for the first time in D. The annals marked with an asterisk are *entirely* composed of new (northern) material. All this mass of particulars now flows into the series of our Chronicles for the first time, and through Florence it became the heritage of all the historians. Mr. Stubbs has supposed (*Archæological Journal*, N°. 75, p. 236 note) that this collection may owe its origin to the distinguished bishop of Worcester, Wereferth, who sate from 873 to 915. He was one of the chief literary friends and allies of King Alfred, and Asser ascribes to him the Saxon Translation of Gregory's Dialogues. The part of the Chronicles which would be specially attributable to him, are the Mercian and Northumbrian materials of the eighth century, which we can trace back to Worcester and no further, and of which Wereferth may very well have been the collector and curator. It is quite in accordance with the position of Worcester as a bishopstôl of Mercia, that the preservation of these pieces of history should be due to that monastery.

That D obtained the early or Winchester annals, direct from Winchester, and not through Canterbury or Abingdon, appears by a place in 877 where B and C both omit a clause which is necessary to the sense, and where D has the passage complete.

In the year 915, while keeping otherwise to his copy, he inserts four words [wæs Wærincwíc getimbrod and] which tell the foundation of Warwick.

In the tenth century it has the annals 925, 926, 947, 948, peculiar to itself. And in 959 it is D that first exhibits the Rime of the Reign of Edgar. At this part D begins to break away from its old companionship with A B C and to strike into a new line, in which it is followed by E F. Thus we have the trio D E F on such salient passages as 959, 973 and 979. At 983 C joins this group, and C D E go on together till about 1020, F sometimes falling in and sometimes falling out. In this combination we must look upon D as the leader.

It is worthy of observation, that certain entries (956, 1023) in which the archbishop of York is styled simply "Archbishop," are traceable to D, and may have resulted from the intimacy which existed in the tenth century between the Sees of York and Worcester. There is an interesting mark of contemporaneity in 1012. It is there said that mighty works were done at the tomb of S. Alphege in London, and eleven years later (1123) we have the narrative of his translation to Canterbury. This is told with an interest and warmth peculiar to D, and I attribute the entry of 1012 to D rather than to C, who shares it. No Chronicle except D has an entry to the year 1026.

But the part in which D assumes a strong and distinct character of its own is after 1043, and the annal 1052(1) which relates the outlawry of Godwine is the most brilliant passage of this Chronicle. In this part it has several local particulars of Western Mercia, (1049, an earthquake was felt at Worcester, Wic(?), and Derby,) and of the Welsh wars, which are peculiar to itself. More especially to be noticed in this respect are the annals 1057–1063. In one of these (1059) is the consecration of a tower at Peterborough which is omitted by E, doubtless because that tower had been destroyed in the fire of 1116. More unaccountable is the omission in E of

a fact in D, 1060, viz. that Archbishop Kinsie was buried at Peterborough. Was the site of his grave lost in the fire? When we come to the year 1066, we find D taking a distinct line from C, in that while the latter is entirely engaged with the events in the north, D is briefer about the two great fights there, and goes on to tell the Battle of Hastings, in which this Chronicle is singular, *no one of the others giving any account of this decisive battle.* The narrative is remarkable for its Saxon spirit, deploring the catastrophe as a judgment from heaven for national sin. In the thirteen years during which this Chronicle is continued below the Conquest, the matter is entirely new, that is, absent from previous Chronicles, and it has been only partially transferred to the pages of E.

Like C, this book ends with a memorandum by a strange hand in a strange dialect—only here the historical position of the event recorded is as problematical as the person of the recording historian. In this Edition it is printed in a distinct type, p. 216.

An interval in the series of Chronicles.

The gap of time between the close of this Chronicle and the commencement of that which comes next is over forty years, taken at its minimum. The latest entry of D is 1079, and the compilation of E took place, as will be shewn, in 1122. But the difference in character is far greater than this space of time would account for. The local difference must be taken into account, D being a western and E an eastern book. The compilers of E have written almost, if not entirely, in the current phraseology of their day, and their diction is quite that of the twelfth century; whereas in D, though the most important part of it was written in the eleventh century, we find little to distinguish it from the language of the tenth century, and we feel that we have to do with the preserved and cultivated diction of a cloister. But at the same time the matter of the history is not so much infected with the *spirit* of the cloister in the earlier group as in the latter.

The earlier not "monastic."

The Chronicles which have hitherto been described are so remarkably free from local colouring, that they barely afford sufficient internal evidence as to their native locality. It is more by external than by internal evidence that they are assigned to this or that monastery. At a later date, viz. in the thirteenth century, the Latin Annals acquired a strongly

monastic character, and this has led to a confused way of treating all the early Chronicles, as if there were no difference between them. When it is said, that the monkish annals ignore matters of public concern, and that their attention is confined to the interests of the house or of the order—such criticism has no place in regard to A, B, C, D. If we except a *late* entry in A (1031), we shall hardly find a sentence in which local partiality has led the record off from the high road of national history. (Thus it has been observed by Mr. Hardy that E has more notices of Abingdon than D has.) But in the Chronicles of the twelfth century the narrowing influence of the cloister begins to be felt, though they do not become monastic in the full sense in which that term is emphatically applied to the Annals of the thirteenth century.

## E

*A Saxon Chronicle from the Incarnation to* A.D. 1154.

The Peterborough Chronicle.

This is one of the Laud manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Bodl. Laud 636 (formerly, E. 80). It is described by Wanley, p. 64; by Hardy, p. 657. In many respects this is the most important of the whole series of Chronicles. It gives 75 years' history beyond any of the others; and the variety of styles renders it one of the chief luminaries of the English language before the Conquest. It is in one hand to the end of 1121. It is a book of the Abbey of Peterborough, and affords copious proof of its own origin. Its existence is probably due to a disastrous fire that occurred at Peterborough, on Friday, August 3, 1116, in which the Minster was entirely consumed and all the buildings around except the Chapter House and Dormitory; most of the town was burnt also. Probably they lost their books, and it may have been in consequence of this loss that we find a new Chronicle started in 1121. The work may have been brought down to that date under superintendence, and then have passed from the scribe into the hand of the principal, who carried the record down to the close of 1131. The work being thus divided into an Old Part and a New Part, each must have a separate examination.

§ 1. Down to the close of 892 the Old Part embodies the E. § 1.

contents of A § 1 to § 7 (except the Preface, in which E follows D), besides some additional materials. These additions are, 1. The Anglican Chronicle of the eighth century, which has been already traced in D, where it appeared for the first time; 2. A small Chronicle of Frankish kings in Latin, e.g. 769, 778, 800, 810, 812, besides a few Latin entries of English history, e.g. 890, 892; 3. Large entries (documentary or quasi-documentary) on the foundation, endowment, privileges, &c., of Peterborough Abbey: e.g. 654, 656, 675, 686, 777, 852. Some of these are not only in the diction but also plainly are conceived in the spirit of a much later age than their date purports; as in 675 (p. 38) the extravagant pretence that the Abbot of Peterborough was to be papal legate for all England.

In these inserted pieces we find a confirmation of the date of E's compilation. A comparison of these with the language of the continuation after 1121 places it beyond doubt that the work was compiled at the date where the first hand stops. At the same time the diction of the insertions cannot be said to be identical with that after 1121; for the insertions have a slovenliness all their own. I surmise that the drawing up of these instruments was committed to a separate person, who had perhaps special qualifications in that respect, and that the scribe copied his whimsical orthography with scrupulous fidelity, as it was legal documents. In the rest of the text, though the orthography is modified, it is not brought to a uniformity with the insertions, and we mostly find the phraseology of the older books preserved in a mechanical sort of a way. But now and then an alteration seems to be forced upon the compiler, where the old phrase was too obsolete to be endured: e.g. in 688, A has *and se papa hine heht Petrus*, B and C only change the archaic spelling of *heht* to *het*, but E transforms the expression into *and he him scop Petrum to name*. The contents of these insertions are worthy of their date. Under the year 656, an exemption for the Abbey from episcopal superintendence is pretended (p. 31), confirmed by pope Vitalianus (p. 33), and under 675, confirmed by pope Agatho, whose bull is recited. This, of course, is pure fiction, and a transplantation of the monkish ambition of the twelfth century back into the seventh.

§ 2. Between 892 and 991 is a very meagre century. Sometimes a few brief annals barely redeem the blank, where the older books are richest. Together with some scraps from the fuller sources is found also some additional matter, especially touching northern affairs; e. g. 921, 927, 928 (Latin), 933, 942, 949, 952, 963. A few larger pieces, e. g. The Rimes of Edgar 959 and 975, and the Elegy on king Edward 979, complete this meagre century. Into the midst of these is inserted in the diction of 1121, the restoration of Peterborough Abbey under Bp. Athelwold, 963. The fine history of Edward the Elder, and his victorious career, is utterly ignored. E. § 2.

§ 3. With 991 (the year marked by the famous name of Brihtnoð) begins a series of comparatively unbroken continuity, if we overlook the gap at 1026, 1027, and that at 1035, where are faults running through all the Chronicles. But here we observe traces of a literary motive which has not appeared in the earlier Chronicles. The compiler is not so much collecting a history as practising the art of book-making. Having a good store of records before him, he culls from this source and from that source such items as are interesting to himself, or where he has no preference he seems to take for each year quantum sufficiet. He had such a Chronicle as C, and such a Chronicle as D, for sometimes he is in verbal agreement with the one and sometimes with the other. He agrees with C in 1042, 1043, copying in the latter year a fact of merely local interest at Abingdon. And C appears to receive his first attention, the harmony between D and E being often through the medium of C. But that D was also present appears from such a case as 1020, where E has copied from D matter not found in C. In addition to C and D, however, our compiler had here the help of a chronicle which is otherwise unknown to us. From such a chronicle must that clause in 1041 have been copied, where king Edward is prayed for in terms which could only proceed from a contemporary. *Healde þa hwile þe him God unne:* May he hold it as long as God permits—a formula like *God save the King.* Other independent annals about the same date, e. g. 1031, 1032, 1043, argue the presence of such a source. The author of this unknown Chronicle must be con- E. § 3.

sidered as the speaker in the spirited record of 1048, where he feels warmly on the subject of the Dover quarrel, and is on the side of Godwine. While on the one hand E brings in new matter from sources unknown to us, and thus swells the total of the historical collection, yet on the other hand he appears as an abbreviator or excerptor of history wherever we can compare his originals. In fact we have here the earliest example of a *Flores Historiarum*. We see large and interesting matters rejected, which we are confident met the compiler's eye—e. g. the deposition of Stigand, 1042. The passages relating to Burh (Peterborough) are original and earnest, e. g. 1066, 1069; and especially the account of the ravaging of the Abbey by Hereward and his gang in 1070. This Section closes perhaps with 1075.

E. § 4. § 4. This is a Section of peculiar interest. Passing over some annals which are mere collectanea and filling up, we enter with 1083 upon the work of a vigorous and sympathetic annalist, somewhat despondent and lugubrious, and prone to the gloomy view; but one whose diction has a certain gush, and whose whole work has the unity of a genuine and original outpouring. I cannot confidently trace his hand beyond the close of 1090. His language is pathetic, sometimes even passionate. The writer was certainly an old man. Frequent are such words as *reowlic*, 1086; and on p. 220 it occurs four times. It appears already in 1083. The interjection *Eala* too, 1086; and twice on p. 220. This Section corresponds partially with that portion of the Chronicles which has been assigned* to Wulfstan, the famous Bishop of Worcester. I so far agree with that view as to feel confident that the Section is dated from Worcester, but I do not believe Wulfstan to have been the author. The way in which Wulfstan is mentioned in 1087 (p. 224 l) seems presumptive against his authorship, while it indicates some one who was conversant with him. It says: *The revered bishop Wulfstan seeing these things was greatly disturbed in his mind: for he it was who had the charge of holding the castle.*

* Dean Hook (*Archæological Journal*, March 1863) accepts this authorship on the representation of the work entitled *A Regular Dissection of the Saxon Chronicle*, 1830.

The writer uses the first person (plural) several times (p. 223 t; 1089, 1090), and in one oft-quoted place dwells on his qualification to describe the person of the Conqueror, *so as we apprehended him, who looked on him and formerly resided at his court* (p. 221 h).

In accordance with the experience claimed by this author is the extension of the horizon of observation which may here be noted; e. g. 1086, he notices Spanish affairs.

In this Section we first fall in with the modern Definite Article *the:* e. g. to þe cynerice, 1076; þe Arceb', 1085; þe oðer man — þe b'stol on Lundene, 1086. This feature demanded a passing remark; but the progress of the language as exhibited in these Chronicles is far too large a matter to be entered upon here.

Neither can we here find room to attempt so intricate and vext a subject as the Chronology of the Chronicles; but we may just note in passing that this Section seems to contain some indications of the year beginning with Lady Day. At this period the year mostly begins at Christmas, and C 1053 has been pointed out [in M. H. B. p. 118, note (3)] as a late example of beginning on March 25. But here we have in 1083 a notice of something that happened "the same year after midwinter;" and in 1085 the annal begins with the Easter Court. Of this Section let it suffice to add that it must ever reckon among the *loci classici* of history, and that it must be read in the original to be appreciated.

§ 5. The Section 1091–1121 (at the close of which the first hand comes to an end) may be distinguished from the last by its frequent use of the prepositional phrase On mang; e. g. on mang þam; on mang þisum, p. 227; on mang þison, p. 232. Though differing from the former Section in its tokens of authorship, it appears to be indebted to the same source, at least in the first half of the Section, and to represent Worcester at second-hand. Through all the modifications which it receives in passing through the hand of the Peterborough compiler, it still preserves much of the splendid Wigornian eloquence which is known to us at first-hand in Chronicle D. The compiler of E had before him a Worcester chronicle which had been carried down to 1107, and this was his chief resource while it lasted, though he had E. § 5.

others by the side of it. By comparing Florence in this part we find verbal resemblances, and where these fail, we still find identity of sequence in the paragraphs. By such tokens it plainly appears, that while Florence and E have each independent materials, yet that there is still a common element. Sometimes an original paragraph was inserted, written at Peterborough, and then we have an opportunity of seeing the contrast between English of Worcester modified at Peterborough, and the genuine English of Peterborough. The readiest illustrations of this are in 1107 and 1114, where the paragraphs about Ernulf declare their own origin, and exhibit a strong contrast of language. The closing paragraphs in 1098 and 1102 are also examples. In the former of these two the writer feels for the tilth on marsh lands as became a resident in the fens. The same may be said of the notice in 1099 of damage caused by a high flood-tide. The bulletins of seasons, crops, &c., is quite a new feature in this Section, coming in as they do with a formal regularity at or towards the close of most of the annals. Perhaps a succession of bad seasons had compelled attention to the subject. These are altogether domestic Peterborough work, on which Worcester has no claim—they are not in Florence. In 1102 we detect an omission by E, where Florence gives a *list* of the Abbots who were deposed, and among them Godric, Abbot of Burh. These paragraphs are of nearly the same style as the large insertions above noticed concerning the Abbey of Peterborough. If not so identical as to indicate the same hand, they have enough general likeness to be of the same time and place. The annal 1114 helps to confirm the *prima facie* date of the compilation of E down to 1121. It ends with an ejaculation for the welfare of Ernulf as living:—and he died in 1124. In 1106 there is a complication of dates. The account of a strange star appears to have been put on record at the time of its appearance, and then in 1122 when that memorandum was inserted in the Chronicle, a further comment was added: *Divers persons said that they in these times saw more strange stars, but we wrote it not more particularly* (openlicor), *because we did not see it ourselves.*

It is a strong feature of this Section, that as a rule each annal begins with a notice of the King's Christmas Court,

those of Easter and Whitsuntide being sometimes added. It is worthy of notice that there are three expressions for Christmas, and that the preposition which goes with them is always "to." Thus: to mide wintra—to Cristes mæssan—to Natiuiteð. There is no doubt here at what season the year begins. At the same time however that the year begins at Christmas, we find (1096) January 1, after the old Roman Calendar, spoken of as *geares dæg*, i. e. Year's Day, *Jour de l'An*. None of these Curial *Fasti* are in Florence.

§ 6. Comprising 1122–1131. This is probably the continuation of the Peterborough interpolator or of his *collaborateur*. At any rate, this appears to be ten years of genuine Peterborough chronicling. Here therefore we consider that E is for the first time standing on its own ground. The date 1122 seems to have been recognised at Peterborough as the beginning of a new local era. The *Chronicon Petroburgense* (printed by the Camden Society, Ed. Stapleton) begins at 1122; though the main business of that book, viz. the administration of Abbot Robert de London, dates from 1274. E. § 6.

With this Section that provincial diction and orthography which has appeared hitherto only at intervals, becomes prevalent. The king's name is generally spelt *Heanri*; and many other words shew *ea* contrary to the usual orthography. Examples: *weas, wearen, forbearnde, hwear, ðear, seagon, Gleastingbyrig, geamene, heafde, beteahte, heafdon*, 1101. Such forms are rarely found in the earlier parts: e. g. *streangðe, heafde*. Other novelties in spelling are *Norhtwic, Norhthamtune, burch* 1122, *Burch* 1124. That this would have been considered negligent English by many even at that time we may see by the hand of a corrector that has been at work in one or two places. Thus on p. 252 he has corrected *heftninge* to the literary form *heftnunge*, and he has supplied a *was*, indicating that *weas* or even *wæs* was not according to approved orthography. There are in this Section three allusions to portions of the Liturgy (1122, 1127, 1131), of which the opening words are cited. Notices of the physical condition of the people grow more explicit, and towards the close of the Section ejaculations thicken. There is every appearance that the writing of these

annals followed close upon the events. For example, the closing words of 1127 indicate that the ejection of Abbot Henri, which took place in 1132, was at the date of writing yet future.

E. § 7. § 7. The last Continuation, 1132–1154, is also undoubtedly a domestic composition of Peterborough. Written twenty-five years later, it measures the decadence of the language at the self-same spot, and shews what it had become after transmission to a succeeding generation, the latest that ever wrote history in Englisc.

In this Section, among other modernisms, we may note that *th* is common, as a substitute for the old ð or the older þ. Some letters have changed their forms, especially r, which is no longer written ꝛ, but with a nearer approach to our modern r, and becoming withal so like ſ, the character used in Saxon writing for s, that it misled Gibson to edit *rachenteges* as *sachenteges*, of which word he notes, *Quæ sit hujus vocabuli significatio videant alii.*

The manuscript of this Chronicle (E) has been described by Mr. Hardy as ending in a mutilated state; and Wanley seems to convey the same idea by saying *abruptè desinit Codex.* Certainly the manuscript gives this impression at first sight; indeed it requires a minute and patient examination to discover the fact that there is no mutilation. The last page appears to have been long exposed to accidents without a cover, and it has been so rubbed that its contents are but partially and faintly legible. Dr. Ingram went far astray in reading it, and his interpretation of the closing annal was one of the most fanciful things that the study of these Chronicles has ever engendered. But it will be seen by the text here presented that it has been nearly all made out, and that the last clause was a pious commendation of the new Abbot, and that it terminates formally with a triangular punctuation. The italics are not conjectures, but copied from the MS. with much difficulty, and consequently *some* uncertainty. But I believe I have not printed (without brackets) a single letter which I have not seen. When in doubt, I tested my reading by referring to my ever-ready friend, the Rev. Henry Octavius Coxe, now Bodleian Librarian. Those only are conjectures which are enclosed in brackets.

This Chronicle appropriately ends with a local record, as with a keynote. The pervading spirit of the work is local, as that of the former four is national. The old chronicles are made use of chiefly as a setting for the Annals of Peterborough, and it is sensibly felt throughout that the reader is rapidly approaching the time when their cloister was to be all the world to the English monks. Political news is entered merely as matter of curiosity, and as a contribution to domestic entertainment. The generous forward and onward movement which enlivens the first group is here replaced by a backward and retrospective lingering, animated by no stronger passion than the desire to save a few scraps out of the general wreck. Both E and F are scrap-books of History, and they belong to that class of compositions which attained its full development in the Latin *Flores Historiarum*.

Our present manuscript was probably one of the very last vernacular histories written in England, and almost certainly the last ever compiled in Peterborough Abbey. From this time they adopted the Latin, and produced many chronicles in that language. The collection in Sparke's folio *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores* are mostly works of Peterborough extraction, and give Peterborough a prominent place. Hugo Candidus appears to have made use of this Chronicle (E), from which he took the past history and rights of the Abbey, amplifying it rather in treatment than in substance. In his first sentences he declares that he wrote nothing *de suo proprio*, but that he had found it all in old Histories.

The Laud MS. has a considerable number of blunders in it which all Editors have uniformly corrected. But over and above these there are a certain number of cases in which it may be doubtful whether we have an error or a provincial peculiarity. My rule has been in doubtful cases to keep to the reading of the MS. A very common instance is *d* for ð, and reversely. I believe I have retained the reading of the MS. in such cases more frequently than any other editor; and if I had the text to print again, with eight years more experience, I should probably change still less.

The two Chronicles which remain to be noticed need not occupy us long. They are both of Canterbury, and both of minor value, but in other respects very dissimilar.

## F

*A Saxon and Latin Chronicle from the Incarnation to* A.D. 1058.

A bilingual Chronicle of Canterbury.

This is one of the Cotton manuscripts in the British Museum; Cott. Domitian A. viii. It is described by Wanley, p. 220; by Hardy, p. 660. This is the "Cod. Cotton" of Gibson. It is in one hand throughout, and that a feeble shambling one, not unlike the late interpolator (*a*) in A. A good place for identifying these two *litterateurs* is 943, where the text of F fits in exactly to supply a mutilation in *a*. It must be ascribed to the twelfth century; its abrupt ending at 1058 affords no token of date. It marks by its bilingual arrangement the transition period from the use of the vernacular to the use of the Latin in English history. There is no external tradition informing us to what home it belonged, but the internal evidence assigns it to Christ Church, Canterbury.

The matter which is peculiar to it belongs to Kentish ecclesiastical history, and the first piece is a narrative of the Council of Baccancelde at which Wihtred king of Kent presided, in 694. In 784 his Latin gives a curious double interpretation of the HER with which the Saxon Annals begin: 784 *Hic tunc temporis* fuit in Cantia rex Ealhmundus. In 1006, it shews a very characterizing lection, *prutne here and uneargne*, where C D E have *rancne* here and unearhne. This is probably the oldest example of the French *Prud* used in our modern sense of *Proud:* and it seems to imply an advanced decade of the twelfth century. Some of the entries are only in Latin. One of these is Cnut's grant of the port-dues of Sandwich to Christ Church, of which A's account (1031) is mutilated. This whole Chronicle bears a literary affinity to § 11 of A, which we have traced to the Cathedral Minster at Canterbury, and we have yet to notice another book which issued (but earlier than F) from the same *Scriptorium*.

## G

*A Saxon Chronicle from Julius Cæsar to* A.D. 1001.

A Canterbury Edition of the Winchester Chronicle.

This is one of the Cotton manuscripts in the British Museum, marked Otho, B. xi. It is noticed in Wanley, p. 219; and described by Mr. Hardy, p. 654. This volume was supposed to have entirely perished in the fire of 1731 that destroyed much of the Cottonian Library then at Westminster. But three leaves, including annals from 837 to 871, have been recovered, and a facsimile of one of them is given in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*. The handwriting is of the eleventh century and is most like that of Chronicle B. It also resembles that of the manuscript of Beowulf. In matter, it is simply a copy (without extra insertions) of § 1—§ 10 of Chronicle A, and made probably before A contained any subsequent additions. Happily, this manuscript had been printed by Wheloc, whose edition is now our authority for most of this text. No other copy could have been spared with less damage, because no other had been edited without intermixture of texts. Among Usher's Collections in Dublin, there is a transcript by Lambard, "apparently," says Mr. Hardy, "of this MS."

Seeing the close resemblance of this manuscript to A, and the fact that its antiquity is not clearly inferior to that of any manuscript except A, I was dissatisfied with the notation G, and I have sometimes designated it as A, a more modern form of A. The sign G wrongs this copy in point of date in placing it at the end of the series—while on the other hand it fails to represent the fact that it now rests on an *Edition* and not on manuscript authority. The sign A as being a shadow of A, or the sign W, the initial of Wheloc, which Mr. Thorpe has adopted, expresses this better. There is this objection to Mr. Thorpe's notation, that we lose the means of indicating the manuscript independently of the edition.

This edition is really a servile reproduction of A, with nothing original but its spelling. It seems to have been made from A in the eleventh century at Christ Church (Canterbury) at the time they received A from Winchester, and before they had made any of the later or Kentish additions to A. Had we not possessed A itself, this copy would have

been highly esteemed. The following are some of its variations in spelling:

| A | G (A) |
|---|---|
| Creoding. Creoda | Cryding. Cryda 626 |
| þeode | þiode 627 |
| huerf | hwerf 633 |
| Eadwig | Eadwic |
| cyning | cyninc |
| þonces | ðonȝes |
| belocen hæfdon | belogene wæron 755 |
| Beorhtric | Byrhtric 784 |
| Wiferþ | Wiverþ |
| sige | syge 800 |
| scire | scyre 851 |
| ridon hie þider | rydon hy ðyder |
| hieran | hyran 897 |
| hierdon | hyrdon |
| gehierdun | gehyrdun |
| Sigulf | Siwulf 905 |
| hira } | { heora |
| hiera } | { hiora |

It prefers the ð to the þ, the *y* to the *i* (also for *eo*)—but its chief novelties are in the gutturals: e. g. Wicganbeorche 851, doctor (=dohtor) 853.

One thing that distinctly classes G (A) with the elder group A B C D, and distinguishes it from the younger group E F *a*, is its keeping the old genealogies.

The handwriting exhibits that peculiar *y* which is a prominent feature in the calligraphy of A, and which may be seen in the facsimiles. See *Monumenta Historica Britannica* for a specimen from the earlier annals, and Mr. Thorpe's edition for an extract from the tenth century.

Supposed traces of other Saxon Chronicles.

The known copies of Saxon Chronicles having now been described, it remains to consider what likelihood there is that more copies may yet be discovered, or whether there are any traces or notices in literature which justify such an expectation. For there have been surmisings of the kind in more quarters than one. Dr. Ingram supposed that the "Hist. Petrob." referred to as the authority of certain collations in D, indicated a Chronicle which we do not now possess. But a

comparison of these readings with the text of E will demonstrate that no other book is meant, but E itself, which has so just a title to be called a Peterborough History. A more promising trace seemed to be indicated in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica* (Pref. p. 77 note), where, as a hint to future enquirers, is quoted a note of Dr. Brett's citing Dom Ruinart's *Life of Pope Urban* for the fact that there was in his time a manuscript Saxon Chronicle in the Abbey of S. Germains des Prés. During the French Revolution, the manuscripts of the Abbey of S. Germains that had not already been stolen were removed into the Bibliothèque Imperiale, and my valued friend M. le Vicomte de la Villemarqué made, at my request, the most careful search and enquiry to see if any such a Saxon Chronicle could there be found. He identified the passage in Dom Ruinart, which is as follows; "Nusquam legitur quot vel qui episcopi ei [synodo] interfuerint, nisi quod in veteri chronico Saxonico quod Mˢ. habemus, dicatur Henricus in ea Synodo à ducentis ferè patribus communione ecclesiastica privatus fuisse." What manner of book was indicated by this vague expression, whether vernacular or Latin, insular or continental, was uncertain, and the doubt would still have existed to tantalize the enquirer, had not my indefatigable friend a second time renewed the search, and succeeded in identifying the volume in the Manuscript Department of the Bibliothèque Imperiale. It is marked S. G. P. [S. Germains des Prés] Nº. 440, and is entitled *Chronicon Saxonicon*, but its second title and that which indicates its real character, is *Chronicon Magdeburgense* ab anno Dni 741 ad annum 1139. It is in Latin, and has been published in the Collections of Dom Bouquet and of Pertz.

Gradual oblivion of Saxon History.

We proceed next to trace the course of Saxon history as emanating from these Chronicles, and embodied by the earliest Latin Annalists, and then to observe how it gradually fell into neglect, until the Revival of Literature again drew attention to the originals, and a reconstruction of our early history has been the consequence.

The Biography of Alfred which is attributed rightly or wrongly to Asser, has embodied the whole contents of the Chronicle from 851 to 887, with other matter; and it is no easy problem to solve in what relation these Latin annals

stand to our Saxon text. In some parts the Latin is the more ample (e. g. 853), and one might incline to think the Saxon a vernacular abridgment of the Latin original. Reversely in 855, the Latin wears the aspect of a translation many removes apart from the original Saxon, the sense of which is at once amplified and corrupted. But the whole question is surrounded with difficulties, and it does not appear to me to find a solution in Mr. T. Wright's rejection of the authenticity. No theory of the authorship and date of the work has ever been proposed which on the whole meets the facts of the case better than that set forth in the book itself, that it was written in 893. And I consider the fact of the coincidence with A ending so early as 887, at a place where we have independent reasons for declaring a natural break (see above, A § 7) in the Saxon Chronicle, is strongly in favour of the truthfulness of the professed date.

The Latin Chronicle of Ethelweard.

But the first comprehensive Latin work founded on the Saxon Chronicles is that which bears the magnificent name of **Patricius Consul Fabius Quæstor Ethelwerdus.**

The best judges* seem to agree in identifying the chronicler Æthelweard, with that 'Ealdorman Ethelwerd' to whom Ælfric addressed certain of his works, and likewise with Æðelward ealdorman who was sent in 994 to Anlaf at Southampton. Possibly he is also the same with the 'Æthelwerd Dux' who signs charters 976–998.

Æthelweard's Chronicle closes with the last year of Eadgar's reign. That it is in the main a translation of vernacular Chronicles cannot be doubted. The close resemblance which it bears to some which we now possess, especially (as Mr. Stevenson says) to A, leaves no room for speculation as to whence Æthelweard obtained the main body of his material. The only uncertainty in regard to his work is, how much of *that which is peculiar to his Chronicle* was found in the Saxon Chronicle which he used—in other words, how far we may assume the existence at the close of the tenth century of a Saxon Chronicle or Chronicles like the Latin Chronicle of Æthelweard. It is quite conceivable that with his

* So Mr. Hardy and Mr. Riley; the latter in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, July, 1857—an article to which I am under obligations in this Section.

noble connections and high public offices he might have had access to occasional gleanings of new information, and thus he may possibly have been not merely a translator—the most monstrously absurd of all pedantic translators—but in some little measure an original chronicler and an enricher of the stores of history. Provoking and irritating as this writer's manner is, we cannot but prize highly the possession of his work. He is the only Latin Chronicler that breaks the vast blank from Asser to Florence, a space of two centuries—his faults illustrate while they caricature the culture of his time — and his mistakes afford the best light to shew us what originals he was working from. It is specially in this aspect that he claims attention here, and therefore a few particulars shall be given of the information which is peculiar to him, and also of the passages in which he discovers an acquaintance with our Saxon Chronicles.

Describing the Saxon people somewhat after the manner of E 449, he adds: Porro Anglia Vetus sita est inter Saxones et Giotos, habens oppidum capitale, quod sermone Saxonico Slesuuic nuncupatur, secundum vero Danos, Haitheby. Ideoque Britannia nunc Anglia appellatur, assumens nomen victorum.

500. Sexto etiam anno adventus eorum (i. e. of Cerdic and Cynric) occidentalem circumierunt Britanniæ partem, quæ nunc Uuest-Sexe nuncupatur.

519. The battle of Cerdicesford, where Cerdic and Cynric conquered the Britains and from which dates the rise of the kingdom of Wessex, is described as being "in fluvio Avené"—which Mr. Riley considers decisive for Charford on the Avon, Hants.

658–661. Here are two errors which might hardly be worthy of more notice than that bestowed by the Editors of M H B, "Hallucinatus est Ethelwerdus;" he was clearly half asleep when he translated "æt Peonnum," i. e. *at Pen,* into Latin by the words "et Pionna,"—thus "Cenmeath et Pionna reges, &c.," thus transforming Pen from a battlefield into a king. The other case is also that of mere inattention, where he has rendered the two words "gehergeade Wulfhere" as if Wulfhere were the object instead of the subject of

the verb. But we have this interesting result, that by finding the cause of his errors in our extant Saxon text we obtain a demonstration of the fact that Æthelweard was translating Saxon Chronicles, and those so far identical with our own.

710. Here the translator makes the Cornish king Gerent to be called "Uuthgirete," because his Saxon said that Ine and Nun fought "wiþ Gerent," i.e. against Gerent; he blending the preposition with the name, says, "Nunna et Ine reges bellum gesserunt contra Uuthgirēte."

787. The passage about the first arrival of the Danes is quoted in the Notes to this date.

823. Of the slain at Ellendun: "et Hun ibi occiditur dux provinciæ Sumorsæton; requiescitque nunc in urbe Uuintana."

855. After Æþelwulf's pedigree (in which Bældæg is called **Balder**), he gives a peculiar legend of Scef: "Ipse Scef cum uno dromone advectus est in insula oceani quæ dicitur Scani, armis circundatus, eratque valde recens puer, et ab incolis illius terræ ignotus; attamen ab eis suscipitur, et ut familiarem diligenti animo eum custodierunt, et post in regem eligunt; de cujus prosapia ordinem trahit Athulf rex."

867. "in eodem anno migravit Eanulf dux provinciæ Sumersetun," . . . . (and presently his burial) . . . . "ducis quippe supradicti in cœnobio quod Glastingabyrig nuncupatur."

870. The burial of Edmund king of E. Anglia at Bury St. Edmunds: "cujus corpus jacet mausoleatum in loco qui Beadoricesuuyrthe nuncupatur."

871. He tells a strange story of Æþelwulf aldorman, who fell at Reading: "Corpus quippe supradicti ducis abstrahitur furtim, adduciturque in Merciorum provinciam, in locum qui Northworthige nuncupatur, juxta autem Danaam linguam Deoraby." But we cannot credit extraordinary tales in a writer who is capable of such a blunder as that which follows.

876. Et in ipsius anni decursu, exercitus qui in Grantanbricge fuerat, **conjecit statum communem cum occidentali exercitu, quod ante non usi sunt,** juxta oppidum quod Vuerham nuncupatur, depopulataque est ab eis pars major provinciæ illius. Quinetiam rex pactum cum eis pacis confirmat, **simulque pecuniam dando.** Unlike as this is to the present Saxon texts, it is plain that Æthelweard had our Saxon text before him. The clauses peculiar to him are here printed in thick type, and indeed they are most peculiar and extraordinary. He makes the army at Cambridge to join in *common quarters* (statum communem) with the *western army*, a thing which has no existence at all. Yet this *community of encampment* and that visionary *western army* are both extracted out of the genuine Saxon text. He manifestly understood "bestæl" in the sense of "installing;" making the same mistake (inversely) as that which has been made about the word "stælwyrðe," (p. 94, and see note). Hence his "conjecit statum communem!" Then the western army—"cum occidentali exercitu,"—is a substitution for the opposite party, viz. *the West-Saxon militia*, "Wessexena fierde!" After this, we need hardly trouble ourselves to search for the original of his next special piece of information—that Alfred bought and paid for the treaty! A thing so incongruous to the whole tenor of events must come through better hands than Æthelweard's before we need concern ourselves about it.

The Latin Chronicle of Florence of Worcester.

But the Annalist who was the most vigorous of all the Latin compilers, and who more than any other embodied the Saxon Chronicles into his work, was **Florence of Worcester.** He died in 1118, four years before the compilation of E, and his last annal is 1117. But the first Continuator who carries his Chronicle on to 1141 goes over the ground occupied by those subsequent annals which are the special property of E. The narrative of Florence may often be identified with the Saxon Chronicle, more especially with D (for the early part), whose words are sometimes rendered into strange forms of

Florence of Worcester.

Latin, as in 1052 (1051) where the *micel unræd* of D is Latinized into *magnum insilium*. The intimacy between Florence and D is another proof of the Worcester nativity of the latter. For the period after 1079, where our D ceases, Florence must certainly have had by him a continuation of that same Chronicle (now lost), which continuation was excerpted from by the compiler of E. There seems no other way of explaining the result of a comparison between Florence and the only Saxon Chronicle (E) which here remains to be compared. Florence appears to give the whole Chronicle of which E presents selections. Thus the death of Wulfstan, which is told in Florence with the utmost pomp, is omitted in E. On the other hand the great passage of E (1085 sqq.) which has been called "The Annals of Wulfstan" are not found in Florence—a thing quite unlikely had they really been Wulfstan's. After the date of 1107 the affinity with Florence disappears. Subsequent historians followed Florence, and the narrative of E from 1107 to 1154 remained unknown to history until modern times.

A good illustration of the wide interval between the early Saxon Chronicles and Florence is supplied in 901, the account of the death of Alfred. There is in the original all the simplicity of a contemporary bulletin, but in Florence is seen the magnifying effect of two centuries of posthumous fame. It is for the sake of this contrast that the parallel passage of Florence is given opposite to A 901 (p. 97).

There is often an amplification of language in the Latin annalists which might seem at first sight to point to a fuller record than these Saxon originals, when it is really no more than a rhetorical expansion. The following parallel furnishes only an ordinary example :—

| D 827. | Florence 827. |
| --- | --- |
| and se Ecgbryht lædde fyrde to Dore wiþ Norðhymbre · and hi him þær eadmedo budon and geþwærnysse · and hi on þam to hwurfon. | Deinde suam movit expeditionem ultra Humbræ flumen; cui Northymbrenses, in loco qui Dore vocatur, occurrentes pacificè, ei concordiam humilemque subjectionem obtulere; et sic ab invicem divisi sunt *magna mentis alacritate.* |

There are, however, important additions in Florence, both such as might be expected from his seeing Chronicles lost to us, and also observations and reflections such as contemporary writers were not in a position to make. Thus in 1007, where all the Saxon Chronicles merely notice in the fewest words the appointment of Eadric as ealdorman of Mercia, Florence draws his character and gives enough of his pedigree to exhibit the degree of kin in which Earl Godwine stood to him. Florence of Worcester.

Where, however, the Saxon is unintelligible, and we expect light from early Latin translators, there it is rare to get it. They seem to have felt the same difficulties as we do. Thus in the next annal to that last noticed, viz. in 1008, where there is much obscurity, we find in Florence nothing but a bald verbal translation, and we only learn from it that he had the same Saxon before him as we have, and could make no more of it than we can.

**Simeon of Durham** need only be noticed here with reference to the first of the two Chronicles that go by his name. Into this composition the Saxon Chronicles do not largely enter—but he produces between 735 and 802 materials from some Northern chronicles or registers that we have no other trace of.

**Henry of Huntingdon** was wanting in some of the chief qualities which make a historian, but he was richly endowed with those of secondary rank. He was a bad chronographer, and not jealous of inaccuracy; but he delighted in graphic narration and he had a poetical love for antiquity. He was an amateur and an antiquarian. To him we owe the earliest mention of Stonehenge. He had a great fondness for the old Saxon Chronicles, which in his day were already something curious and out of date, although his Annals close at the same date as E, viz. 1154. He does not decline to notice the old genealogies, leading up to Woden or higher, and which the enlightened of his day affected to despise. Nay, it is in that twilight of history, where the Saxon Chronicle is of most dubious authenticity, that he has poured out the wealth of his historical rhetoric, imitated from Orosius and perhaps some historians of the classic age. Thus in 508 he has expanded two lines into a circumstantial battle-field occupying a considerable paragraph. In 514 we have another example of fictitious The Latin Chronicle of Henry of Huntingdon.

Henry of Huntingdon.

ornament, only here he draws not upon his classic studies, but upon his memories of old native poetry, which are far more entertaining. On the whole it may be said that not one of the early Chroniclers shews so much of the Englishman, and none grounded his work so entirely on Saxon Chronicles.

He is the only one who has attempted a Latin version of the old Saxon ballads. His translation has been quoted on page 113 opposite to the old Song of the Battle of Brunanburh, and it may readily be seen how the old poetic Englisc puzzled him. He was forty or fifty years junior to Florence, and in the twelfth century this interval made a great difference in the transition of the language. Florence rendered the short annal of 671 *Hær wæs þæt micle fugla wæl* thus, *Avium strages facta est permaxima*, but Henry of Huntingdon by *Maxima pugna volucrum in Anglia:* and he goes on to confirm the credibility of such an event by averring that a battle of the birds had happened at Rouen in his own day, that thousands were slain, and that the foreign birds took to flight. It cannot be said that the word *wæl* excludes this interpretation; it is in fact just as dubious as Florence's Latin *strages*, who seems to have exercised a sort of economy in adopting this exact verbal rendering. Roger of Wendover took the Battle of the Birds for his *Flores Historiarum*, using the phraseology of Henry of Huntingdon, except that the *millia occisa* became *multa* millia occisa.

Henry of Huntingdon has the appearance of special knowledge in two or three places concerning the kingdom of Kent at the crisis of its fate, when it was about to be merged in the growing power of Mercia. Lappenberg gives him credit for it (*Geschichte*, vol. i. p. 233), but on examination it comes to nothing in every case but one. That one is considered in my note A. D. 785.

On the year 1006 I cannot forbear to notice a rendering which has both surprised and gratified me. I have ventured, in a note on this annal, to paraphrase what appeared to me to be the feeling conveyed in the words *to heora garwan feorme*, and which I imagined no one had pointed out. Florence neglects it, and I had overlooked Henry of Huntingdon who has given it admirably: *Quocumque autem pergebant, quæ parata erant hilariter comedentes, cum discederent in retribu-*

*tionem procurationis reddebant hospiti cædem hospitio flammam.* Henry of Huntingdon.

In the year 1008 we have a specimen of his antiquarianism, in the definition, which he has added, of a 'Hide': *Hida autem Anglicè vocatur terra unius aratri culturæ sufficiens per annum.*

Again in 1011, the Sack of Canterbury, we see that he had before him the old Elegy *Wæs ðæ ræpling* &c. (C D E), which we cannot trace in the lamentations of Florence.

These are the Latin Annalists of the first rank after the Saxon Chronicles, and these became the new medium of the old Saxon history. We perceive in reading their pages, and in Henry more than any other, that Saxon Literature is already a thing of the past. If we had not been able to look as it were through their eyes at the Saxon Chronicles, we could not have discovered how antiquated they had become in the twelfth century. Already in 1154, where Henry and E alike end, the country had gone far in that transition which made Saxon a dead language. The continuation of E down to a date which enables it to close abreast of Henry, is a peculiarity and must be regarded as a mark of special attachment to the old neglected vernacular. In those days of local isolation there were many places in which a fashion or a sentiment might hold out as in a stronghold against a prevalent disposition for change. Nor is it perhaps altogether foreign to remark, that this specimen of a Saxon Chronicle which overlived its day, comes to us from that part of England which has the credit of having stood out longest for Saxon independence. Neglect of Saxon Literature.

William of Malmesbury comes after Henry of Huntingdon, not as a matter of dates, but as belonging to a new class of writers. He aimed at being a historian of a higher order, at *grouping* his history, and making it more instructive and entertaining. To a certain extent he succeeded: but he too utterly slighted the office of the chronographer. The further history departs in form from the Chronicle, the more necessary is it that the historian should be strong in his chronographic elements. Malmesbury was not so—he sometimes inverts the order of events. His main idea was entertainment, and for that purpose he embodied materials not only from Chronicles and other sources properly historical, but also took the attrac- William of Malmesbury.

tive stories out of the hagiographies. He does not, like Wendover, adopt a title which avowedly sets forth this intention; but history was now moving altogether in the direction of *Flores Historiarum* or Elegant Extracts out of History-books.

As Malmesbury used a variety of sources for English History, and as he moreover worked in a good deal of contemporary foreign history occasionally, and all this without making his work much more bulky than that of Florence—it follows manifestly that he had less room to spare for the Saxon Chronicles, of which large portions were now dropped out of history, not again to be taken up, until modern times. For Malmesbury's work carried with it a *prestige of finality*,—and it was long before any one reopened the sources from whence he had drawn. Thus it came to pass, that with the growing mass of ever-accumulating materials of history, the later having always preference over the earlier, the Saxon period shrunk up into the smallest compass and no one ever attempted to reconstruct it. The work of Matthew of Westminster two centuries later, was the next history that obtained a wide circulation—but it was, as its title bears, a *Flores Historiarum*. When English history had been for three centuries and more in the hands of these Latin historians, and when the mother tongue begins again to appear in history, Saxon history had almost vanished. What place it held in the view of the historians of the fifteenth century we may judge from Capgrave's *Chronicle of England*. The Provincial of the Austin Friars composed this work in his old age for his own particular use, as a mnemonic of history. Here is his own account of it: *Now is age com, and I want ny al that ſchuld longe to a ſtudier; yet it pleaſed me, as for a ſolace, to gader a ſchort remembrauns of elde ſtories, that whanne I loke upon hem, and have a ſchort touch of the writing, I can ſone dilate the circumſtaunſes.* It is instructive to note how little Saxon history was appreciated by this diligent student and voluminous writer, one of the most learned men of his time. His Chronicle is busied about Popes and Emperors and Sarasines, &c., insomuch that his Saxon ancestors never get mentioned till 701. Then he produces "the Heptarchy" complete: *And undir this Pope too Kyngis of Ynglond went to*

*Rome, and were mad there monkis; and this was aftir the Brutes blood was oute of the lond, for than was the lond divided in to vii kyngdammes.*

*And ye fchal undirftand that this divifion began in the firft coming of Saxones, whech was in the 3ere of oure Lord* 455. *And here we will expreſse the vii regiones, who* [how] *thei were departed in this lond.*

*The firft kyngdam was in Kent, where the firft Kyng was Hengift, &c.*

After an interval which fills ten octavo pages we have another notice of Saxon history, under 855, as follows:—

*In this tyme the Danes aryved into Ynglond, with too curfed captaynes, Hingwar and Hubba. Thei diftroyed the cuntre, and killid the glorious Kyng Edmund, firft with fchot of arowis, and then fmete of his heed.*

The history of King Alfred is disposed of in the following lines:—

*In this tyme regned Alured in Ynglond, the fourt son of Adelwold. He began to regn in the 3ere of our Lord DCCCLXXII. This man, be the counceile of Seint Ned, mad an open Scole of divers fciens at Oxenford. He had many batailes with Danes; and aftir many conflictes in which he had the wers, at the laſt he overcam hem; and be his trety Godrus here Kyng was baptized, and went hom with his puple. XXVIII 3ere he regned, and deied the servaunt of God.*

These illustrations will serve to shew to what a state of inanition Saxon history was reduced in the fifteenth century. Few only of the historical names are known, and these are handled with a strangeness suitable only to phantoms like Cophetua, Moelmud, and Pharamund. There is a semi-mythical air over the feeble narrative, which might have developed into a downright myth, but for lack of interest.

The 'Heptarchy' itself is a real myth, a thing which no writer could have propagated, but under the favouring shadow of general ignorance. In short, Saxon history was lost and forgotten. It has been admirably observed by Lappenberg, that the splendour of the Norman aristocracy extinguished the memory of Saxon times, and that Shakspeare, whose genius found materials in all lands, and in all ages of European

history; who took Macbeth from the Scots, and Hamlet from the Danes, and even went to the British legends for his Lear; that he, who spoke and who incomparably adorned the language of his Saxon ancestors, found in the rich treasures of their history no subject on which he thought he could secure attention. The first steps towards a revival of this ancient domestic history had been made before Shakspeare's time, but the public was not yet affected by them. So great was the indifference to a history which was all but utterly forgotten, that we can only wonder that even a few Chronicles survived the confusion of the Dissolution of the Monasteries when such stores of ancient manuscripts perished. Had not the curiosity of a few learned men saved our Saxon Chronicles from the fate of waste parchment, what would have been our condition with reference to Saxon History? We should have been in almost as great uncertainty about it as we are about the ancient British annals. Had there not been a great literary revival in time to rescue the Saxon Chronicles, and to bring forth into new light the neglected early annalists who were the immediate representatives of the Saxon Chroniclers, we should have had to ground our Saxon history on such authors as Matthew of Westminster, or at best, on William of Malmesbury. And when criticism had sifted his work of the romantic element, the poor residuum of history would have laboured under the gravest doubt by reason of its close intermixture with so much that was legendary. Again, even if the first row of Latiners had been recovered, Florence, Simeon, and Henry, and our ultimate resource had been to correct them by each other, there would still have remained a great cloud of uncertainty. Being quite in the dark as to the nature and degree of excellence of the older Chronicles which they must have used, we should certainly have presumed that they were very far inferior to what we now perceive them to be, and the whole of our early history would have lost its foundation and its credentials. The very analogy of contemporary vernacular literature, the best argument in the absence of testimony direct, would have misled us into a contemptuous undervaluing of the lost originals from which Florence and his co-ordinates worked. The Saxon Chronicles which we possess are the guarantees of the truth and fidelity of the subsequent his-

torians, and the changeful mother tongue gives that touch of confidence which the fixed and rigid Latin, much the same everywhere, could never have imparted.

It is possible that there were parts of England still, where in some remote cloister the old historical literature was not wholly neglected. Some faint sound has been heard of the Saxon studies of the Abbey of Tavistock. And there is reason to think that this was the case to a comparatively late period at Peterborough. It will be seen from some marginal writing which has been printed in this Edition, that the Peterborough Chronicle continued to be read in the fourteenth century. These side notes are given sometimes in black letter, as on pp. 37, 38, 67, 121, 123, 131, 249, 253, 255, &c., and occasionally in facsimile, as on pp. 39, 121.

Among the names that are eminent as the appreciators and conservers of these old chronicles, are Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury (b. 1504, d. 1575), and Joscelin his Secretary; Sir Robert Cotton; William Lambard, the Kentish Topographer; Camden, the father of British archæology; and half a century later, Archbishop Laud. Laud's collections were given to the Bodleian Library: Sir R. Cotton's have found a resting-place (such of them as remain unconsumed) in the British Museum: and those of Archbishop Parker were given to Corpus Christi College at Cambridge.

Archbishop Parker sent about the country for old manuscripts, especially Saxon and English.* He had been Bible-Clerk, Fellow, and Master of Benet College (now Corpus Christi), and this accounts for the disposition of his valuable collection of MSS., among them Chronicle A, to the keeping of that Society. The first indenture conveying his gift of books and manuscripts to the College was made in 1569, but it was superseded by others in 1571 and 1574, and the books were not delivered until after his death in 1575. The only earlier notice we have of A is in a note by Joscelin on the margin of B, where he seems to speak of A almost as if Dr. Wotton, Dean of Canterbury, were the owner of it. Having supplied the annal of 675, which is wanting in B, he thus annotes: *Hæc in vetustiore Saxonica*

* Strype's Life, book iii. c. 7.

*historia quam habet Doctor Wutton Decanus Eccl'iæ Chri' Cant.*

This Dr. Wotton (Nicholas) was the first Dean of Canterbury, made by Henry VIII in 1541, after the Dissolution. He was also made Dean of York (1544), and Prebendary of York (1545). He managed to hold both Deaneries under Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth. He was one of Henry VIII's executors, of Edward VI's privy-council, Secretary of State (1549-50), Ambassador to Naples (1551), one of Queen Elizabeth's first privy-council. He died January 26, 1567. This distinguished and well-endowed ecclesiastic was a papist, and therefore Archbishop Parker can hardly be considered as an impartial judge of his character; but he speaks of "Mr. dean Wotton" as having been not over scrupulous about appropriating church property*. A fine Italian statue of him (kneeling) may be seen in the Cathedral at Canterbury, at the N.E. curve of the apse, close to where was once the shrine of Becket. He was great-uncle to Isaac Walton's Sir Henry Wotton.

Joscelin is called by Strype (P. ii. 251), "John Josselyn, an Essex man, the Archbishop's Secretary." In the same page it appears that he wrote himself "Mr. John Goscelin." Elsewhere he is spoken of as Sir Thomas Josseline's brother, an antiquary in the archbishop's house, who wrote the history *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*†.

The Chronicle C is called by Joscelin not only "Chronicon Abbendoniæ," but also "MS. Boyer." This is explained by Mr. Hardy as follows:—"Before it became the property of Sir Robert Cotton it belonged to Bowyer, who was keeper of the Records in the Tower."

With the revival of literature English History came to be composed on a larger scale, and the list of books which Holinshed prefixes to his History of England is an illustration that research was now pushing its way back into antiquity, although the necessity of reaching the highest sources was not yet perceived. It was reserved for John Milton to lead his countrymen back to the originals of their early history,

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* Correspondence of Archbishop Parker (Ed. Parker Society), p. 304.

† Ibid., Introductory Notice.

by being the first to publish a history of the Saxon period derived from the Saxon Chronicles. In exploring the Saxon literature he had the guidance of his friend Junius, the famous Anglo-Saxon scholar and editor of Cædmon; and who appears from his collations to have contemplated editing the Chronicles. But there was already a published edition, and Milton was the first historian that had the benefit of a printed Saxon Chronicle. Abraham Wheloc, Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, had published it in 1643, under the title of *Chronologia Anglo-Saxonica*, at the end of his edition of Beda's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (folio). He used the manuscripts A, which he calls the Bennett MS., and *A* (G), which he calls the Cotton MS. It was from this latter that he took his text, probably because he found it rather the easier to understand. The variations were added from A. This edition is now all the more prized since its principal has been almost consumed by fire, and consequently the print has assumed the place of an original. The three imperfect leaves which have been saved, are evidence of the fidelity of Wheloc's edition, and establish his text as a true representative of *A* (G). But his translation exhibits mistakes such as might be expected in the first revival of the old Englisc historical literature. Thus in 894 (p. 91 of this Ed.) buton swiþe gewaldenum dæle (except a very considerable division) is translated "exceptâ validâ Wallensium parte," and printed "buton swiþe Gewealdenum dæle." In the same annal (p. 93) sio laf (the remnant) is made a man's name of: "Tum Laf de East-Anglis et Northymbris magnum exercitum ante hiemem coegit." In 897 it is said that Alfred had long ships built, shapen neither on the Frisic nor on the Danish model, but just as he himself thought most likely to be useful—nawðer ne on Fresisc gescæpene, ne on Denisc, &c., which Wheloc renders, "neque inter Fresones neque Danos fabricabantur." In 937 he bespeaks the consideration of the reader: "Idioma hic et ad annum 942 et 975 perantiquum et horridum Lectoris candorem et diligentiam desiderat." In 962, *mancwealm* an epidemic and *manbryne* a conflagration, with the aggravatory prefix *man* (Germ. mein as in meineid), are translated as if the first syllable were *man* = homo; "Eodemque anno permagna erat mortalium lues; mortaliumque magna Londini

inflammatio." In 975, ofer ganotes bæð (over the gannet's bath, i.e. over the sea) is rendered "per Ganotæ diluvium." Wheloc did not know of the qualities of this oceanic bird, the gannet, which from its great powers of flight can traverse vast tracts of sea or land in a short time, and which being met with very far from its usual haunts, would readily commend itself as an emblem of the sea to the seafaring mind of our ancestors.*

Gerard Langbaine (who died Provost of Queen's College in 1658) had been preparing an edition at Oxford, but when Wheloc's appeared he relinquished it. Wheloc's was a tolerable performance for his day, but Gibson's Edition in 1692 was a great improvement on it. The Title is *Chronicon Saxonicum ex MSS. Codicibus nunc primum integrum edidit ac Latinum fecit Edmundus Gibson A. B. è Collegio Reginæ.* It was at the instance of John Mill, the laborious author of the *Exemplar Millianum*, that Gibson was moved to undertake this work, and to do his best to produce a complete Edition. His friend Mill had urged him, he says: *Esse nimirum Annales istos augustissimum plané Antiquitatis monumentum, ac quale frustra apud gentes vicinas quæsiveris; fontem ipsum è quo hausta sunt et ad quem exigenda, quæ de rebus istorum temporum tradunt* Florentius *aliique posteriores Historici.* Chronicon *hoc mirificè prædicare, ejusque editionem Cantabrigiensi multò auctiorem et quidem omnibus numeris suis absolutam flagitare eruditos.* Gibson was greatly helped by the opportune publication of Hickes's Saxon Grammar, which enabled him to gain a firmer hold on this ancient language. He had also the great advantage of applying to Hickes himself in every difficulty. The consequence was that his Edition, if not quite as perfect as his ambition designed, was a great advance upon Wheloc's, and altogether an admirable work. His Latin version is in general not only correct but happy. Substantially it has been the basis of all later versions, although there are a certain number of passages which he did not understand. His text was based upon E with modifications from A, B (through a paper-tran-

* *Observations on Natural History*, by the Rev. Leonard Jenyns. Van Voorst, 1846, p. 192.

script in the Bodleian), F and G. He considered it his business to construct a text by collation of these authorities, just as if he had been editing a Classical Author. He produced this edition at the early age of 23, and thus laid the solid foundation of that knowledge of English antiquity for which his name is still celebrated. In working on the Saxon Chronicle he acquired that interest in and admiration for Camden's *Britannia,* which led him next to translate and enlarge it.

From Gibson's Saxon-Latin Edition an English translation was made by Miss Gurney, and printed anonymously. When her work was far advanced, she learnt that Dr. Ingram's Edition was expected, and consequently she desisted from the idea of publication, and took only a limited impression for circulation among her friends. To this highly endowed and benevolent lady, however, belongs the honour of having first printed an English translation of the Saxon Chronicle. It was entitled, *A Literal Translation of the Saxon Chronicle: Norwich,* 1819. This is not a mere Englishing of Gibson's Latin, but a work which displays knowledge of the original. I have referred to it in the Notes on 871 and 896; in the latter case as giving the only real translation of the passage that has appeared up to the present day. In 905 the passage "betwuh dicum and Wusan &c." is thus illustrated with the translator's local knowledge of East Anglia: "and he laid waste their land between the Dyke (the Devil's Ditch) and the Ouse as far northward as the fens." The last clause in 1003, "ferde þær he wiste his yðhengestas," (went where he wist his sea-horses were,) had been given up by Gibson with the exclamation, *Hujusce clausulæ quis sit sensus me omnino latet.* Miss Gurney translated it partly right, only she carried the poetical metaphor too far: "and thither he carried the irprovender to his horses of the sea, [his plunder to the ships]." In 1137 the word "horderwycan" was given up by Gibson: but Miss Gurney rendered it "treasurer's house," which, though only partly right, has never been bettered by any translator except Mr. Stevenson.

Dr. Ingram's Edition appeared in 1823, furnished with a variety of apparatus, and an English Translation parallel to the Saxon.

Dr. Ingram's praise consists in this, that he added to his Edition the yet unedited matter of the three important chronicles, B C D. In his *Preface* he spoke of the Saxon Chronicle in the following grandiloquent terms: "Philosophically considered, this ancient record is the *second* great phenomenon in the history of mankind. For, if we except the sacred annals of the Jews, contained in the several books of the Old Testament, there is no other work extant, ancient or modern, which exhibits at one view a regular and chronological panorama of a PEOPLE, described in rapid succession by different writers, through so many ages, in their own vernacular LANGUAGE."

This is a passage of which it would be as difficult to dispute the sentiment, as to defend the diction. The meaning is plain, viz. that putting aside the Hebrew annals, there is not anywhere known a series of early vernacular history comparable with the Saxon Chronicles. This appears to be no more than the sober truth, and undeserving of the derision which Mr. George P. Marsh, in his *Origin and History of the English Language* (1862), has visited Dr. Ingram's expressions with. It is to be regretted that an author who has treated the latter part of his subject with knowledge and ability, should have thought it necessary to deal with a period which he has not studied. He has quoted as "fair specimens" of the Saxon Chronicle the annals 449, 473, 509, 616, 671, 793; and after conferring some faint praise on 755, he sums up,—"But taking the Chronicle as a whole, I know not where else to find a series of annals which is so barren of all human interest, and for all purposes of real history so worthless." (p. 105.) Mr. Marsh has failed to perceive that there might be more in the Saxon Chronicles than met his eye at the first glance.

In the year 1830 there appeared a volume entitled *Ancient History, English and French, exemplified in a Regular Dissection of the Saxon Chronicle.* In this work a spirited attempt was made to assign each section of the Chronicles to its true author—but there was too much arbitrary assertion and too little historical argument in this Essay. Had the author joined the requisite patience and delay to his talent for insight into antiquity, he might have cleared up some of the obscure passages of Saxon times.

In the year 1848 appeared the folio volume entitled *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, which was intended to be the first of a Series of the ancient Historians of this Realm; undertaken in pursuance of an Address presented to the Crown by the House of Commons in 1822. That plan has not been continued, but an octavo Series has been substituted for it. This splendid volume contains the Historians down to 1066, and among others the Saxon Chronicles, so far as that date, where they are broken off. The text is partly on the syncretistic and partly on the parallel plan, according to the degrees of harmony or divergence between the MSS. in each part. It had been prepared with great diligence and care by Mr. Petrie, and was completed and edited by Mr. Duffus Hardy. An English translation is given parallel to the original. The collection of readings at the foot of the page offers to the eye a comprehensive view of the varieties of orthography which characterize the several manuscripts.

In the year 1853 a Complete Translation of the Chronicles was published by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, Vicar of Leighton Buzzard, in a Series entitled *Church Historians of England* (Seeleys). This Translation consisted of the Version in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica* (which Mr. Stevenson adopted by permission) as far as 1066; and a new or revised Version of his own down to 1154. On the whole, this appears to be the best Translation which has hitherto appeared.

The Master of the Rolls gave us in 1861, by the editorship of Mr. Thorpe, a complete Edition of the six manuscript texts in parallel columns. The seventh authority (G) was not admitted in the text of Wheloc, but only the small fragments of it which are preserved in three imperfect leaves of the original manuscript. It may be doubted whether the parallel scheme properly admits so much correction as the editor has supplied,—whether for instance it would not have been more true to the plan, if the annals of B had been left undated where they have been so left in the original—but it would be ungracious in the extreme to detract from the value of a book which must be allowed to be one of the greatest boons that could have been conferred on the Saxon student.

While critics and translators have been at work on the texts, the labour of the historian has been supplied by able

hands, so that the Saxon period has been at length thoroughly restored to modern history. In the Histories of Sharon Turner (1799–1805), of Sir Francis Palgrave (1832), of Lappenberg (1834), and the various works of the late Mr. Kemble, the treasures of Saxon History have been explored and are now placed within reach of all.

The present Edition of the Chronicles presents to the student the two texts which are most remarkable in themselves and most worthy of being set together in contrast, together with characteristic parts of the other texts, so as to supply a comprehensive view of the whole series without the omission of any important feature. In the Notes an attempt has been made to clear away some of the obscurities which still remain: and the Glossarial Index has been made as perfect as possible, in order both to open up the text and to take the measure of the Saxon historical vocabulary.

In conclusion, I have to thank many friends who have given me occasional help and information in the course of the work —but in particular I must name two, the late Archdeacon Hardwick, Fellow of S. Catharine's Hall, Cambridge, who compared my printed text of Ⱥ with the MS., and the Rev. F. Harrison, Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, who gave me important help at a time when I was disabled by an accident in the eye.

I have also to acknowledge the kind and hospitable manner in which the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, enabled me to collate their valuable manuscript (Ⱥ), not without trouble and contrivance on their part to observe the stringent rules by which their manuscript stores are guarded, and at the same time to prevent them from being an obstacle or inconvenience to me.

WHITECHAPEL
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LI

## CORRIGENDA

*Page* 16 *anno* 552 *for* Seaxo *read* Searo
57 *line* 10 *for* ær *read* æt
106 .. 14 *for* út *read* ún
138 (F. 1003) *for* Exoniā *read* Exonia
194 (C. 1065 *line* 4) *for* fo *read* for
222 *line* 13 *for* Mann *read* mann
223 .. 30 *for* wællan *read* pællan
248 .. 2 *for* ealles *read* ealle
252 .. 15 *for* Wundford *read* Mundford

35117

# TWO
# SAXON CHRONICLES
## PARALLEL.

# THE PARKER MS.

## (Ā)

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ÞY GEĀRE ÞE WÆS ĀGĀN FRĀM CRISTES acennesse cccc wintra. and xciiii uuintra. þa Cerdic and Cynric his sunu cuom up æt Cerdices oran. mid v scipum. and se Cerdic wæs Elesing. Elesa Esling. Esla Gewising. Giwis Wiging. Wig Freawining. Freawine Friþugaring. Friþugar Bronding. Brond Bældæging. Bældæg Wodening.

Ond þæs ymb vi gear þæs þe hie up cuomon ge eodon West Seaxna rice and þæt uuæron þa ærestan cyningas þe West Seaxna lond on Wealum ge eodon and he hæfde þæt rice xvi gear and þa he ge fōr þa feng his sunu Cynric to þam rice and heold xvii winter. þa he ge for þa feng Ceol to þam rice and heold vii gear. þa he ge fōr þa feng Ceolwulf to his broþur and he ricsode xvii gear and hiera cyn gæþ to Cerdice. þa feng Cynegils Ceolwulfes broþur sunu to rice and ricsode xxxi wintra and he on feng ærest fulwihte Wesseaxna cyninga and þa feng Cen walh to and heold xxxi wintra and se Cen walh wæs Cynegilses sunu and þa heold Seax burg his cuen án gear þæt rice æfter him. þa feng Æscwine to rice þæs cyn gæþ to Cerdice and heold ii gear. þa feng Centwine to Wesseaxna rice Cynegilsing and ricsode vii gear þa feng Cead walla to þam rice þæs cyn gæþ to Cerdice and heold iii gear. Ða feng Ine to Seaxna rice þæs cyn gæþ to Ceardice and heold xxxvii wintra. þa feng Æþelheard to þæs cyn gæþ to Ceardice and heold xiiii winter. þa feng Cuþ red to þæs cyn gæþ to Cerdice and heold xvii gear. þa

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# THE LAUD MS.

## (E)

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Bríttene ígland is ehta hund mila lang. and twa hund brad. And her sind on þis iglande fif ge þeode. [1] Englisc. and Brittisc. and Wilsc. and Scyttisc. and Pyhtisc. and Boc Leden. Erest weron bugend þises landes Bríttes. þa coman of [2] Armenia. and ge sætan suðewearde Bryttene ærost. Þa ge lamp hit ꝥ Pyhtas coman suþan of Scithian. mid langum scipum na manegum. and þa coman ærost on norþ Ybernian up. and þær bædon Scottas ꝥ hi ðer moston wunían. Ac hi noldan heom lyfan. forðan hi cwædon[3] þa Scottas. we eow magon þeah hwaðere ræd ge læron. We witan oþer egland her be easton. þer ge magon eardian gif ge willað. and gif hwa eow wið stent. we eow fultumiað. ꝥ ge hit magon ge gangan. Ða ferdon þa Pyhtas. and geferdon þis land norþan weard. and suþan weard hit hefdon Brittas. swa we ær cwedon. And þa Pyhtas heom abædon wif æt Scottum. on þa ge rad ꝥ hi gecuron heora kyne ciñ áá on þa wif healfa. ꝥ hi heoldon swa lange syððan. And þa gelamp hit imbe geara rina. ꝥ Scotta sum dæl ge wat of Ybernian on Brittene. and þes landes sum dæl ge eodon. and wes heora heratoga Reoda gehaten. from þam heo sind ge nemnode Dæl Reodi :·

1 Ænglisc. Bryt Wylsc. Scottysc. Pihttisc. and Bóc læden. D. This Preface (which is found in D. E. F.) is gathered from the first two chapters of Beda's Eccl. Hist., of which it is a neat summary; and, excepting Beda's physical description, very complete.

2 Armorica is meant. Beda i. 1. de tractu Armoricano, ut fertur, Brittaniam advecti.

3 forðan hi cwædon þa Scottas.] Here is an omission, occasioned by the copier jumping to another cwædon in advance of him. MS. D. gives the passage correctly: forþon þe hig cwædon þæt hi ne mihton ealle ætgǽdere gewúnian þær. And þa cwædon þa Scottas. We magon eow hwæðere rǽd gelǽron.

feng Sige bryht to þæs cyn gæþ to Cerdice and heold an gear. Þa feng Cynewulf to rice þæs cyn gæþ to Ceardice and heold xxxi wintra. Þa feng Beorht ric to rice þæs cyn gæþ to Cerdice and heold xvi gear. Þa feng Ecgbryht to þam rice and heold xxxvii wintra. and vii monaþ and þa feng Æþelwulf his sunu to and heold nigon teoðe healf gear. Se Æþelwulf wæs Ecgbryhting. Ecgbryht Ealh munding. Ealhmund Eafing. Eafa Eopping. Eoppa Ingilding. Ingild Cenreding. and Ine Cenreding. and Cuþ burg Cenreding. and Cuenburg Cenreding. Cenred Ceolwalding. Ceolwald Cuþ wulfing. Cuþ wulf Cuþ wining. Cuþ wine Celming. Celm Cynricing. Cynric Cerdicing.

Ond þa feng Æþelbald his sunu to rice and heold v gear. Þa feng Æþelbryht his broþur to and heold v gear. Þa feng Æþered hiera broþur to rice and heold v gear. Þa feng Ælfred hiera broþur to rice and þa was ágán his ielde xxiii wintra. and ccc and xcvi wintra þæs þe his cyn ærest Wesseaxna lond on Wealum geodon :·

ÆR Cristes geflæscnesse lx wintra. Gaius Iulius se Casere ærest Romana Breten lond gesohte. and Brettas mid gefeohte cnysede. and hie ofer swiþde. and swa þeah ne meahte þær rice gewinnan :·

Anno 1. Octavianus ricsode lvi wintra. and on þam xlii geare his rices Crist wæs acenned.

2. Ða tungel witgan of east dæle cuomon to þon þæt hie Crist weorþedon. And þa cild on Bethlem of slægene wærun for Cristes ehtnesse from Herode.

3. Her swealt Herodus from him selfum ofsticod. and Archilaus his sunu feng to rice.

Sixtigum wintrum ær þam þe Crist were acenned. Gaius Julius Romana Kasere mid hund ehtatigum scipum[4] ge sohte Brytene. Þer he wes ærost ge swenced mid grimmum ge feohte. and micelne dæl his heres forlædde[5]. And þa he forlet his here abidan mid Scottum[6]. and ge wat into Galwalum. and þer ge gadorode six hund scipa. mid þam he ge wat eft in to Brytene. And þa hi ærost to gedore ge ræsdon. þa man of sloh ðes Caseres ge refan. se wes Labienus[7] ge haten. Ða ge namon þa Walas. and adrifon sumre éa ford ealne mid scearpum pilum[8] greatum innan þam wetere. sy éa hatte Temese. þa þ on fundon ða Romani. þa noldon hi faron ofer þone[9] ford. Þa flugon þa Bryt Walas to þam wudu færstenum[10]. and se Kasere ge eode wel manega heh burh mid mycelum ge winne. and eft ge wat into Galwalum :·

Anno 1. Octavianus rixade lvi wintra. and on þam xlii geare his rices. Crist wæs acenned.

2. Ða tungel witegan of east dæle coman to þan þ hi Crist wurðoden. And þa cild on Bethleem of slagene wæron for ehtnesse fram Herode. and he swealt of sticod fram him sylfum. and Archelaus his sune feng to rice.

4 cêolum D.

5 **forlædde**] disperdidit. Beda. This word puzzled Bp. Gibson, and he proposed to read **forlæt** (**forlet**). But **forlædan** is quite appropriate here, as Beowulf 4084 (Ed. Th.) will bear out. The usual meaning of **forlædan** is to *mislead, lead into mischief;* or as Kemble has it, Gl. Beow., "in perniciem ducere," which suits this place.

6 forlet his here abidan mid Scottum] legiones in hiberna dimisit. Beda. An odd mistake, but quite explained by the fact that many copies had **hibernia** or (the difference being in MS. little or none) **hiberniam.** Smith's Ed. first restored the true reading.

7 gerefan. se wes Labienus] Labienus tribunus occisus est. Beda. It was really Q. Laberius Durus. Cæsar. B. G. v. 15.

8 stængum D. acutissimis sudibus. Beda i. 2.

9 þone is demonstrative. They forded at another place. Quod ubi a Romanis deprehensum ac vitatum est. Beda i. 2.

10 An error of the scribe for **fæstenum.** Cf. **mor festenum.** 878. D. has **westenum,** *wastes, wildernesses.*

4. From frymþe middangeardes oþ þis gear wæron āgān v þusendu[a] wintra and cc wintra.

11. *Her onfeng Herodes Antipatres sunu to rice in Iudea. and*

12. Philippus and Herodes to dældun Lysiam and Iudeam feowricum to dældun.

16. Her feng Tiberius to rice.

27. *Her onfeng Pilatus to gymenne ouer þa Iudeas.*

30. Her wæs Crist gefulluhtud. and Petrus and Andreas gehwierfede. and Iacobus and Ioannes and Philippus and þa xii apostolas.

33. Her wæs Crist ahangen from fruman middangeardes ymb v þusendo wintra. and cc and xxvi wintra.

34. Her wæs Paulus gehwierfed. and sēs Stephanus of torfod.

35. Her se eadiga Petrus se[b] apostol gesæt biscep setl in Antiochia þære ceastre.

39. Her onfeng Gaius rice.

45. Her se eadiga Petrus se apostol gesæt biscep setl on Rome.

46. Her Herodes aswalt. seþe Iacobum ofslog ane geare ær his agnum deaþe.

47. Her Claudius oþer Romana cyninga Bretene lond gesohte and þone mæstan dæl þæs ealondes on his gewald onfeng. and eac swelce Orcadus þa ealond Romana cynedome under þeodde. *Þis was þes feorðes geares his rices. and on þys ylcan geare gewearð se mycela hunger on Siria þe Lucas recð on þare boc Act' Aplor'.*

62. Her Iacobus frater Domini þrowode.

63. Her Marcus se god spellere forþ ferde.

69. Her Petrus and Paulus þrowodon.

70. Her Uespassianus onfeng rice.

[a] The u has been erased, and so has the o in þusendo, infra 33. These vowels have been restored on the authority of *A*.

[b] Both here and in 45 the definite article has been erased.

11. Fram frymðe middan eardes oþ þis gear wæron agan v þusend wintra. and cc wintra[1].

12. Philippus and Herodes to dældon Iudeam. iiii ricu to dældon.

16. Her feng Tiberius to rice.

26. Her on feng Pilatus gymene ofer þa Iudeas.

30. Her wæs Crist gefullod. and Petrus and Andreas ge hwyrfede and Iacobus and Ioh's and þa xii apl's.

33. Hær wes Crist ahangen. fram fruman middan eardes ymb v þusend wintra. and cc. and xxvi.

34. Her wæs sc̃s Paulus ge hwyrfed and sc̃s Stephanus of torfod.

35. Her se eadiga apostol Petrus ge set biscop setl on Antiochia ceastre.

39. Her on feng Gaius to rice.

45. Her se eadiga Petrus se apostol ge set biscop setl on Rome.

46. Her Erodes swealt se ðe Iacobum of sloh. anum geare ær his agenum deaðe.

47. Her Claudius Romana cining ge wat mid here on Brytene. and þ igland ge éode. and ealle Pyhtas. and Walas under þeodde Romana rice. Ðis ge feoht he ge fremede þam feorðan geare his rices. Þam geare ge wearð se mycla hunger on Siria. þe wes fore witegad on Actib; Apl'orum þurh Agabum þone witegan. Þa feng Nero to rice æfter Claudie. se æt nextan forlet Brytene igland for his uncafscipe[2].

62. Her Iacobus fr Dñi þrowade.

63. Her Marcus se godspellere forð ferde.

69. Her Petrus and Paulus þrowodon.

70. Her Vespasianus onfeng rice.

1 This is the Chronology of Eusebius, founded on the numbers in the patriarchal genealogies according to the Septuagint. For once, the teaching of the great master is rejected. Beda preferred the authority of the Hebrew text, as Jerome had done, but so far from gaining followers, he was almost called a heretic for questioning the established opinion. Eusebii Chronicon, (Venetiis 1818,) pp. 66, 149. Browne's Ordo Sæclorum, p. 334.

2 uncafscipe, ignavia, *neglect, sloth.* The simple adjective caf is very rare in Anglo-Saxon, and in the other Gothic dialects almost if not quite lost. In the A. S. poets it is found once, Helen 56, cafe to cease, alacres ad pugnam, where see Grimm's note. Diefenbach (Gothisches Wörterbuch) would give it a distant connection with the widely branched root cwic, vivus, *quick.*

71. Her Titus Uespassianus sunu in Hierusalem ofslog Iudea cxi þusenda.

81. Her Titus feng to rice seþe sæde þæt he þone dæg forlure þe he noht to gode on ne gedyde[c].

83. Her Domitianus Tites broður feng to rice.

84. Her Iohannes se godspellere in Pathma þam ealonde wrat þa boc Āpocalipsis.

99. *Her Simon se apostol wæs anhangen. and Iohannes se godspellere hine gereste in Epheso.*

101. *Her Clemens papa forþferde.*

110. Her Ignatius biscep þrowude.

155. *Her Marcus Antonius and Aurelius his broðer fengon to rice.*

167. Her Eleutherius on Rome onfeng biscd̄ dōm. and þone wuldorfæstlice xii winter geheold. To þam Lucius Bretene kyning sende stafas. bæd þæt he wære Cristen ge don. and he þurh teah[d] þæt he bæd. *And hi syððon wunodon on rihton geleauon oðð̄e Diaclecianes rice.*

189. Her Severus onfeng rice and ricsode xvii winter. Se Breten lond mid dice be gyrdde[e] from sæ oþ sæ. *and þa ge endode on Euerwic. and Bassianus his sunu feng to rice.*

200. *Twa hund gæra.*

283. *Her þrowade Sc̄s Albanus m̄r.*

300. *Ðreo hund gæra.*

379. *Her Gratianus feng to rice.*

c The words of the A. S. Orosius, but not in the original Latin.

d By a little scraping and patching *a* has converted the simple prose of Ā into the more pompous form, and him wærð tiþod þæt he bæd. The compound þurh teon looked strange in Norman times, and it may be doubted whether it lived beyond the age of Ælfred. It occurs twice in the A. S. Beda (Ed. Smith), p. 642, 30; 647, 2. (Bosw.) In Orosius vi. 1 (ad fin.) the participle ðuruhtogen.

e This looks as if culled from the A. S. text of Beda i. 5, where the style is very majestic. . . . and hit begyrde and gefæstnade mid dice and mid eorþwealle fram sæ to sæ fram oþrum elreordigum ðeodum.

3 It is hard to fix the idea of bred. It seems to represent Beda's *duxit, he led or drew a line of wall.* And this agrees with the use of the preterite breid a little later, as in Laȝamon. But the context suggests rather the ancient associations of oferbregdan, brægd, Andrew 1307, 1541, where Grimm renders *superstruxit, induxit, texit.*

There is a third phase of the word, brædan, *to open, spread, extend.* Thus of the expansion of birds' pinions, Cod. Ex. 289, 13, wineleas guma. gesihð him beforan. fealwe wegas. baþian brim fuglas. brædan feþra. The upper work was a palisade. *He spread a bulwark of open staking on the top.* breden weall F. cf. to bræd 979 E.

71. Her Titus Uespasianus in Ierusalem ofsloh Iudea cxi þusend.

81. Her feng Titus to rice. se ðe sede þ he þone dæg forlure ðe he naht to gode ón né dyde.

84. Her Domitianus Tites broðor feng to rice.

87. Her Iohannes se godspellere in Pathma þam iglande wrat þa bóc apocalypsin.

100. Her Simon se apostol wæs ahangen. and Iohannes se godspellere hine ge reste in Effesia.

101. Her Clemens papa forðferde.

110. Her Ignatius biscop ðrowade.

114. Alexander hic constituit aquam benedictam fieri.

124. Syxtus papa hic constituit ymnum decantare. Sc̃s. Sc̃s. Sc̃s. in officio misse.

134. Telesphorus papa hic constituit ymnum angelicum cantari GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO diebus festis.

155. Her Marcus Antonius. and Aurelius his broðer fengon to rice.

167. Her Eleutherius on Rome onfeng biscopdom. and þone wurþlice xv wiñt geheold. To ðam Lucius Brytwalana cing sende men. and bead fulluhtes. and he him sona sende. and heo siððan wunodon on rihtan gelefan. oððe Dioclitianus rice.

189. Her Severus feng to rice. and ferde mid here on Brytene. and mid ge feohte ge eode þes iglandes mycelne dæl and þa ge wrohte he weall mid turfum. and bred[a] weall ðær on ufon. fram sæ to sæ. Britwalum to gebeorge. He rixade. xvii gear. and þa ge endode on Eoferwic. Bassianus his sunu feng to rice. oðer his sunu wes gehaten Geza. se for wearð.

202. Victor papa hic constituit ut Pascha die dominico celebretur. sicut predecessor ejus Eleutherius.

254. Cornelius papa hic de catacumbis levavit per noctem corpora apostolorum. and posuit Pauli quidem via Ostensi ubi decollatus est. Petri autem juxta locum ubi crucifixus est.

286. Her þrowade Sc̃s Albanus m̃r.

311. Sc̃s Silvester papa xxiii. Hujus tempore celebratur Nicenum c̃cilium. Arelatense quoque primum, in quo fuit Avitianus Rotomagi archiepc̃.

379. Her Gratianus feng to rice.

379. Hoc tempore celebratur Constantinopolitanum concilium cl patrum adversus Macedonum et Eunomium sub Damaso.

381. Her Maximianus se casere feng to rice. he wæs
walas.
on Bretene londe geboren[f]. and þoñ for in Gallia. *And he ðar ofsloh ðone casere Gratianum. and his broðer adraf of æðele. se wæs gehaten Ualentinianus. And se Ualentinianus eft ge samnode werod and ofsloh Maximum. and feng to rice. On þam timan aras Pelagres getwyld geond middan eard.*

409. Her Gotan abræcon Rome burg. and næfre siþan Romane ne ricsodon on Bretone. *þæt wæs embe xi hund wintra and x wintra þæs þe heo getimbred was. Ealles hi rixodon on Brytene feower hund wintra and hund seouanti wintra. syððan ærost Gaius Iulius þæt lond gesohte.*

418. Her Romane gesomnodon al þa gold hord þe on Bretene wæron. and sume on eorþan ahyddon. þæt hie nænig mon siþþan findan ne meahte. and sume mid him on Gallia læddon.

423. *Her Ðeodosius se gingra feng to rice.*
*vel Patricius*

430. Her Palladius se bisc̃ wæs onsended to Scottum þæt he hiera geleafan trymede. from Cælestino þam papan.

443. *Her sendon Brytwalas to Rome. and heom fultomes bædon wið Peohtas. ac hi þar næfdan nanne. forþan þe hi fyrdedon wið Ætla Huna cyninge. And þa sendon hi to Anglum. and Angel cynnes æðelingas ðæs ylcan bædan.*
*rtianus*

449. Her Mauricius and Ualentines onfengon rice. and ricsodon vii wiñt. And on hiera dagum Hengest

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F. 444. Her forðferde Sc̃s Martinus.

448. Her Iohannes Baptista ætywede twam munecon þa comon fram eastdæle to gebiddenne hi on Ierusalem. his heauod. on þare stowe þe hwilan was Herodes wunung. On þone ylcan timan Martianus and Ualentinianus rixodan. and on þam timan com Angelcynn to ðisum lande. gelaðode fram Wyrtgeorne cinge. him to helpe. his fynd to ouercumende. Hi comon to þis lande mid ðrim langon scipan. and heora heretogan wæron Hengest and Horsa. Ealra ærost hi ðes cinges fynd ofslogon. and aweg driuan. and siððan hi wenden agean þone cing. and agean þa Bryttas. and hi fardydon þurh fyr and ðurh swyrdes egge.

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[f] Maximus in Britannia imperator creatus. Beda i. 9. In the A. S. version: Maximus se casere wæs on Breotene acenned. From the Beda it passed into the Chronicle, probably. In the following clause, lia was erased by *a*, and walas written over to make Galwalas.

380. Her Maximus feng to rice. he wæs on Bryten lande ge boren. and þanon he for in Galwalas. and he ðær of sloh þone kasere Gratianum. and his broðer adraf of eðele. se wæs ge haten Valentinianus. and se Valentinianus eft ge samnode weorod and of sloh Maximum. and feng to rice. On þam tidum árás Pelaies gedwild geond middan geard.

403. Innocentius papa hic misit decretalem epistolam Victricio Rotomagensi archiepo. Hic constituit sabbato jejunare quia eo die Dñs jacuit in sepulchro.

409. Her wæs to brocen Romana burh fram Gotum ymb xi hund wintra and x wintra. þæs þe heo ge timbred wæs. Siððan ofer þ ne rixodan leng Romana cinigas on Brytene. Ealles hi ðær rixodan iiii hund wintra. and hund seofenti wintra. siððan Gaius Iulius þ land erost ge sohte.

418. Her Romane ge samnodan ealle þa gold hord ðe on Brytene wæron. and sume on eorðan be hyddan. þ heo nan man syððan findon ne mihton. and sume mid heom on Gallia læddon.

423. Her Ðeodosius se gingra feng to rice.

425. Hujus temporis ætate extitit exordium regum Francorum: primus Faramundus.

430. Her Patricius wæs asend fram Celestine þam papan to bodianne Scottum fulluht.

431. Hoc tempore diabolus in Creta Judeis in specie Moysi apparens ad terram repromissionis per mare pede sicco perducere promittit; sicque plurimis necatis reliqui ad X$\bar{\text{p}}$ı gratiam convertuntur.

433. Celestinus papa. Hujus tempore aggregata est Ephesina synodus ducentorum episcoporum cui profuit Cirillus Alexandrinus presul adversus Nestorium Constantinopolitanum episcopum.

439. Leo papa. Hic sancivit Calcedonensem sinodum.

443. Her sendon Brytwalas ofer sæ to Rome. and heom fultumes bædon wið Peohtas. ac hi þær nefdon nænne. forþan ðe hi feordodan wið Ætlan Huna cininge. and þa sendon hi to Anglum. and Angel cynnes æðelingas þes ilcan bædon.

449. Hujus tempore celebratur Calcedonense concilium dcxxx episcoporum adversus Euticem abbatem et Dioscо-

and Horsa from Wyrt georne geleaþade Bretta kyninge gesohton Bretene on þam staþe þe is genemned Ypwines fleot. ærest Brettum to fultume. ac hie eft on hie fuhton. *Se cing het hi feohtan agien Pihtas. and hi swa dydan. and sige hæfdon swa hwar swa hi comon. Hi ða sende to Angle and heton heom sendan mare fultum. and heom seggan Brytwalana nahtnesse and ðæs landes cysta. Hy þa sendan heom mare fultum. Ða comon þa men of þrim megðum Germanie. of Eald Seaxum. of Anglum. of Iotum. Of Iotum comon Cantware and Wihtware. þæt ys seo mæið þe nu eardað on Wiht. and þæt cyn on West Sexum þe man gyt hæt Iutna cyn. Of Eald Seaxon comon East Sexa and Suð Sexa and West Sexan. Of Angle comon. se a syððan stod westi betwyx Iutum and Seaxum. East Engla. Midel Angla. Mearca and ealle Norð hymbra.*

455. Her Hengest and Horsa fuhton wiþ Wyrt georne þam cyninge. in þære stowe þe is gecueden Āgæles þrep. and his broþur Horsan man ofslog. and æfter þam Hengest feng to rice and Æsc his sunu.

457. Her Hengest and Æsc fuhton wiþ Brettas in þære stowe þe is ge cueden Crecgan ford. and þær ofslogon $\overline{\text{IIII}}$ wera[g]. and þa Brettas þa forleton Cent lond. and mid micle ege flugon to Lunden byrg.

465. Her Hengest and Æsc gefuhton uuiþ (*wið*) Walas neah Wippedes fleote and þær xii Wilisce aldor menn ofslogon and hiera þegn ān þær wearþ ofslægen. þam wæs noma Wipped.

473. Her Hengest and Æsc gefuhton wiþ Walas. and genamon un arimedlico here reaf. and þa Walas flugon þa Englan swa fȳr[h].

477. Her cuom Ælle on Breton lond and his iii suna. Cymen and Wlencing and Cissa. mid iii scipum on þa stowe þe is nemned Cymenes ora. and þær ofslogon monige Wealas. and sume on fleame bedrifon on þone wudu þe is genemned Āndredes leage.

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F. 482. Her se eadiga abbod Benedictus þurh wuldor þara mihta þisum middan earde scan. eal swa se eadiga Gregorius recð on Dialogorum þare boc.

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[g] $\overline{\text{IIII}}$ = 4000. feower werod F. feower weras A. cf. Ingram's note.

[h] swa man flicth fyr F.

rum. Her Martianus and Valentinus onfengon rice. and rixadon vii wiñt. and on þeora dagum gelaðode Wyrtgeorn Angelcin hider. and hi þa coman on þrim ceolum hider to Brytene. on þam stede Heopwines fleot. Se cyning Wyrt georn gef heom land on suðan eastan ðissum lande. wiððan þe hi sceoldon feohton wið Pyhtas. Heo þa fuhton wið Pyhtas. and heofdon sige swa hwer swa heo comon. Hy ða sendon to Angle heton sendon mara fultum. and heton heom secgan Brytwalana nahtscipe. and þes landes cysta. Hy ða sona sendon hider mare weored þam oðrum to fultume. Ða comon þa men of þrim megðum Germanie. Of Ald Seaxum. of Anglum. of Iotum. Of Iotum comon Cantwara. and Wihtwara. þ is seo megð þe nu eardaþ on Wiht. and þ cyn on West Sexum þe man nu git hæt Iutna cynn. Of Eald Seaxum coman East Seaxa. and Suð Sexa. and West Sexa. Of Angle comon se á syððan stod westig. be twix Iutum and Seaxum. East Angla. Middel Angla. Mearca. and ealla Norþhymbra. Heora heretogan wæron twegen ge broðra. Hengest. and Horsa. þ wæron Wihtgilses suna. Wihtgils wæs Witting. Witta Wecting. Wecta Wodning. fram þan Wodne awoc eall ure cyne cynn. and Suðan hymbra eac.

455. Her Hengest and Horsa fuhton wið Wyrtgerne þam cininge on þære stowe þe is cweden Ægeles þrep. and his broðor Horsan man ofsloh. and æfter þonn feng to rice Hengest. and Æsc his sunu.

456. Her Hengest and Æsc gefuhton wið Bryttas on þere stow þe is ge cweden Crecgan ford. and þer of slogon iiii werad. and þa Bryttas forleton þa Kentland. and mid mycclum ege flugon to Lunden byrig.

465. Her Hengest and Æsc gefuhton wið Walas neh Wippedes fleote. and ðær of slogon xii Wilsce ealdor men. and heora an þegn wearð þær of slegen. þam wæs nama Wipped.

473. Her Hengest and Æsc ge fuhton wið Walas. and genamon unarimenlicu here reaf. and þa Walas flugon þa Englan swiðe þearle.

477. Her com Ælle on Bryten land. and his iii suna. Cymen. and Wlencing. and Cissa. mid iii scipum on ða stowe þe is ge nemnad Cymenes ora. and þær of slogon manige Walas. and sume on fleame be drifon. on þone wudu þe is nemned Andredes lege.

485. Her Ælle gefeaht wiþ Walas neah Mearc rædes burnan stæðe.

488. Her Æsc feng to rice. and was xxiii wintra Cantwara cyning.

491. Her Ælle and Cissa ymb sæton Andredes cester and ofslogon alle þa þe þær inne eardedon. ne wearþ þær forþon án Bret to lafe.

495. Her cuomon twegen aldor men on Bretene. Cerdic and Cynric his sunu. mid v scipum. in þone stede þe is gecueden Cerdices ora. and þy ilcan dæge gefuhtun wiþ Walum.

501. Her cuom[i] Port on Bretene. and his ii suna Bieda and Mægla. mid ii scipum. on þære stowe þe is gecueden Portes muþa. and ofslogon anne giongne Brettisc monnan. swiþe æþelne monnan.

508. Her Cerdic and Cynric ofslogon ænne Brettisc cyning. þam was nama Natan leod. and v þusendu wera mid him. Æfter was þæt lond *þan* ‚ *wearð* nemned Neatan leaga oþ Cerdices ford.

514. Her cuomon West Seaxe in Bretene mid iii scipum. in þa stowe þe is gecueden Cerdices ora. and Stuf and Wihtgar. and fuhtun wiþ Brettas and hie gefliemdon.

519. Her Cerdic and Cynric ‚ *West Sexena* rice on fengun. and þy ilcan geare hie fuhton wiþ Brettas þær mon nu nemneþ Cerdices ford. *And siþþan ricsadan West Sexana cynebearn of þan dæge.*

527. Her Cerdic and Cynric fuhton wiþ Brettas. in þære stowe þe is gecueden Cerdices leaga.

530. Her Cerdic and Cynric genamon Wihte ealond. and ofslogon feala men on Wiht garæsbyrg.

534. Her Cerdic forþ ferde. and Cynric his sunu ricsode forþ xxvi wintra. and hie saldon hiera tuæm nefum Stufe and Wihtgare Wiehte ealond. *eall wiht ealand*

485. Her Ælle gefeaht wiþ Walas neh Mearcredes burnan steðe.

488. Her Æsc feng to rice. and wæs xxxiiii wintra cining.

490. Hoc tempore beatus Mamertus, episcopus Viennensis, solennes letanias instituit rogationum.

491. Her Ælla and Cissa ymbsæton Andredes ceaster. and of slogon ealle þa ðe þær inne eardedon. ne wearð þær forþen an Brit to lafe.

495. Her coman twegen ealdor men on Brytene. Certic and Cynric his sunu mid v scipum on þone stede. þe is ge haten Certices ora. and on þam ilcan dæge ge fuhton wiþ Walas.

501. Her com Port on Brytene. and his twegan sunan. Bieda and Mægla. mid ii scipum in þære stowe þe is gecweden Portes muða. and sona land namon. and of slogon ænne gungne Brytiscne man. swiðe æðelne.

508. Her Certic and Cinric of slogon ænne Bryttiscne cining. þam wæs nama Nazaleod. and v þusend wera mid him. and æfter þan wæs þ land genemnad Nazanleog. á oþ Certices ford.

514. Her com West Seaxa in Brytene mid þrim scipum in þa stowe ðe is ge cweden Certices ora. and Stuf and Wihtgar fuhton wiþ Bryttas. and hi geflemdon.

519. Her Certic and Kynric onfengon West Seaxna rice. and þi ilcan geare hi ge fuhton wiþ Bryttas. ðer man nu nemnað Certices ford. and siððan rixadon West Seaxna cyne barn of þam dæge.

527. Her Certic and Kynric ge fuhton wiþ Brittas. on þære stowa ðe is gecweden Certices ford.

528. Hoc tempore Dionisius in urbe R. circulum paschalem composuit. Tunc Priscianus profunda grammatica rimatus est.

530. Her Certic and Cynric ge naman Wihtland. and of slogon feala manna. on Wihtgaras birig.

534. Her Certic forþ ferde. and Cynric his sunu rixade forþ xxvi wintra. and heo sealdon heora twam nefum Stufe and Wihtgare eall Wihtland.

F. 509. Her sċs Benedictus se abbud ealra muneca fæder ferde to heouenan:

[1] The u in cuom erased here and in 477, 514.

538. Her sunne aþiestrode xiiii dagum ær Kl'. Mart from ærmergenne oþ undern.

540. Her sunne aþiestrode on xii Kl'. Iulii. and steorran hie ætiewdon ful neah healfe tid ofer undern.

544. Her Uuiht gar forþ ferde. and hiene mon bebyrgde on Wihtgara byrg.

547. Her Ida feng to rice. þonon Norþan hymbra
*and rixode twelf gear. and he timbrode Bebbanburh.*
cynecyn onwoc. [k]Ida wæs Eopping. Eoppa Esing. Esa
*seo was ærost mid hegge be tyned. and þær æfter mid wealle.*
wæs Inguing. Ingui Angenwitting. Angenwit Alocing. Aloc Benocing. Benoc Branding. Brand Bældæging. Bældæg Wodening. Woden Freoðolafing. Freoðelaf Freoðewulfing. Friðulf Finning. Finn Godulfing. Godulf Geating.

552. Her Cynric gefeaht wiþ Brettas in þære stowe þe is genemned [l]æt Seaxo byrg. and þa Bret Walas gefliemde. Cerdic wæs Cynrices fæder. Cerdic Elesing. Elesa Esling. Esla Giwising. Giwis Wiging. Wig Freawining. Freawine Freoðogaring. Freoðogar Branding. Brand Bældæging. Bældæg Wodening.

556. Her Cynric and Ceawlin fuhton wiþ Brettas æt Beran byrg.

560. Her Ceawlin feng to rice on Wes seaxum. and
*Idan forðgefarenum. and*
Ælle feng to Norþanhymbra rice. Ælle wæs Yffing.
*heora æyðer rixade xxx wintra.*
Yffe Uxfreaing. Uxfrea Wilgilsing. Wilgils Westerfalcning. Westerfalcna Sæfugling. Sæfugl Sæbalding. Sæbald Sigegeating. Sigegeat Swebdæging. Swebdæg Sigegaring. Sigegar Wægdæging. Wægdæg Wodening. Woden Friðowulfing.

*Her feng Æðelbriht to Cantwara rice. and heold liii wintra. On his*
565. Her Columba mæsse preost com of Scottum
*dagum sende Gregorius us fulluht. And Columba mæsse preost com to Pyhtum.*
in Bryttas. Peohtas to læranne. and hi in Hii þam
*and hi gecyrde to Cristes geleauan. þæt synd þonne wærteras be norðum morum.*
ealonde mynster worhte.

538. Her sunne aðestrode. on xiiii kl'. Mr'. from ærmorgene[4] oþ underne.

540. Her sunne aðeostrode on xii kl'. Julii. and steorran heo ætewdon ful neh healfe tid ofer under[5].

544. Her Wihtgar forðferde. and hine mon be byrigde on Wihtgaras byrig.

547. Her Ida feng to rice þanon Norðhymbra cyne kyn ærost awoc. and rixade xii gear. and he ge timbrade Bebban burh. sy wæs ærost mid hegge be tined. and þær æfter mid wealle.

552. Her Kynric feaht wið Bryttas on þære stowe þe is ge nemned Searo byrig[6]. and þa Bryttas ge flemde.

556. Her Kynric and Ceawling fuhton wið Bryttas æt Beran byrig.

560. Her Ceawling rice onfeng on Weast Seaxum. and Ælle feng to Norðhymbra rice. Idan forð gefarenum. and hyra ægðer rixade xxx wintra.

565. Her feng Æðelbriht to Cantwara rice. and heold liii wintra. On his dagum sende Gregorius us fulluht. and Columba messa preost com to Pyhtum. and hi ge cyrde to Cristes geleafan. Þ sind þone wærteres[7] be norðum morum.

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F. 552. . And Egelberht wearð geboren Eormenraces sunu. and [on þam] . . . . . tigoðan geare his rices he underfeng fulwiht ærost cinga on Brytene.

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4 æran morgene F.

5 In the Chronological Table of Eclipses, vol. i. of "*L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*," a Total Eclipse is registered A. D. 538, Feb. 15, at 8½ A. M.; and a Total Eclipse A. D. 540, June 20, at 9½ A. M. The dates in the text answer to Feb. 16 and June 20. Where records tally so nearly with scientific calculations, *one* discrepancy may well pass for an error.

6 geclyped Sælesberic F.

7 wearteres F. Not found elsewhere. Prob. akin to **weard** in 1. **and weard, to weard, for weard, ham weard** (*ward = versus*); 2. **yrfe weard, Ead weard** (*ward = guard = custos*), verb **weardian**; and so to **ware, warian, warenian** (*beware*), **werian**: but as this chain of relations stretches from **weorðan** at one end, to **wyrre** (*guerre, war*) at the other, the question is, where our word joints in? Very likely it combines the two ideas, 1. *inhabitants*, 2. *possessors, guardians, sentinels*, **warders**. Graff has **wartari**, *custos, speculator*, from **warten = weardian**. Yet the data equally suit the sense of *shepherds, keepers of cattle*: cf. Graff. v. Fihuwart.

k This genealogy is (imperfectly) erased by *a*, in order to make room for matter more interesting to himself. His substituted text is here given in interlined Italics. The same has been the case with the genealogical part of 560, 626: cf. 565, 603, 604.

l æt has been erased.

*and heora cyng him gesealde þæt igland þe man Ii nemnaþ. þar syndon ff hida. þæs þe man seggaþ. Þar se Columban getimbrade mynster. and he þar was abb'. xxxii wintra. and þar forðferde. þa he was lxxvii wintra. Ða stowe habbaþ gyt his yrfnuman. Suð Pihtas wæron ær gefullode of Ninna biscope. se was on Rome gelæred. his mynster ys Hwiterne on S. Martines naman gehalgod. þar he resteð mid manegum halgum. Nu sceal beon æfre on Ii abbod. and na biscop. and þan sculon beon under ðeodde ealle Scotta biscopas. for þan þe Columban was abbod. na biscop.*

568. Her Ceaulin and Cuþa. gefuhton wiþ Æþelbryht. and hine in Cent gefliemdon. and tuegen aldor men on Wibban dune ofslogon. Oslaf and Cnebban.

571. Her Cuþ wulf feaht wiþ Bretwalas æt Bedcan forda. and iiii tunas genom. Lygeanburg. and Ægeles burg. Bænesing tun. and Egones hām. and þy ilcan geare he geforþferde[m].

577. Her Cuþ wine and Ceawlin fuhton wiþ Brettas. and hie iii kyningas ofslogon. Commail and Condidan and Farinmail. in þære stowe þe is gecueden[w] Deorham. and genamon iii ceastra Gleawan ceaster and Cirenceaster and Baþan ceaster.

583. *Her Mauricius feng to Romana rice.*

584. Her Ceawlin and Cuþa fuhton wiþ Brettas. in þam stede þe mon nemneþ Feþan leag. and Cuþan mon ofslog. and Ceawlin monige tunas genom. and unarimed lice here reaf. and ierre he hwearf þonan to his agnum.

588. Her Ælle cyning forþ ferde. and Æþelric ricsode æfter him v gear.

590. Her Ceol *ric* ricsode v *i* gear.

591. Her micel wæl fill wæs æt Woddes beorge. and Ceawlin wæs ut adrifen. *and Gregorius feng to papdome on Rome.*

593. Her Ceawlin and Cuichelm and Crida forwurdon. and Æþelfriþ feng to rice *on Norðhymbrum.*

[m] The old fashioned strong form gefor was to be converted by *a* into the later expression forþferde, but the operation was left incomplete. Above, in Lygeanburg, the u has been made into an i.

[8] Cf. Beda ii. 1. Gregorii Op. (Ed. Bened.), vol. iii. pp. 3, 285. Palmer's Origines Liturgicæ, cap. i. § 6.

and heora cyning him ge sealde þ egland þe man nemnad Ií. þær sindon v hida. ðæs þe men cweðaþ. þær se Columba ge tymbrade mynster. and ðær he wæs abbot xxxii wintra. and þær forðferde ða ða he wæs lxxvii wintra. Ða stowe habbað nu git his erfe wærdes. Suð Pyhtas wæron mycle ær ge fullode. Heom bodade fulwiht Nimia biscop. se wæs on Rome gelæred. þæs cyrice and his mynster is æt Hwiterne. on Martines naman ge halgod. þær he restað mid manegum halgum wærum. Nu sceal beon æfre on Ií abbod næs bisceop. and þam sculon under þædde ealle Scotta biscopes. forþam ðe Columba wæs abbod. nes bisceop.

568. Her Ceawlin and Cuþa ge fuhton wið Æðelbriht. and hine on Cent ge flemdon. and ii ældor men on Wibban duna of slogon. Oslac and Cnebban.

571. Her Cuþa ge feaht wið Bryt walas. æt Biedcanforda. and feower tunas ge nam. Lygeanbyrig. and Æglesbyrig. and Benesing tun. and Egonesham. and on þam ilcan geare he forþfor. se Cuþa wæs Ceawlines broðor.

577. Her Cvðwine and Ceawlin ge fuhton wið Bryttas. and hi iii ciningas of slogon. Commagil. and Candidan. and Farinmagil. in þære stowe þe is ge cweden Deorham. and ge namon iii ceastra. Gleawcestre. and Cirenceaster. and Baþan ceaster.

583. Her Mauricius feng to Romana rice.

584. Her Ceawlin and Cuþa ge fuhton wið ða Bryttas on þam stede ðe man nemnaþ Feþan lea. and Cuþan man of sloh. and Ceawlin maniga tunas ge nam. and unarimedlice here reaf.

588. Her Ælle cining forðferde. and Æðelric rixade æfter him fif gear.

591. Her Ceolric rixade vi gear. Gregorius papa. Hic augmentavit in predicatione canonem, "Diesque nostros in tua pace disponas[8]."

592. Her Gregorius feng to pap dome on Rome. and mycel wæl geweard on Brytene þes geares æt Wodnes beorge. and Ceawlin wæs ut ádrifen.

593. Her Ceawlin and Cwichelm and Crida forwurdon. and Æðelferð feng to rice on Norðhymbrum. se wæs Æðelricing. Æðelric Iding.

596. *Her Gregorius papa sende to Brytene Augustinum. mid wel manegum munecum. þe Godes word Engla ðeoda godspelledon.*

597. Her ongon Ceolwulf ricsian on West seaxum. and simle he feaht and won. oþþe wiþ Angelcyn. oþþe uuiþ Walas. oþþe wiþ Peohtas. oþþe wiþ Scottas. Se wæs Cuþaing. Cuþa Cynricing. Cynric Cerdicing. Cerdic Elesing. Elesa Esling. Esla Gewising. Gewis Wiging. Wig Freawining. Freawine Friðugaring. Friðugar Bronding. Brond Bældæging. Bældæg Wodening.

601. Her sende Gregorius papa Augustino ærce biscepe pallium in Bretene and wel monige godcunde lareowas him to fultome and Paulinus bisc̃ gehwerfde Edwine Norðhymbra cyning to fulwihte.

*Her Æyðan Scotta cyng feaht wið Dælreoda. and wið Æðelferþe*

603. Her wæs gefeoht æt Ægesan stane.

*Norþhymra cynge æt Dægstane. and man ofsloh mæst ealne his here.*

*Her Augustinus ge halgode ii biscopas. Mellitum and Justum. Mel-*

604. Her East Seaxe onfengon geleafan and ful-

*litum he sende to bodiende East Seaxum fulluht. ðar was se cing gehaten Sæbyrht.* wihtes bæð. under Sæbrihte cinge and Mellite bis-

*Ricolan sunu. Æðelberhtes swyster. þone Æðelbyrht gesette to cynge. And Æðel-* ceope.

*byrht gesealde Mellite biscop setl on Lundewic. and Iusto on Hrouesceyastre. seo is xxiiii mila fram Dorwit ceastre.*

606. Her forðferde Gregorius ymb x gear þæs þe he us fulwiht sende.

607. Her Ceolwulf gefeaht wið Suð Seaxe. *And her Æðelfrið lædde his færde to Leger ceystre. and ðar ofsloh unrim Walena. and swa wearð gefyld Augustinus witegunge. þe he cwæð. Gif Wealas nellað sibbe wið us. hi sculun æt Seaxana handa far wurþan. Þar man sloh eac cc preosta. ða comon ðyder þat hi scoldon gebiddan for Walena here. Scrocmail was gehaten heora ealdor mann. se at bærst ðanon fiftiga sum.*

611. Her Cynegils feng to rice on Wesseaxum. and heold xxxi wintra. Se Cynegils wæs Ceoling. Ceola Cuðing. Cuða Cynricing.

614. Her Cynegils and Cuichelm gefuhton on Bean dune. and ofslogon ii þusendo Wala and lxv.

616. Her Æþelbryht Cont wara cyning forþ ferde and Ead bald his sunu feng to rice. *Se for let his fulluht. and leonode on hæðenum þeawe. swa þ he hæfde his fæder laue to wiue. Þa mynte*

596. Hoc tempore monasterium sancti Benedicti a Longobardis destructum est. Her Gregorius papa sende to Brytene Augustinum mid wel manengum munucum. þe godes word Engla þeoda godspellodon.

597. Her ongan Ceolwulf rixian on Weast Seaxum. and symble he feaht and wan. oððe wiþ Angel cynn. oþþe wiþ Walas oððe wiþ Pyhtas oððe wiþ Scottas.

601. Her sende Gregorius papa Augustine arcebiscope pallium on Brytene. and wel manega godcunde larewas him to fultume. and Paulinus biscop ge hwirfede Eadwine Norðhymbra cining to fulluhte.

603. Her Ægðan Scotta cining feaht wiþ Deolreda. and wiþ Æðelferþe Norðhymbra kining æt Dægsan stane. and man of sloh mæst ælne his here. þær man of sloh Theodbald Æðelferðes broðor. mid eallan his weorode. Ne dorste siððan nan Scotta ciningа lædan here on þas þeoda. Hering Hussan sunu lædde þone here ðider.

604. Her Augustinus ge halgode ii biscopas. Mellitum and Justum. Mellitum he sende to bodianne East Seaxum fulluht. þær wes se cing ge haten Sæberht. Ricolan sunu Æðelberhtes suster. þone Æðelberht ge sette þær to ciningа. and Æðelberht ge sealde Mellite biscop setle on Lunden wíc. And Justo he sealde Hrofes ceaster. seo is xxiiii mila fram Dorwit ceastre.

605. Her forðferde Gregorius papa. And her Æðelfriþ lædde his ferde to Lega ceastre. and þær of sloh unrim Walana. and swa wearþ ge fild Augustinus witegunge þe he cwaþ. gif Wealas nellaþ sibbe wiþ us. hy sculon æt Seaxena handa forwurþan. þær man sloh eac cc preosta þa comon ðider þ heo scoldan ge biddan for Walana here. Scromail wæs ge haten hyra ealdor. se æt bærst ðanon fiftiga sum.

607. Her Ceolwulf ge faht wiþ Suð Seaxum.

611. Her Kynegils feng to rice. on Weast Seaxum. and heold xxxi wintra.

614. Her Kynegils and Cwichelm ge fuhton on Beandune. and of slogon ii þusend Walana. and lxv.

616. Her forðferde Æþelberht Cantware cining. se rixade lvi wintra. and æfter him feng Eadbold to rice his sunu. se forlet his fulluht. and lifode on heðenum þeawe. swa þ he heafde his feder lafe to wife. Ða mynte Laurentius þe ða

*Laurentius ðe þa was erceb' on Cent. þ he wolde suð ofer sæ. and eall forlæton. ac him com to on niht se apl' Petrus. and hine hetelice swang. for ðan ðe he wolde Godes hyrde forlæton. and het hine gan to þam cynge. and bodian him rihtne geleafan. And he swa dyde. and se cing gecyrde to rihtan geleauan. On þyses cinges dagum Laurentius erceb' se wæs on Cent æfter Agustine. forþferde. iiii N. Feb'. and he was bebyred be Agustine. æfter him feng Mellitus to arceb' dome. se was biscop of Lund'. and þas binnan fif wintre Mellitus forðferde. þa æfter him feng to arceb'dome Iustus. se was b' of Hrouecistre and þar to gehalgode Romanum to biscope.*

625. Her Paulinus fram Iusto þam erce bisc̃ wæs gehadod Norþhymbrum to biscepe.

626. Her Eanfled Edwines dohtor cyninges wæs gefulwad in þone halgan æfen Pentecosten. Ænd Penda hæfde xxx wintra rice. and he hæfde L wintra þa þa he to rice feng. [n]Penda wæs Pybbing. Pybba Creoding. Creoda Cynewalding. Cynewald Cnebbing. Cnebba Iceling. Icel Eomæring. Eomær Ængelðeowing. Ængelðeow Offing. Offa Wærmunding. Wærmund Wihtlæging. Wihtlæg Wodening.

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F. 616. . To ðam timan was Laurentius arceb' and far þare sarinesse ðe he hæfde. far þes cinges ungeleauon. he hæfde gemynt eal þis land farlætan. and ouer sæ faran. Ac Sc̃s Petrus se apl' anes nihtes hine heardlice swang. farþi ðe he wolde Godes heorde swa farlæton. and het hine þam cinge heardlice rihtne geleauan tæcan. And he swa dyde. and se cing gecyrde to rihte. On ðyses ylcan Eadboldes cinges dæge þes ylca Laurentius forþferde. Se haliga Augustinus be his halan liue hine hadode to biscope. to ði ðæt Cristes geladung. ðe ða git was niwe on Engla lande. nane hwile æfter his forðsiðe nære butan arcebiscope. Ða æfter him feng Mellitus to arceb' stole þe was ær biscop on Lundene. And þes binnan fif wintran after Laurentius forðsyðe. rixiende Eadbalde. Mellitus for to Criste.

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n This genealogy erased in Æ; recovered from A. B. C. See 716.

9 **ge yde = ge eode**, *acquired, got.* Cf. above, p. 4. end of Æ's Pref. In Laȝamon it appears in the form **ieode**, which see in Glos. Laȝ. Cf. Bouterwek Glos. v. **gegangan**.

10 On the *ἐννεακαιδεκατηρίς* of Dionysius Exiguus, cf. Mr. Greswell's Introduction to the Fasti Catholici, p. 191 sq. For xxx° read dxxxi, the year from which the Dionysian Cycle dated, and xcv years before dcxxvi. Beda was the continuer of the Calendar after Dionysius: cf. H. E. v. 21. When the old Calendar was nearly run out, there sprung up a mania for calculation.

wæs ercebiscop on Cænt. þ he wolde suþ ofer se. and þ eall forlæton. ac him com to on niht se apostol Petrus. and hine hetelice swang forþan þ he wolda swa þa godes hyrde forleton. and het hine gan to þam cininge. and him rihte ge leafan bodian. and he swa dide. and se cining ge cerde. and wearð ge fullod. On þises cininges dagum Laurentius ercebiscop ðe wæs on Cent æfter Augustinus forðferde. and wæs be byrged be Augustine in die iiii nonarum Feb'. þa æfter him feng Mellitus to ercebiscop dome. þe ær wæs biscop on Lundene. þa wurdon Lunden ware heðene. þær Mellitus ær wæs. and þes þa ymb v wintra rixiendum Eadbaldum Mellitus for to Criste. þa æfter feng to þam ercebiscop dome Justus. and he ge halgode to Hrofeceastre Romanum þær he ær wæs biscop.

617. Her wærð Æðelfriþ Norðhymbra cining of slagen fram Reodwalde East Engla cininge. and Eadwine Ælling feng to rice. and ge yde[9] eall Brytene buton Cantware anre. and adrefde ut þa eðelingas Æðelfriðes suna þ wæs ærest. Eanfrid. Oswald. and Oswiu. Oslac. Oswudu. Oslaf. and Offa.

624. Her forðferde Mellitus ercebiscop.

625. Her Justus arcebiscop ge halgode Paulinum to biscope on xii kl' Augusti. Hic ciclus Dionisii quinque decennovenalibus constans, hoc est xcv annis; sumitque exordium á xxx° anno Incarnationis Domini et desinit in dcxxvi anno. Hic ordo decennouenalis quem Græci ENNIA KAIÐ Johanes papa KADERIDA vocat, á Sčis patribus in Nicea Sinodo fuit constitutus, in quo xiiii luna Paschalis omni anno sine ulla dubitatione[10].

626. Her com Eomer fram Cwichelme West Seaxna cininge. þohte þ he wolde of stingan Eadwine cininge. ac he of stang Lillan his ðegn. and Forðhere. and þone cining ge wundode. and þære ilcan nihte wes Eadwine dohter acenned. seo wæs ge haten Eanfled. þa ge het se cining Pauline þ he wolde his dohter ge syllan Gode. gif he wolde abiddan æt Gode. þ he moste his feond afyllan. þe þone scaðan þider ær sende. and he þa for on West Seaxum mid fyrde. and afylde þær v cin-ingas. and þæs folces mycel of sloh. and Paulinus ge fullade his dohter on Pentecosten twelfa sum. and se cining binnan xii monað wæs ge fullod on Eastrum mid eallum his dugoðe. þa wæron Estran on ii id. Apr. Ðis wæs ge don on Eoferwic. þær he ær het ge timbrian cyrican of treowe. seo wæs ge

627. Her Edwine kyning wæs gefulwad mid his þeode[o] on Eastron.

628. Her Cynegils and Cuichelm gefuhtun wiþ[p] Pendan æt Cirenceastre. and geþingodan þa.

632. Her was Eorpwald gefulwad[q].

633. Her Edwine wæs ofslægen. and Paulinus huerf eft to Cantwarum. and gesæt þæt biscepsetl on Hrofes ceastre.

634. Her Birinus bisc̃ bodude WestSeaxum fulwuht.

635. Her Cynegils wæs gefulwad from Birino þæm bisc̃ in Dorce ceastre. and Oswold his on feng[r].

636. Her Cuichelm wæs gefulwad in Dorces ceastre. and þy ilcan geare forðferde. And Felix biscep bodade EastEnglum Cristes geleafan[s].

639. Her Birinus fulwade Cuðred on Dorces ceastre. and on feng hine him to suna.

[o] cum suâ gente. Flor.

[p] We now say **fight with** = *pugnare cum hoste*, just as we say *join with, talk with, agree with*. But in the 9th and 10th centuries **wiþ** was simply *against, adversus;* and **mid** was *with, cum*. We have still a trace of the ancient **wiþ**, in our **withstand**.

[q] King of the East Engles, of the Royal Family of the **Wuffingas**. Beda ii. 15.

[r] The words **his onfeng** mean the same as **onfeng hine him to suna**, below, 639; i. e. was his sponsor and *received him from the font* as undertaking to guide and instruct him further in the ways of Christianity. *Filium de baptismo suscipere*—ἀναδέχεσθαι. Cf. Bingham, Church Ant. Bk. xi. c. 8. § 7. cf. 994.

[s] His see was in civitate **Domnoc** (Beda), **Dommuc** (Flor.), i. e. **Dunwich** on the coast of Suffolk, now almost lost in the ocean. Thorpe's note in Florence, An. 636, gives the after history of this see.

[t] This **Cadwalla**, the British king, must not be confused with Ceadwalla, the W. Saxon, below, 685. Compare the language of Florence: Gloriosus rex Edwine ..... a pagano rege Merciorum Penda, viro strenuissimo, et Ceadwala rege Britonum sæviore pagano, in campo Heathfeld, conserto gravi prælio, est occisus. In Laȝamon he is,

Cadwalan þe kene
þe king of Suðlonde;

and the magnificent story there told of his exploits with Penda and against Edwine is worth reading. Possibly it is not all fable.

halgod on sce Petres naman. þær se cining sealde Pauline biscop setl. and þær he het eft timbrian maran cyrican of stane. and her feng Penda to rice. and rixade xxx wintra.

627. Her wes Eadwine cining ge fullod fram Pauline. and eac þes Paulinus bodad fulluht on Lindisse. þær ge lifde arest sum rice man mid ealre his duguðe. se wæs ge haten Blecca. and in ðas tid Honorius feng to pap dome æfter Boniface þe sende Pauline hider pallium. and Justus ercebiscop forðferde iiii id' Nov. and Honorius wes ge halgod fram Pauline on Lincollan. þam Honorium se papa sende eac pallium. and he sende Scottum ge writ þ hi scoldon ge cerran to rihtum Eastrum.

628. Her Kynegils and Cwichelm ge fuhton wið Pendan æt Cirnceastre. and ge þingodon þa.

632. Her wæs Eorpwald ge fullod.

633. Her wearð Eadwine cining of slagan. fram Cadwallan[1] and Pendan on Heðfelda on ii id' Octob. and he rixade vii gear. and eac man sloh his sunu Osfrið mid him. and þa syððan foran Ceadwala and Penda and fordydan eall Norðhymbra land. þa þ Paulinus ge seah. þa ge nam Æðelburge Eadwines lafe. and ge wat on scipe to Cent. and Eadbold and Honorius him onfengon swiðe arwurðlice. and sealdon him biscop setle on Rofescestre. and he þær wunode to his ende.

634. Her feng to Dearne rice Osric. þone Paulinus ær ge fullode. se wæs Ælfrices sunu Ædwines federan. and to Bærnicum feng Æðelfriðes sunu Eanfrið. and eac her Birinus bodade ærest Weast Seaxum fulluht under Cynegilse cininge. se Birinus com þider be Honorius wordum þes papan. and he ðær wes biscop oþ his lyfes ende. And Oswald eac her feng to Norðanhymbran rice. and he rixade ix winter. man ge tealde him þ nigonðe for þan heðenscipe þe hi drugon þe hi þet an gear rixodon be twix him and Eadwine.

635. Her Kynegils wæs ge fullod fram Byrine þam biscope on Dorcaceastre. and Oswold Norðhymbra cining his on feng.

636. Her wæs Cwichelm ge fullod on Dorceceastre. and þam ilcan geare he forðferde. and Felix biscop bodade East Eanglum Cristes ge lefan.

639. Her Byrinus fullode Cuðred on Dorce ceastre. and on feng hine him to sunu.

640. Her Edbald Cantwara cyning forþferde. and he ricsode xxv wiñtr. *He hæfde twegene sunu Ermenred and Ercenberht. and þer Ercenberht rixode æfter his fæder. And Ermenred gestrynde twegen sunu þa syððan wurðan gemartirode of ðunore.*

642. Her Oswald Norðan hymbra cyning ofslægen wæs.

643. Her Cenwalh feng to Wesseaxna rice. and heold xxxi wiñt. and se Cenwalh het atimbran þa ciricean on Wintun ceastre.

644. Her Paulinus forþferde se wæs ærce biscẽ on Eoferwicceastre. and eft on Hrofes ceastere.

645. Her Cenwalh adrifen was from Pendan cyninge.

646. Her Cenwalh wæs gefulwad.

648. Her Cenwalh gesalde Cuþrede[t] his mæge iii þusendo londes be Æsces dune. Se Cuþred wæs Cuichelming. Cuichelm Cynegilsing.

650. Her Ægelbryht of Galwalum. æfter Birine þam Romaniscan biscẽ onfeng Wesseaxna biscẽdome.

651. Her Oswine kyning wæs ofslægen. and Æidan biscẽ forþferde.

652. Her Cenwalh gefeaht æt Bradan forda be Æfne.

653. Her Middel Seaxe onfengon under Peadan aldormen ryhtne geleafan.

654. Her Onna cyning wearþ ofslægen. and Botulf ongon mynster timbran.

[t] Cenwalh rex de East Anglia rediit in West Saxoniam: et eodem anno non modicam ruris portionem dedit Cuthredo, fratrueli suo, Cuichelmi regis filio. Flor. Gibson translates iii þusendo londes, *ter mille hidas terræ.*

2 Instead of **Oswine Edwines**, there is only **Oswines** in E, but the correction is obvious on comparison of 634 and 650. In Florence, An. 645, Oswine is called regis Edwini patruelis Osrici filius, which is one with the corrected text. The A. S. makes English by inversion of the order: *Oswine, son of Osric the son of the uncle of Edwine.* The Latin says, *Oswine, son of king Edwine's first cousin.* Take **fedran suna** as a compound, it = **patruelis.**

639. Her Eadbald Cantwara cining forðferde. se wæs cining xxiiii wintra. Þa feng his sunu Ercenbriht to þam rice. se to wearp ealla þa deofel gyld on his rice. and ærost Engliscra cininga he ge sette Eastor feasten. þæs dohter wæs ge haten Ercongota halifemne. and wundorlic man. þære modor wæs Sexburh Annan dohter East Engla ciningas.

641. Her wæs Osuuald of slagen Norðhymbra cining. fram Pendan Suþhymbrum on Maser feld on ðam dæge Nō Aug. and his lic wæs be byrged on Bearðan ege. þæs halines and wundor wæron syððan manigfealde ge cydde geond ðis egland. and his handa sindon on Bebbanburh unge brosnode. And her Cenwalh feng to Wæst Seaxena rice. and heold xxi wintra. se Cenwalh het atimbrian þa cyrican on Wintan ceastre. and he wæs Kynegilsing. and þam ilcan geare ðe Oswald wæs of slagen. feng Oswiu his broðor to Norðanhymbran rice. and he rixode twa læs xxx geara.

643. Her forðferde Paulinus ærcebiscop on Rofesceastre vi id' Octobr. se wæs biscop an læs xx wintra. and ii monðas. and xxi daga. And her feng Oswine Edwines[2] fedran suna sunu Osrices to Dearne rice. and rixade vii winter.

644. Her Cenwalh wæs adrifen of his rice fram Pendan cininge.

645. Her Cenwalh wæs ge fullod.

648. Her Cenwalh ge sealde Eadrede his mege iii þusenda landes be Æsces dune.

649. Her Ægelbriht of Galwalum æfter Byrine þam Romanisca biscop on feng Sexena biscopdomas.

650. Her het Oswiu cining of slean Oswine cining on xiii kl' Septēb. and þæs ymbe xii niht forðferde Aidanus biscop on ii kl' Sept.

652. Her Middal Engla onfengon under Pendan ealdor mæn rihtne ge leafan.

653. Her Anna cining werð of slagen. and Botuulf ongan timbrian mynster æt Icanhoe. and her forðferde Honorius ercebiscop on ii kl' Octobr.

655. Her Penda forwearþ. and Mierce wurdon Cristne. þa was agan from fruman middan geardes v̄ wintra. and DCCC and L wintr. and Peada feng to Mercna rice. Pending.

657. Her forþferde Peada. and Wulfhere Pending feng to Miercna rice.

3 The parallel is here dislocated, by an enlargement of the Laud MS., all its own. It consists of the first two instalments of a monograph on the Abbey of Peterborough, which is subsequently continued in parts, under the proper dates. This is a leading feature of E, and stamps it as a Peterborough Edition of the Chronicle.

It was (in a literary sense) a great mistake to embody in a national work so disproportionate a mass of local history: yet, through this very deformity of structure, new sources are opened for the illustration of the Chronicle. The very clumsiness of the performance, as it renders the evidence more palpable, enhances the value of the information that may be gathered from it.

With this digression we drop suddenly into a lower stage of the language. The same style recurs only with the continuations of the same subject, until towards the close of the first handwriting, A. D. 1121.

Thus, the insertions on the one hand, and the first pause in the work on the other, echo the same sound, and mutually determine each other's date. Hence we know, that the change of handwriting at 1121 is no delusive token, that the penman brought his history close up to the time of writing, and that the insertions now before us belong definitely to the same literary effort which produced (not merely this Edition but even) this particular MS. of the Chronicle.

The result is, that we have in E, an unaltered specimen of English of a known date. As this appertains to a period in which such illustration is rare, we must hail it as a real contribution to the history of our language.

The following are some of the peculiar characteristics of the passage before us, and of the era which produced it.

1. The vowel e is on the increase. All vowels, certain diphthongs, and even some final consonantal syllables, are apt to fade away into this negligent and languid sound. Thus, we have § e instead of a (or even ia) in infinitive terminations, as, arwurðen, wurðminten, areren, wunen, faren, gebidden, finden, wurðigen, læden, standen: in other parts of speech, as, toforen, þeonen, leoue, here, luuen, broðre, swustre, oðre godene manne, ealre halgane, andswerode: § instead of æ, in areren, red, hwere, del, mel, lered: § instead of -um, -an, o, y, ea, eo, in þægne, hæge, gare, betahten, wrohten, alesednesse, gef, werce, &c. This prevalence of e is the most universal feature of the Transition from the ancient inflected to the modern uninflected language.

2. At the same time e itself is often substituted by eo: less often, eo occupies the place of a former y. E. g. heorotogas, feostnode, steode, seonde, geseond, feorde, heot, seotte, heorda, seox.

3. In the general confusion æ takes the place of ea, and (exceptionally) of e, eo: e. g. wærð, ælle, hæge, æst, hældan; þægne, wæl, wæx.

4. The character a no longer repre-

654. Her Oswiu of sloh Pendan on Winwid felda. and xxx cynebearna mid him. and þa wæron sume ciningas. ðere sum wæs Æðelhere Annan broðer East Engla ciningas. Ða wæs agan fram fruman middan geardes fif þusend wintra. and dccc wintra. and Peada feng to Myrcena rice Pending.

[3] On his time þa comon togadere heo and Oswiu Oswaldes broðor cyningas. and sprecon þ hi wolden an mynstre areren Criste to loue and Sče Petre to wurðminte. And hi swa diden. and nama hit gauen Medeshamstede. forþan þet ðær is an wæl þe is gehaten Medes wæl. And hi ongunnan þa þ grundwalla. and þær on wrohten. betahten hit þa an munec. Saxulf wæs gehaten. He wæs swyðe Godes freond. and him luuede al þeode. and he wæs swyðe æþelboren on weorulde and rice. he is nu mycelne riccere mid Criste.

Oc se kining Peada ne rixade nane hwile. forþan he wæs beswicen þurh his agen cwen on Estren tide.

655. Her Iðamar Rofe ceastre biscop gehalgode Deus dedit to Cantwara byrig on vii kl. Apr.

656. Her wæs Peada of slagan. and Wulfere Pending feng to Myrcena rice.

On his time wæx þet abbodrice Medeshamstede swiðe rice. þ his broðor hafde ongunnen. Þa luuede se kining hit

sents the full and pure vowel-sound which had entitled it to the first place in the gamut of letters: it begins to appear interchangeably with several of the less perfect vowels and diphthongs. Where the more usual is ea, in *a*l, g*a*re, h*a*lfe, geh*a*lden: or æ, as in tog*a*dere, l*a*wed, g*a*ð: or e, as in festni*a*, heord*a*, halg*a*ne.

5. The letter u is frequently put for f, e.g. sil*u*er, lo*u*e, ha*u*e, ga*u*en, luuede, luuen, leo*u*e, æ*u*estlice, Dere*u*orde, Cli*u*e, ga*u*le (=gafole).

6. The g initial or final is changed to i in some few cases: *i*ateward, *i*etten, an*i*, dæ*i*. This became very general afterwards, and y rather than i came to be employed for the substitute; hence a great many of the y's in modern English are the representatives of a Saxon g.

7. But much as these innovations alter the complexion of a Language, their chief value lies in their connexion with the great change of the 12th century, the abolition of grammatical inflexions. Of this movement we see tokens in the interpolations of E. Gender, number, case, the governments of prepositions and of verbs, are in such confusion as to embarrass instead of aiding the operations of Speech; there was no remedy but to sweep them all away.

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On the nether edge of the leaf, in the MS., is written in a hand of the 13th century;

Reges Peada et Oswiu' fundaberūt p'mo ēcciam.

swiðe for his broðer luuen Peada. and for his wed broðeres luuen Oswi. and for Saxulfes luuen þes abbodes. cweð þa þet he wolde hit wurðminten and arwurðen be his broðre ræd Æðelred and Merwala. and be his swustre red Kyneburges and Kyneswiðes. and be se ærcebiscopes ræd se wæs gehaten Deusdedit. and be al his ge witen ræd læred and lawed þe on his kyne rice wæron. and he swa dide.

Ða seonde se kyning æfter þone abbode. þet he æuestlice scolde to him cumon. and he swa dyde. Ða cwæd se kyning to þan abbode. La leof Sæxulf ic haue ge seond æfter þe for mine saule þurfe. and ic hit wile þe wæl secgon for hwi. Min broðor Peada and min leoue freond Oswi ongunnen an mynstre Criste to loue and Sancte Petre. Oc min broðer is faren of þisse liue swa swa Crist wolde. oc ic wile þe ge bidden la leoue freond þ hii wirce æuostlice on þere werce. and ic þe wile finden þær to gold and siluer. land and ahte. and al þet þær to be hofeð. Ða feorde se abbot ham and ongan to wircene. Swa he spedde swa him Crist huðe. swa þet in feuna gearè wæs þ mynstre gare. Ða þa kyning heorda þæt gesecgon. þa wærð he swiðe glæd. heot seonden geond al his þeode æfter alle his þægne. æfter ærcebiscop and æfter biscopes. and æfter his eorles and æfter alle þa þe Gode luuedon. þæt hi scoldon to him cumene. and seotte þa dæi hwonne man scolde þ mynstre ge halegon.

Ða man halgode seo mynstre. þa wæs seo kyning Wulfere þær. and his broðer Æðelred. and his swustre Kynèburg and Kynesuuith. And seo mynstre halgode seo ærcebiscop Deusdedit of Cantwarbyrig. and seo biscop of Rofecæstre Ithamar. and seo biscop of Lundone þe wæs Wina ge haten. and seo Myrcene biscop. Ieruman wæs gehaten. and Tuda biscop. And þær wæs Wilfrid preost þe siððon wæs biscop. and þær wæron ælle his ðegnas þe wæron on his kynerice.

Ða seo mynstre wæs ge halgod on Sancte Petres nama and S. Paules and S. Andr'. þa stod seo kyning up toforen ealle his ðægna. and cwæd luddor stefne. Ðancod wurð hit þon

hæge Ælmihti God þis wurðscipe þ her is gedon. and ic wile wurðigen þis dæi Crist and Sče Peter. and ic wille þ ge ealle ge tiðe mine worde. Ic Wulfere gife to dæi Sče Petre and þone abbode Saxulf and þa munecas of þe mynstre þas landes and þas wateres and meres and fennes and weres and ealle þa landes þa þær abuton liggeð ða of mine kynerice sindon freolice. swa ðet nan man na haue þær nan onsting buton seo abbot and se muneces. Ðas is se gife. fram Medeshamstede to Norðburh. and swa to ðet stede þet man cleopeð Folies. and swa æl se feon riht to Esendic. and fra Esendic to þ steode þe man cleopeð Feðer muðe. and swa þ rihte weie x mile lang to Cuggedíc. and swa to Raggewilh. and fra Raggewilh v mile to þe rihte æ þe gað to Ælm and to Wisebece. and swa abutan iii mile to þrokonholt. and fra þrokonholt riht þurh al ðe fen to Dereuorde þ is xx mile lang. and swa to Grætecros. and fra Grætecros þurh an scyr wæter Bradan æ hatte. and þeonon vi mile to Paccelade. and swa forð þurh ælle þa meres and feonnes þa liggen to ward Huntendune porte. and þas meres and laces. Scælfremere and Witles mere and ælle þa oþre þa þar abutan liggan mid land and mid huses þa sindon on æsthalfe Scælfre mere. and þeonen ælle þa feonnon to Medeshamstede. and fra Medeshamstede al to Welmes forde. and fra Welmes forde to Cliue. and þeonen to Æstune. and fra Æstune to Stanford. and fra Stanford swaswa þ wæter renneð to seo foren sprecone Norð burh. Ðis sindon þa landes and ða feonnes þe seo kyning gef into Sče Petres mynstre.

Ða cwæð seo kyning. Hit is litel þeos gife. ac ic wille þ hi hit hælden swa kynelice and swa freolice. þ þær ne be numen of na geld na gaule. buton to þa munecan ane. Ðus ic wille freon þis mynstre þet hit ne be under þed buton Rome ane. and hider ic wille þ we secan Sče Petre. ealle þa þa to Rome na magen faren.

Betwix þas worde þa geornde seo abb'e þet he scolde him tyþian þet he æt him geornde. and seo kining hit him tydde.

Ic haue here godefrihte muneces þa wolden drohtien here líf on anker setle gif hi wisten hwere. Oc her is an igland þ man cleopeð Ancar ig. and wile þes geornen þ we moten þær wircen an mynstre Sče Marie to loue. þet hi moten þær wunen þa ða here líf wilen læden mid sibbe and mid reste.

Ða andswerode seo kyning and þus cwæð. Saxulf la leof. ne þet an þ ðu geornest oc ealle þa þing þ ic wat þet ðu geornest on ure Drihtnes halfe. swa ic lufe and tyðe. And ic bidde þe broðer Æðelred. and mine swustre Cyneburh and Cynesuuith. for iure sawle alesednesse. þet ge beon witnesse. and þ geo hit write mid iure fingre. And ic bidde ealle þa ða æfter me cumen. beon hi mine sunes. beon hi mine breðre. ouþer kyningas þa æfter me cumen. þ ure gyfe mote standen. swa swa hi willen beon del nimende on þa ece líf. and swa swa hi wilen æt beorstan þet ece wite. Swa hwa swa ure gife ouþer oðre godene manne gyfe wansiaþ. wansie him seo heofenlice iateward on heofonrice. And swa hwa swa hit eceð. ece him seo heofenlice iateward on heofenrice.

Ðas sindon þa witnes þe þær wæron. and þa þ gewriten mid here fingre on Cristesmele. and ietten mid here tunge. Ðet wæs first seo kyning Wulfere þe þ feostnode first mid his worde and siððon mid his fingre gewrat on Cristes mel. and þus cwæð. Ic Wulfere kyning mid þas kyningas and mid eorles and mid heorotogas and mid þægnas þas gewitnesse mines gifes to foran þone ærcebiscop Deus dedit ic hit festnia mid Cristes mel. +. And ic Oswi Norþhimbre kyning þeos mynstres freond. and þes abbotes Saxulf. hit loue mid Cristes mel. +. And ic Sighere kyning hit tyðe mid Cristes mel. +. And ic Sibbi kyning hit write mid Cristes mel. +. And ic Æðelred þes kyningas broðer þet ilce tyde mid Cristes mel. +. And we þes kyningas swustre Cyneburh and Cynesuith we hit louien. And ic Kantwarabyrig ærcebiscop Deusdedit hit tyðe. Siððan þa getton hit ælle þa oðre þe þær wæron mid Cristes mel. +. Ðet wæron be nam.

Ithamar biscop of Rofecestre. and Wine biscop of Lundene. and Ieruman se wæs Myrcene biscop. and Tuda biscop. and Wilfrid preost seo wæs siððon biscop. and Eoppa preost þe seo kyning Wulhfere seonde to bodian Cristen dome on Wiht. and Saxulf abbot. and Immine ealdorman. and Eadberht ealdorman. and Herefrid ældorman. and Wilberht ældorman. and Abon ældorman. Æðelbold. Brordan. Wilberht. Ælhmund. Freðegis. þas and feola oþre þa wæron þær kyninges þeonest men hit geotton ealle. Ðes writ wæs gewriton æfter ure Drihtnes acennednesse dclxiiii. þes kyningas Wulhferes seoucðende gear. þes ærcebiscopes Deusdedit ix gear. Leidon þa Godes curs and ealre halgane curs and al Cristene folces þe ani þing undyde þ þær wæs ge don. Swa beo hit. seiþ alle. Am̃.

Þa þis þing wæs ge don. þa seonde seo kyning to Rome to seo papa Uitalianus þe þa was. and geornde þ he scolde tyðian mid his writ and mid his bletsinge eal þis forsprecene þing. And seo papa seonde þa his writ þus cwæðend. Ic Uitalianus papa geate þe Wulhfere cyning and Deusdedit ærcebiscop and Saxulf abb' ealle þe þing þe ge geornon. and ic forbede þet ne kyning. ne nan man ne haue nan onsting buton þon abb' ane. ne he ne hersumie nan man buton þone papa on Rome and se ærcebiscop on Cantwarbyrig. Gif hwa þis to brekeþ æniþing. Sc̃e Petre mid his sweord him adylige. Gif hwa hit hælt. S. Petre mid heofne keie un do him heofen rice. Ðus wæs seo mynstre Medeshamstede agunnen. þ man siððon cleopede Burh.

Siððon com an oþre ærceb' to Cantwarbyrig. seo wæs gehaten Theodorus. swiðe god man and wis. and heold his sinoþ mid his biscopes and mid þe lerede folc. Þa wæs Winfrid Myrcene biscop don of his biscop rice. and Saxulf abb' was þær ge coren to biscop. and Cuðbald munec of þe selue mynstre wæs coren to abbot. Þis sinað was ge halden æfter ure Drihtnes acennednesse seox hundred wintra. and iii and hund seofenti wintra.

658. Her Cenwalh gefeaht æt Peonnum wiþ Walas. and hie gefliemde oþ Pedridan. þis wæs gefohten siþþan he of East Englum com. he wæs þær iii gear on wrece. hæfde hine Penda adrifenne and rices benumenne. forþon he his swostor an forlet.

660. Her Ægelbryht bisc̄ gewat from Cenwale. and Wine heold þone biscep dom iii gear. and se Ægelbryht onfeng Persa bisc̄ domes on Galwalum bi Signe.

661. Her Cenwalh gefeaht in Eastron on Posentes byrg. and gehergeade Wulfhere Pending oþ Æsces dune. And Cuþred Cuichelming. and Coenbryht cyning on anum geare forþferdun. And on Wiht gehergade Wulfhere Pending. and gesalde Wiht waran Æþelwalde Sud Seaxna cyninge. forþon Wulfhere hine onfeng æt fulwihte. And Eoppa mæsse preost. be Wilferþes worde and Wulfhere cyning. brohte Wiht warum fulwiht ærest.

664. Her sunne aþiestrode and Arcenbryht Cantwara cyng forþferde. And Colman mid his geferum for to his cyððe. þy ilcan geare wæs micel man cuealm. And Ceadda and Wilferþ wæron gehadode. and þy ilcan geare Deusdedit forþferde.

668. Her Þeodorus mon hadode to erce bisc̄.

669. Her Ecgbryht cyning salde Basse mæsse prioste Reculf mynster on to tymbranne.

670. Her forþferde Osweo Norþan hymbra cyning. and Ecg ferþ ricsode æfter him. And Hloþhere feng to biscep dome ofer Wesseaxan Ægelbryhtes bisc̄ nefa. and heold vii gear. Þeodor bisc̄ hine gehalgode. and se Oswio wæs Æþelferþing. Æþelferþ Æþelricing. Æþelric Iding. Ida Eopping.

671. Her wæs þæt micle fugla wæl.

672. Her forþferde Cenwalh and Seaxburg an gear ricsode his cuen æfter him.

658. Her Cenwealh gefeaht æt Peonnum wiþ Walas. and heo geflymde oð Pedredan. þis wæs gefohton syððan he of EastEngla com. he wæs þær iii gear on wrecce sið. hæfde hine Penda adrefedne. and rices benumene forþan þ he his swustor forlet.

660. Her Æglbriht biscop gewat fram Cenwala. and Wine heold ðone biscopdome iii gear. and seo Æglbriht onfeng Persa biscopdomes on Galwalum be Sigene.

661. Her Cenwealh feaht on Eastron on Posentes byrig. and gehergode Wulfhere Pending of Æsces dune. and Cuþred Cwichelming. and Centbriht cining on anum geare forðferdon. And on Wiht gehergode Wulfhere Pending. and gesealde Wihtwarum Æðelwolde SuðSeaxena cininga. forþan Wulfhere hine onfeng æt fulwihte. and Eoppa preost be Wilferðes worde and Wulfheres cininges brohte Wihtwarum fulwiht ærost manna.

664. Her sunne aðestrode on v nō. Mai. and on ðissum geare com micel mancwealm on Brytene igland. and on þam cwealme forðferde Tuda biscop. and wæs bebyrged on Wagele. and Ercenbriht Cantwara cining forðferde. and Ecgbriht his sunu feng to þam rice. and Coleman mid his geferum for to his cyððe. and Ceadde and Wilferð wæron gehadode. and on þam ilcan geare seo ærcebiscop Deus dedit forðferde.

667. Her Oswiu and Ecbriht sendon Wigheard preost to Rome. þ hine man scolde halgian to ærcebiscope. ac he forðferde sona swa he þider com.

668. Her Vitalianus se papa gehadode Theodorus to arcebiscop. and sende hine to Brytene.

669. Her Egbriht cining sealde Basse preost Raculf. mynster to tymbrianne.

670. Her Oswiu forðferde Norðanhymbra cining on xv k' Mr. and Ecferð his sunu rixade æfter him. and Hlothere feng to biscopdome ofer WeastSeaxum Æglbrihtes biscopes nefa. and heold vii gear. and Þeodorus biscop hine halgode.

671. Her wæs þ mycele fugla well.

672. Her forðferde Cenwalh. and Sexburh an gear rixade his cwen æfter him.

673. Her Ecgbryht Cantwara cyning forþferde and þy geare wæs senoð æt Heorotforda. and Sĕe Æþeldryht ongon þæt mynstær æt Elige.

674. Her feng Æscwine to rice on Wesseaxum. se wes Cenfusing. Cenfus Cenferþing. Cenferþ Cuþgilsing. Cuþgils Ceolwulfing. Ceolwulf Cynricing. Cynric Cerdicing.

675. Her Wulfhere Pending. and Æscwine. gefuhton æt Biedan heafde. and þy ilcan geare Wulfhere forþferde. and Æþelred feng to rice.

4 Here the parallel is disturbed a second time, by the third article on Peterborough Minster. Like the two former, it is cemented to the Annal by the phrase On his time. The Language is of the same stamp as before; and the following remarks are in continuation of the note at p. 29.

Passing from letters to words, we see the old habits of Gender, Number, Case, falling out of rule, or dropping off altogether. The Article is particularly sensitive, and exhibits every phase of the prevailing perturbation. We meet with *seo* kyning; *þa* kyning; *seo* mynstre; *seo* ærcebiscop; þ ilce forgiuenesse; *se* gife; Pl. *se* muneces; of *þone* muneca. But we also find þe mynstre, and here the germ of order is already seen in the appearance of that impassive monosyllable, which soon levelled all distinctions of a degenerate Accidence, and concentrated in itself the once divided functions of the Definite Article. In this the English made a step, which even French has not yet come up to.

Verbs and Prepositions no longer command their wonted Cases. E. g. nama hit gauen Medeshamstede—betahten hit þa an munec—of þ abbodrice—be se ærcebiscopes ræd—to seo foren sprecone Norð burh. In these instances the Nominative stands where the old classic Englisc would have had the Dative. This Case went first; the Accusative stood longer, and the Genitive has partially remained to our own day. In the Text, an Accusative often fills the place of the old Dative; e. g. geafon and getton *þone* abbot—æt *þone* stede—to foran *þone* ærcebiscop. An Accusative even stands for the Nominative; swa micel swa *þone* abbot wile: and a Nominative instead of the Accusative; Ic Agatho . . . grete wel *seo* . . . kyning!

Of the variety of Declensions little now remains; a single letter (s) forms the Plural of Nouns, and likewise their Genitive Singular. Hence we find the Genitives gifes; Kyneburges and Kyneswiðes; and the Plurals, sunes, heorotogas, landes: all in violation of the ancient Grammar.

Akin to the above, is the frequent rejection of the prefix ge before the past participle, and some substantives which it usually accompanied. Thus we find, faren, coren, sprecon, wroht, and the substantive writ instead of gewrit.

But this decay of an ancient Grammar only makes way for the bursting

673. Her Ægbriht Cantwara cining forðferde. and Theodorus ærcebiscop ge somnode sinoð æt Heortforde. and Sče Æðeldriþ ongan þ mynster æt Helige.

674. Her feng Æscwine to rice on West Seaxum.

675. Her Wulfhere Pending and Æscwine Cenfusing ge fuhton æt Bedan heafde. and þa ilcan geare Wulfhere forð ferde. and Æðelred feng to rice.

[4] On his time þa seonde he to Rome Wilfrid biscop to þam pape þe þa wes. Agatho he wæs gehaten. and cydde him mid writ and mid worde. hu his breðre Peada and Wulfhere and se abbot Saxulf. heafden wroht an minstre Medeshamstede wæs gehaten. and þ hi hit heafden gefreod wið kyning and wið biscop of ealle þew dom. and bed him þ he scolde þ geten mid his writ and mid his bletsunge. And seo papa seonde þa his ge write to Englalande þus cweðende.

Bulla pape Agathonis

Ic Agatho papa of Rome grete wel seo wurðfulle Æðelred Myrcene kyning and se ærcebiscop Theodorum of Cantwar byrig. and seo Myrcene biscop Saxulf seo ær wæs abbot. and alle þa abbotes þa sindon on Engla lande Godes gretinge and minre bletsunge. Ic haue geheord seo kyninges Æðelredes geornunge and þes ærcebiscopes Theodorus. and þes biscopes Saxulfes. and þes abbotes Cuthbaldes. and ic hit wille þ hit on ælle wise beo. swa swa ge hit sprecon hauen. And ic be beode of Godes half and S' Petres. and ealra halgan. and ealre hadode heafde. þet ne kyning ne biscop ne

forth of a young system which fills, and more than fills, the room of its predecessor. An elaborate Accidence is picturesque to the fancy, but to the operations of the mind it is hampering. One necessity of form begets another. Where the noun *must* be in a certain case, it will probably be found *necessary* to give the clause a particular shape, and that again will have its effect on the cast of the entire sentence. It has been a great advantage to us that the Transition took place when it did, and that it was so complete. Here we gained a march on the cognate dialects, German and Dutch. Let any one try to imagine the great works of English Literature couched in an inflected Language. In so strait a garment, they could never have attained the ease and expansion for which they are so distinguished. Even this raw composition of the 12th century shews a sense of new freedom, as it marches along regardless of the forms of words, minding only their sensible worth and lucid collocation.

eorl[5]. ne nan man ne haue nan onsting. ne gafle ne geold ne feording[6] ne nanes cinnes ðeudom ne nime man of þ abbotrice of Medeshamstede. Ic beode æc þ þe scyr biscop ☞ ne seo swa dyrstlece þ he ne hading ne haleging ne do on þis abbotrice buton seo abbot hit him bidde. ne biscop wite ne sinað ne nanes kinnes þing na haue þær nan onsting.

Abbas quasi Legatus Rome

And ic wille þ seo abbot beo gehealden for legat of Rome ofer eal þ iglande. and hwilc abbot þe beþ þær coren of þe munecan þ he beo gebletsad of þan ærcebiscop of Cant warbyrig. Ic wille and tyðe þ hwilc man swa haueð behaten to faren to Rome and he ne muge hit forðian. ouðer for untrumnisse. ouðer for lauerdes neode. ouðer for haueleste. ouðer for hwilces cinnes oðer neod he ne muge þær cumon. beo he of Englelande ouðer of hwilc oðer igland beo he. cume to þ mynstre on Medesham stede. and haue þ ilce forgiuenesse of Criste and S' Peter. and of þone abbot and of þone muneca þ he scolde hauen gif he to Rome fore. Nu bidde ic þe broðer Theodorus þ þu lete bedon geond æl Englelande þet seo sinað wurðe gegaderod. and þis write wurðe geredd and gehealdon. Al swa ic beode þe Saxulf biscop þ swa swa þu hit geornest. þ seo mynstre beo freo. swa ic forbeode þe and ealle þe biscopas þe æfter ðe cumon of Criste and of ealle his halgan þ ge nan onsting ne hauen of þ mynstre buton swa micel swa þone abbot wile. Nu wille ic hit segge mid worde þ hwa swa halt þis write and þis bode. þa wurðe he efre wuniende mid God Ælmihti on heuenrice. and hwa swa hit tobreceð. þa wurðe he amansumed and aniðrod mid Iudas and mid ealle deofle on helle buton he cume to dedbote. Amen.

Ðas writ seonde seo papa Agatho and an hundred and fif

5 This title occurs also above (p. 30) in the previous portion of the Peterborough story. In reference to the times spoken of, it is a strong anachronism, for there were no *eorlas* in England then. It was Danish, and came in with the Danes.

6 In Cod. Dipl. 990. feorðing, wrong. The Latin text there gives the true sense;—non census, non tributum, non *militia*, non aliqua unquam servitutis occasio &c. **Feording** =**fyrd, fyrding,** *expeditio, military service.*

and twenti biscopes bi Wilfrid ærcebiscop of Eoferwic to Engla lande. þis wæs ge don æfter ure Drihtnes acennednèsse dclxxx. þes kininges vi gear Æðelredes.

Ða heot seo kining þone ærcebiscop Theodorus þ he scolde setton ealle gewitene mot æt þone stede þ man cleopeð Heat felde. Ða hi wæron þær ge gaderod. þa leot he rædon þa ge write þe seo papa þider seonde. and ealle hit getton and fulfeostnodon.

Ða seide se kyning. Ealle þa þing þe min broðer Peada. and min broðer Wulfere. and mine swuster Kineburh and Kynesuith geafon and getton Sče Peter and þone abbot þa wile ic þ stande. and ic wile on min dæi hit æcon for here sawle. and for minre sawle. Nu gife ic Sče Peter to dæi in to his minstre Medeshamstede þas landes. and eal þ þær to liggeð. þet is Bredune. Hrepingas. Ceden ac. Swines hæfed. Heanbyrig. Lodeshac. Scuffanhalch. Costes ford. Stret ford. Wættelleburne. Lufgeard. Æþelhuniglond. Barþanig. Ðas landes ic gife Sče Peter eal swa freolice swa ic seolf hit ahte. and swa þ nan min æfter gengles þær nan þing of ne nime. Gif hwa hit doð. þes papa curs of Rome and ealre biscope curs he habbe. and here ealre þe her be gewitnesse. and þis ic festnie mid Cristes tacne. +. Ic Theodorus ærcebiscop of Cantwarbyrig am witnesse of þas ge write of Medeshamstede. and ic festnie mid min ge write. and ic amansumie ealle þa þær aniþing of breke. and ic bletsie ealle þa þe hit healden. +. Ic Wilfrid ærceb' of Æferwic ic eam witnesse of þas ge write. and ic gæte þæs ilce curs. +. Ic Saxulf þe wæs first abbot and nu eam biscop ic gife hi min curs and ealle min æftergengle þe þis to breket. Ic Ostriðe Æðel redes cwen hit tyðe. Ic Adrianus legat hit iete. Ic Putta biscop of Rofecestre ic hit write. Ic Waldhere biscop of Lundene hit festnie. Ic Cuðbald abbot hit geate swa þet hwa swa hit breket. ealre biscope cursunge and eal Cristene foces he hafe. Aм̃.

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676. Her Æscwine forþ ferde. and Hedde feng to bisc̃ dome. and Centwine feng to rice. and Centwine was Cynegilsing. Cynegils Ceolwulfing. And Æðe red Miercna cyning oferhergeada Centlond.

678. Her oþiewde cometa se steorra. And Wilfriþ biscop wæs adrifen of his bisc̃ dome from Ecgferþe cyninge.

679. Her Ælfwine wæs ofslægen. and Sc̃e Æþelþryþ forþ ferde.

680. Her gesæt Þeodorius ærce biscop senoþ on Hæþfelda. forþon he wolde þone Cristes geleafan geryhtan. And þy ylcan geare forþferde Hild abbodesse on Streones heale.

682. On þissum geare Centwine gefliemde Bret wealas oþ sæ.

685. Her Ceadwalla ongan æfter rice winnan. Se Ceadwalla was Coenbryhting. Coenbrhyt Cading. Cadda Cuþaing. Cuþa Ceawlining. Ceawlin Cynricing. Cynric Cerdicing. And Mul was Ceadwallan broþur. and þone mon eft on Cent forbærnde. And þy ilcan geare Ecgferþ cyning mon ofslog. Se Ecgferþ wæs Osweoing. Osweo Æþelferþing. Æþelferþ Æþelricing. Æþelric Iding. Ida Eopping. And Hloþhere þy ilcan geare forþ ferde.

686. Her Ceadwalla and Mul Cent and Wieht forhergedon.

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F. 685. . . . Her wearð on Brytene blodi ren. and meolc and butere wurdon gewend to blode.

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7 The fourth piece of the records of Peterborough, peculiar to E. The intrusion is betrayed, not only by the language and the subject, but also by the Synchronizing of Theodorus with the prelacy of Egbalth. Such a notice is proper to a monograph, but very incongruous in a page of the national story, where the very key-note of the era is Theodorus.

676. Her Æscwine forðferde. and Hedde feng to biscop dome. and Centwine feng to West Seaxna rice. and Æðelred Myrcena cining ofer hergode Centland.

678. Her ateowede cometa se steorra on Auguste. and scan iii monðas ælce morgen swilce sunne beam. and Wilferð biscop wæs adrifen of his biscop dome fram Ecferðe ciningc. and man ge halgode ii biscopas on his stal. Bosan to Derum. and Eatan to Beornicum. and man ge halgode Lindis warum to biscope Eadhed. se wæs on Lindissi ærost biscopa.

679. Her man of sloh Ælfwine be Trentan þær ðær Egferð and Æðelred ge fuhton. and her forðferde sce Æðeldrið. and Coludes burh for barn mid godcundum fyre.

680. Her ge set Theodorus ærcebiscopes sinoð on Hæð felda. forþan þe he wolde þone Cristes ge læfan ge rihtan. and þy geare Hild abboðessa on Streones heale forðferde.

681. Her man halgode Trumbriht biscop to Hagustaldes ea. and Trumwine Pihtum forþan hy hyrdon þa hider.

682. Her on ðissum geare Centwine ge flymde Britwalas oþ sæ.

684. Her on ðissum geare sende Ecgferð here on Scottas. and Briht his ealdorman mid. and earmlice hi Godes cyrican hyndan and bærndon.

685. Her hæt Ecgferð cining ge halgian Cuðberht to biscope. and Theodorus archiepˢ hine ge halgode on Eoferwic þam forman Eastor dæge to biscope to Hagustaldes ham. for þam Trumbriht wæs adon of ðam biscop dome. and ðy ilcan geare man of sloh Ecgferð cining be norðan sæ. and mycelne here mid him on xiii° kl' Junii. He wæs xv winter cining. and Aldfrið his broðor feng æfter him to rice. and her ongan Ceadwala winnan æfter rice. and þy ilcan geare Loðere Cant wara cining forðferde. and man ge halgode Iohannes on Agust' to biscope. and he þær wæs oðde Wilfriþ in com. Syðdan feng Iohannes to Ceastre biscop dome. forðan Bosa biscop wæs forðfaren. þa wæs Wilferð his preost syðdan ge halgod Ceastre to biscope. and † for to his mynstre on Dera wuda. † i.e. John.

686. Her Ceadwala and Mul his broðor for hergodan Cent and Wiht. 7 þæs Cædwala gef into sce Petres minstre Medeshamstede Hoge. þ is in an igland Heabureahg hatte. þa wæs abbot on þære minstre Egbalth wæs ge haten. heo wæs se þridde abbot æfter Saxulfe. þa wæs Theodorus ærceb' on Cent.

687. Her Mul wearþ on Cent forbærned. and oþre xii men mid him. and þy geare Ceadwalla eft Cent forhergeada.

688. Her Ine feng to Wesseaxna rice. and heold xxxvii wiñt. Ænd þy ilcan geare Ceadwalla for to Rome. and fulwihte onfeng from þam papan. and se papa hine heht Petrus. and ymb vii niht he forþ ferde. Þoñ was se Ine Cenreding. Cenred Ceolwalding. Ceolwald was Cynegilses broþur. and þa wæron Cuþwines suna Ceaulininges. Ceaulin Cynricing. Cynric Cerdicing.

*and he getimbrade þ menster æt Glæstinga byrig.*

690. Her Þeodorius ærce bisc̄ forþ ferde. and feng Beorhtwald to þam bisc̄ dome. Ær wærun Romanisce biscepas. siþþan wærun Englisce.

694. Her Cantware ge þingodan wiþ Ine. and him gesaldon xxx m̄[u]. forþon þe hie ær Mul for bærndon. Ænd Wihtred feng to Cant wara rice and heold xxxiii wiñt. Se Wihtred was Ecgbryhting. Ecgbyrht Ærcenbryhting. Erconbryht Eadbalding. Eadbald Æþelbryhting.

703. Her Hedde bisc̄ forþ ferde. and he heold þone bisc̄ dom xxvii wiñt on Winta ceastre.

704. Her Æþelred Pending Miercna cyning onfeng munuc hade. and þæt rice heold xxviiii wintra. þa feng Coenred to.

705. Her Ældferþ Norðan hymbra cyning forþ ferde and Seaxwulf bisc̄.

709. Her Ældhelm bisc̄ forþferde. se wæs be [x] westan wuda bisc̄. and wæs todæled in fore weardum Danieles dagum in tua bisc̄scira West Seaxna lond and ær hit wæs ān. oþer heold Daniel. oþer Ældhelm. Æfter Ældhelme feng Forþ here to. Ænd Ceolred feng to

[u] $\overline{xxx}$ punda B. xxx þusend punda to freondscipe F. xxx milia librarum F. *Lat.* In Mon. Hist. Brit. the reading of A is given as xxx manna = *thirty men:* probably an oversight. No doubt m̄ stands for milia.

[x] Selewuda B.

687. Her Mul wærð on Cent bærned. and oðre xii men mid him. and þy geara Ceadwala eft forhergode Cent.

688. Her for Ceadwala cining to Rome. and onfeng fulluht æt Sergium þam papan. and he him scop Petrum to name. and he syððan ymbe vii niht forðferde on xii kl' Mai under Cristes claðum. and he wæs gebyrged innan Sče Petres cyrican. and Ine feng to rice on Wæst Sæxna æfter him. se rixade xxvii wintra. and syððan gewat to Rome. and þær wunode oþ his endedæg.

690. Her Theodorus ærceb' forðferde. he wæs xxii wintra b'. and he wæs bebyrged innan Cantwarbyrig.

692. Her Brihtwold wæs gecoren to ærcebiscop on kl' Jul'. he wæs ær abbot on Raculfe. ær þissan wæron Romanisce biscopas. and syððan wæron Englisce. þa wæron ii ciningas on cent. Wihtred. and Wæbheard.

693. Her wæs Brihtwald gehalgod to ærcebiscope fram Godune Galwala biscop on v nō Jul'. innan þas tyd Gifemund b' forðferde. and Brihtwald gehalgode Tobian on his steall. and Brihthelm wæs of lyfe gelæd.

694. Her Cantwara geðingoden wið Ine and him gesealdon xxx þusenda forðan þe hi ær Mul forbærndon. and Wihtred feng to Cantwara rice. and heold thre and twenti wintra.

697. Her Suðan hvmbre ofslogon Ostryðe Æðelredes cwen. Ecgfriðes swuster.

699. Her Pyhtas slogon Berht ealdorman.

702. Her Kenred feng to Suð hvmbra rice.

703. Her Hædde b' forðferde. and he heold þone biscop dom xxvii wintra on Wintan ceastre.

704. Her Æðelred Pending Mircena cining onfeng munuc hade. and þet rice heold xxix wintra. þa feng Kenred to.

705. Her Aldfrið Norþan hymbra cining forðferde on xix kl' Jañ on Driffelda. þa feng Osred his sunu to rice.

709. Her Aldelm biscop forðferde. seo wæs be wæstan wudu b'. and wæs to dæled on fore weardum Danieles dagum on ii biscop scyra Wæst Seaxna landes. and ær hit wæs an. oðer heold Daniel. oðer Aldelm biscop. æfter Aldelme Forhere feng to. and Ceolred feng to Myrcena rice. and Cenred for to Rome and Offa mid him. and Cenred wæs þær oð his lifes ende. and þi ilcan geare Wilferð biscop forðferde

Mierena rice. and Ceonred for to Rome and Offa mid him.

710. *Her Beorhtfriþ ealdormon feaht wiþ Peohtas. And Ine and Nun his mæg gefuhton wiþ Gerente Wala cyninge.*

714. Her forþ ferde Guþlac se halga.

715. Her Ine and Ceolred fuhton æt Woddes beorge.

716. Her Osred Norþan hymbra cyning wearþ of slægen se hæfde vii winter rice [y]æfter Āldferþe. þa feng Coenred to rice. and heold ii gear. þa Osric and heold xi gear. Ānd on þam ilcan geare Ceolred Mierena cyning forþ ferde. Ānd his lic resteþ on Licet felda. and Æþelrædes Pendinges on Bearddan igge. and þa feng Æþelbald[z] to rice on Mercium. and heold xli winter. Æþelbald wæs Ālweoing. Ālweo Eawing. Eawa Pybing. þæs cyn is beforan awriten[a].

Ānd Ecgbryht se arwierþa wer on Hīī þam ealonde þa munecas on ryht gecierde. þat hie Eastron on ryht heoldon. and þa ciriclecan scare.

718. Her Ingild forþ ferde Ines broþur. and hiera swostur wærun Cuen burg and Cuþ burh. and sio Cuþ burh þæt liif æt Win burnan arærode and hio wæs forgifen Norþan hymbra cyninge Āld ferþe. and hie be him lifgendum hie gedeldun.

721. Her Daniel ferde to Rome. and þy ilcan geare Ine ofslog Cynewulf.

722. Her Æþelburg cuen to wearp Tantun[b] and Ine ær timbrede. and Āldbryht wræccea gewat on Suþrige and on Suþ Seaxe. and Ine gefeaht wiþ Suþ Seaxum.

725. Her Wihtred Cantwara cyning forþferde. *and Eadberht feng to Centrice.* þæs cyn is beforan[c]. Ānd Ine feaht wiþ SuþSeaxan. and þær ofslog Āldbryht.

728. Her Ine ferde to Rome. and þær his feorh gescalde and feng Æþelheard to Wesseaxna rice and

in Undalum. and his lic man lædde to Ripum. he wæs biscop xlv wintra. þone Ecgferð cining ær bedraf to Rome.

710. Her Acca Wilferðes preost feng to þam biscop dome þe he ær heold. and þam ilcan geare feoht Beorhtfrið ealdor man wið Pyhtas betwix Hæfe and Cære. and Ine and Nun his mæi gefuhton wið Gerente Weala cininge[8]. and þam ilcan geare man of sloh Hygebald.

714. Her Guðlac seo halga forðferde.

715. Her Ine and Ceolred gefuhton æt Wodnes beorge.

716. Her Osred Norðanhymbra cininga wærð of slagen be suðan gemære. se hæfde vii winter æfter Ealdferþe. þa feng Cenred to rice. and heold ii gear. and þa Osric and heold xi gear. and eac on þam ilcan geare Ceolred Myrcena cining forþferde. and his lic restað on Licetfelda. and Æðelredes Pendinges on Bearðan ege. and þa feng Æðelbald to rice on Myrcum. and heold xli wintra. and Ecgbyrht se arwurþa wer íé hiwan to rihtum Eastrum. and to Sc̃e Petres scære.

718. Her Ingild forðferde Ines broðor. and heo swustra wæron Cwenburh and Cuðburh. and seo Cuðburh ꝥ lyf æt Winburnan ærerde. and heo wæs forgifen Norðhymbra cininge Ealdferðe. and héo be him lifigendum gedældon.

721. Her Daniel for to Rome. and þi ilcan geare me of sloh Cynewulf þone æþeling. and her forðferde se halga biscop Ioh's. se wæs biscop xxxiii geara. and viii monðas. and xiii dagas. and his lic restað in Beoferlic.

722. Her Æðelburh cwen to wærp Tantun þone Ine ær tymbrade. and Ealdbriht wrecca gewat on Suðrege. and on Suð Seaxe.

725. Her Wihtred Cantwara cining forðferde on nō kl' Mai. se rixade xxxiiii wintra. and Ine gefeaht wið Suðseaxum. and þær of sloh Ealdberht þone æþeling þe he ær utflemde.

726. Her Ine for to Rome. and feng Æðelheard to West Seaxna rice his mæi. and heold xiiii gear.

y and æfter, the reading of Ā, seems to be an error.

z This Æþelbald was forced into exile by Ceolred, and had betaken himself to St. Guthlac, the Hermit of Crowland: with whom he found refuge and comfort (gebeorh and frofor). The holy man predicted a happy issue out of his troubles, and assured him that he should be king of Mercia. Cf. A. Saxon Life of S. Guthlac (Ed. Goodwin), cap. 19.

a Anno 626. b þe B.

c Anno 694.

8 See Smith and Stevenson on E. H. v. 18. (§ 410. Ed. Stev.)

heold xiiii gear And þy geare gefuhton Æþelheard and Oswald se æþeling and se Oswald was Æþelbalding. Æþelbald Cynebalding. Cynebald Cuþwining. Cuþwine Ceaulining.

729. Her cometa se steorra hiene oþiewde and Sēs Ecgbryht forþferde.

730. Her Oswald se æþeling forþ ferde.

731. Her was ofslægen Osric Norþan hymbra cyning and feng Ceoluulf to þam rice. and heold viii gear. And se Ceolwulf wæs Cuþaing. Cuþa Cuþwining. Cuþwine Leodwalding. Leodwald Ecgwalding· Ecgwald Aldhelming. Aldhelm Ocging. Ocga Iding. Ida Eopping. And Beorhtwald ærce bisc̄ gefōr.

And þy ilcan geare Tatwine wæs gehalgod to ærce bisc̄.

733. Her Æþelbald ge eode Sumur tūn and sunne aþiestrode.

734. Her wæs se mona swelce he wære mid blode begoten and ferdon forþ Tatwine and Bieda.

736. Her Noþhelm ærce biscep onfeng pallium from Romana bisc̄.

737. Her Forþhere bisc̄ and Friþogiþ cuen ferdun to Rome.

738. Her Ead bryht Eating Eata Leodwalding feng to Norþan hymbra rice. and heold xxi wiñt. and his broþor wæs Ecgbryht Eating ærce bisc̄ and hie restaþ begen on Eofor wic ceastre on anum portice.

741. Her Æþelheard cyning forþ ferde and feng Cuþræd to Wesseaxna rice and heold xvi wiñt and heardlice gewon wiþ Æþelbald cyning And Cuþbryht wæs to ærce bisc̄ gehalgod. and Dūn bisc̄ to Hrofes ceastre.

743. Her Æþelbald and Cuþræd fuhton wiþ Walas.

727. Her forðferde Tobias biscop in Rofecestre. and on his stal Brihtwold ærcebiscop ge halgode Aldulf to biscope.

729. Her atewoden twegen cometan. and þi ilcan geare Osric forðferde seo wæs xi winter cining. and seo halga Ecgbriht in Ií. þa feng Ceolwulf to rice. and heold viii gear.

730. Her Oswald æðeling forðferde.

731. Her Brihtwold ærcebiscop forðferde on Id' Janr. seo wæs biscop xxxvii wintre. and six monðas and xiiii dagas. and þy ilcan geare man ge halgode Tatwine to ærcebiscop. seo wæs ær in Mercum preost in Breodune. hine halgodan Daniel Wæntan biscop. and Ingwald Lunden biscop. and Aldwine Licet felda b'. and Aldulf Rofeceastre b'. die x Junii mensis.

733. Her Æðelbold ge eode Sumor tun and sunne aðestrode. and Acca wæs adrifen of biscop dome.

734. Her wæs se mona swilce he wære mid blode begoten. and Tatwine forðferde erceb'. and eac Beda. and man ge halgode Ecgbriht to biscope.

735. Her onfeng Ecgbriht b' pallium æt Rome.

736. Her Noþhelm ercebiscop onfeng pallium fram Romana biscope.

737. Her Forð here biscop. and Fryðegiþ cwen ferdon to Rome. and Ceolwulf cining feng to Petres scære. and sealde his rice Edberhte his federan sunu. se rixade xxi winter. and Æðelwold biscop and Acca forðferdon. and Cynewulf man ge halgode to biscope. and þy ilcan geare Æðelwold hergode Norðhymbra land.

738. Her Eadbriht Eating Eata Leodwalding feng to Norðhymbra rice. and heold xxi wintra. and his broðor wæs Ecgbriht Eating ærceb'. and heo restað begen on Eoferwic ceastre on anum portice.

740. Her Æðelherd cining forðferde. and fæng Cuðred his mæg to West Seaxna rice. and heold xvi gear. and heardlice ge wann wiþ Æðelbold Myrcena cining. and Eadberht wæs to ærceb' ge halgod. and Dunn b' to Rofescæstre.

741. Her forbarn Eoferwic.

743. Her Æðelbald Myrcena cining and Cuðred West Seaxna cining gefuhton wiþ Wealas.

744. Her Danihel gesæt on Wintan ceastre and Hunferþ feng to bisc̃ dome.

745. Her Danihel forþ ferde. þa was xliii wint' ág̃án siþþan he onfeng bisc̃ dome.

746. Her mon slog Selred cyning.

748. Her wæs ofslægen Cynric Wesseaxna æþeling and Eadbryht Cantwara cyning forþ ferde. *and Æthelbyrht Wihtredes sunu cinges feng to þam rice.*

750. Her Cuþred cyning gefeaht uuiþ Æþelhun þone ofermedan aldorman.

752. Her Cuþred gefeaht þy xii geare his rices æt Beorg feorda wiþ Æþelbald.

753. Her Cuþred feaht wiþ Walas.

754. Her Cuþred forþferde and Cyneheard onfeng bisc̃ dome æfter Húnferþe on Wintan ceastre and Cantwara burg forbærn þy geare and Sigebryht feng to Wesseaxna rice and heold an gear.

755. Her Cynewulf benam Sigebryht his rices and West Seaxna wiotan for unryhtum dædum. buton Ham tún scire. and he hæfde þa oþ he ofslog þone aldor mon þe him lengest wunode. and hiene þa Cynewulf on Ándred adræfde. and he þær wunade. oþ þæt hiene án swán [d]ofstang æt Pryfetes flodan. and he wræc þone aldor mon Cumbran. and se Cynewulf oft miclum gefeohtum feaht uuiþ Bret walum. and ymb xxxi wiñt þæs þe he rice hæfde he wolde adræfan anne æþeling se wæs Cyneheard haten and se Cyneheard wæs þæs Sigebryhtes broþur. Ánd þa geascode he þone cyning lytle werode on wif cyþþe on Meran tune. and hine þær berad and þone bur utan be eode ær hine þa men onfunden þe mid þam cyninge wærun. and þa ongeat se cyning þæt and he on þa duru eode and þa un heanlice hine werede. oþ he on þone æþeling locude and þa ut ræsde on hine and hine miclum gewundode. and hie ealle on þone cyning wærun

744. Her Daniel ge sæt on Wintan cæstre. and Un feng to b'dome. and steorran foran swyðe scotienda. and Wilferð seo iunga se wæs b' on Eoferwic forðferde on iii kl' Mai. se wæs xxx wintra biscop.

745. Her Daniel forðferde. þa wæs xlvi wintra agan syððan he onfeng biscopdome.

746. Her man sloh Selred cining.

748. Her wæs of slagen Cynric West Seaxna æþeling. and Eadbriht Cantwara cining forðferde.

750. Her Cuðred Wæst Seaxna cining ge feaht wið Æþelhun ðone eofer modigan ealdor man.

752. Her Cuþred Wæst Seaxna cining ge feaht þy xxii geara his rices æt Beorh forda. wið Æðelbald Myrcena cing. and hine ge flymde.

753. Her Cuðred Wæst Seaxna cyning ge feaht wið Wealas.

754. Her Cuðred Wæst Sæxna cining forðferde. and Cyne heard onfeng biscop dome æfter Hunferðe on Wintan ceastre. and Cantwara byrig forbarn ðy geare. and Sigbriht his mæg feng to Wæst Seaxna rice. and heold i gear.

755. Her Cynewulf benam Sigebrihte his mæge his rice. and Wæst Seaxna witan for unrihtum dædum buton Hamtun scyre. and he hafde þa oð he of sloh ðone ealdor man þe him lengs wunode. and hine þa Cynewulf on Andred adrefede. and he þær wunode oþ þ an swan hine of stang æt Pryftes flodan. sæ swan wræc ðone ealdorman Cumbran. and se Cynewulf oft feaht mycclum ge feahtum wið Britwealas. and ymb xvi wintra þæs þe he rice hæfde. he wolde adræfan ænne æðeling se wæs Cyneheard gehaten. se Cyneheard wes þæs Sigebrihtes broðor. and þa acsode he þone cining lyt wyrede on wif cyððan on Meran tune. and hine þær berád. and þone bur uton be eodon. ær hine þa men afundan þe mid þam cyninge wæron. and þa ongeat se cyning þ. and he on ða duru eode and þa un heanlice hine werode. oð he on þone æþeling locade. and þa ut resde on hine. and hine mycclum ge wundode. and he ealle on ðone cining feohtende

[d] a quodam subulco juxta Pryfetes-flodan lanceâ perforatur. Flor. There were two kinds of swine-herd, the free and the bond. In *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum* (Thope's Ancient Laws of England), the position, duties and rights of each class may be ascertained.

feohtende oþ þæt hie hine ofslægenne hæfdon. And þa on þæs wifes gebærum onfundon þæs cyninges þegnas þa unstilnesse and þa þider urnon swa hwelc swa þonne gearo wearþ and radost And hiera se æþeling gehwelcum feoh and feorh gebead and hiera nænig hit geþicgean nolde. Ac hie simle feohtende wæran oþ hie alle lægon butan anum Bryttiscum gisle and se swiþe gewundad wæs.

Ða on morgenne gehierdun þæt þæs cyninges þegnas þe him be æftan wærun þæt se cyning ofslægen wæs þa ridon hie þider. and his aldorman Osric and Wiferþ his þegn and þa men þe he be æftan him læfde ær and þone æþeling on þære byrig metton þær se cyning ofslægen læg and þa gatu him to belocen hæfdon and þa þær to eodon. And þa gebead he him hiera agenne dōm feos and londes gif hie him þæs rices uþon. and him cyþdon þæt hiera mægas him mid wæron þa þe him from noldon. And þa cuædon hie þæt him nænig mæg leofra nære þonne hiera hlaford and hie næfre his banan folgian noldon and þa budon hie hiera mægum þæt hie gesunde from eodon. And hie cuædon þæt tæt ilce hiera geferum geboden wære þe ær mid þam cyninge wærun. þa cuædon hie þæt hie hie þæs ne onmunden þon ma þe eowre geferan þe mid þam cyninge ofslægene wærun. And hie þa ymb þa gatu feohtende wæron oþþæt hie þær inne fulgon and þone æþeling ofslogon and þa men þe him mid wærun alle butan anum se wæs þæs aldor monnes god sunu and he his feorh generede and þeah he wæs oft gewundad.

And se Cynewulf ricsode xxxi wiñt. and his lic liþ æt Wintan ceastre and þæs æþelinges æt Ascan mynster and hiera ryht fæder cyn gæþ to Cerdice.
*en*

And þy ilcan geare mon ofslog Æþelbald Miercna

wæron. oð þet hig hine of slægen hæfdon. and þa on ðæs wifes ge bæron onfundon þæs ciningas þegnas þa unstilnessa. and þa þider urnon. swa hwilc swa ðonne gearo wearð hraðost. and se æðeling ge hwilcan feoh and feorh bead. and heo nænig þicgan noldan. ac heo symle feohtende wæron. oþ hig ealle of slagene wæron. buton anum Brytwyliscum gisle. and se swyðe ge wundod wæs.

Þa on morgen ge hyrdon þ þes ciniges þegnas þe him bæfton wæron þ se cining of slagen wæs. þa ridon þider and his ealdorman Osric. and Wiferð his þegn. and þa men þe he him be æfton læfde ær. and þone æðeling on þære byrig ge metton þær se cining of slagen læg. and heo þa gatu heom to belocen hæfdon. and ða ðer to eodon. and þa bead he heom heora agene dom feos and landes gif heo him þæs rices uðon. and heom cydde þ heora maga him mid wæron ða þe him fram noldon. and þa cweðon hig. þ heom nænig mæg leofra nære þone heora hlaford. and heo næfre his banan folgian noldon. and þa budon hi heora magon þ hi heom ge sunde fram eodon. And hi cwædon þ þ ilce heora ge ferum ge boden wære þe ær mid þam cininge wæron. Ða cwædon hi þ þ hi þæs ne ge mundon þonn̄ ma þe heora ge feren þe mid þam cininge wæron of slagene. hi þa ymb ða gatu feohtende wæron oð hi þær in flugon. and þone æþeling of slogon. and þa men ðe mid him wæron ealle buton anum. se wæs þes ealdormannes godsunu. and he his feorh ge nerede. and he wæs oft ge wundod.

And se Cynewulf rixade xxxi wintra. and his lic ligð on Wintan ceastre. and þæs æðelingas on Axan mynster. and heora riht fæderan cyn gæð to Certicc.

And þy ilcan geare man of sloh Æðelbald Myrcene cining on

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F. 755. Her Cynewulf benam Sib'te cinge his rice. and Sib'tes broðer Cynehard gehaten. of sloh Cynewulf on Merantune. And he rixode xxxi gear. And ðas ylcan geares man of sloh Æðelbald Myrcena cing on Hreopandune. And Offa gefeng Myrcena rice. geflymdon Beornrede.

cyning on Seccan dune. and his lic liþ on Hreopa dune. and Beornræd feng to rice. and lytle hwile heold and ungefealice. And þy ilcan geare Offa feng to rice. and heold xxxviiii wiñt. And his sunu Egfer[þ] heold xli daga and c daga Se Offa wæs þincg ferþing þincg ferþ Ean wulfing Eanwulf Osmoding Osmod Eawing Eawa Pybbing Pybba Creoding Creoda Cynewalding Cynewald Cnebbing Cnebba Iceling Icel Eomæring Eomær Angelþowing Angel þeow Offing Offa Wærmunding Wærmund Wyhtlæging Wihtlæg Wodening.

758. Her Cuþbryht arce bisc̃ forþferde.

759. Her Bregowine wæs to erce bisc̃ gehadod to Sc̃e Michaeles tide.

760. Her Æþelbryht Cant wara cyning forþferde. *se was Wihtredes cing sunu.*

761. Her wæs se mycla wiñt.

763. Her Ianbryht wæs gehadod to ærce bisc̃ on þone feowertegan dæg ofer midne winter.

764. Her Iaenbryht ærce bisc̃ onfeng pallium.

768. *Her forþferde Eadberht Eating cing.*

772. Her Milred bisc̃ forþferde.

773. Her oþiewde read Cristes mæl on hefenum æfter sunnan setlgonge and þy geare gefuhton Mierce and Cantware æt Ottanforda and wunderleca nædran wæron gesewene on Suþ Seaxna londe.

8 This is the Ceolwulf whose name is famous through the Dedication of the Ecclesiastical History. GLORIOSISSIMO REGI CEOLUULPHO BAEDA Famulus Christi et Presbyter. We have had his accession to the Northumbrian throne in 729, and his abdication and retirement to a monastic life in 737. Monachus apud Lindisfarnensem insulam factus est. (Sim. Durh.) Accounts differ widely as to the year of his death. He was canonized, and placed in the Calendar Jan. 15. (Stevenson's Bæda.)

Secandune. and his lic restaþ on Reopandune. and he rixade xli wintra. and þa feng Beornred to rice. and litle hwile heold and unge fealice. and þa ilcan geare Offa ge flymde Beornred and feng to þam rice. and heold xxxix wintra. and his sunu Ecgferþ heold xli daga. and c daga. se Offa wæs þingc ferþing.

757. Her Eadberht Norðhymbra cining feng to scære. and Osulf his sunu feng to þam rice. and rixade i gear. and hine of slogon his hiwan on ix kl' Augusti.

758. Her Cuðbriht ærceb' forðferde.

759. Her Bregowine wæs to ærceb' ge halgod to sce Michaeles tyde. and Moll Æðelwold feng to rice on Norð hymbrum. and rixade vi wiñt. and hit þa forlet.

760. Her Æðelbriht Cantwara cining forðferde. and Ceolwolf eac forðferde[8].

761. Her wæs se myccla winter. and Moll Norþhymbra cining of sloh Oswine æt Ædwines clife. on octauo id' Augusti.

762. Her Ianberht wæs ge hadod to ærceb' on ðon xl dæg ofer mide winter. and Friðewald biscop æt Witerne forðferde on nō Mai. se wæs ge halgod on Ceastrum on xviii kl' Sept. þam vi wintra Ceolwulfes rices. and he wæs b' xxix wintra. þa man ge halgode Pyhtwine to b' æt Ælfet ee on xvi kl' Aug' to Hwiterne.

765. Her feng Alhred to Norðhymbra rice. and rixade eahta winter.

766. Her forðferde Ecgberht ærceb'. in Eoferwic on xiii kl' Decemb'. se wæs b' xxxvi wintra. and Friðeberht in Hagustaldes éé. se wæs biscop xxxiiii wintra. and man ge halgode Æðelberht to Eoferwic. and Ealhmund to Hagustaldes ee.

768. Her forðferde Eadberht Eating on xiiii kl' Septembris.

769. Initium regni Karoli regis.

772. Her Mildred b' forðferde.

774. Her Norðhymbra fordrifon heora cining Alhred of Eoferwic on Easter tid. and genamon Æðelred Molles sunu heom to hlaforde. and se rixade iiii gear. and men ge segon read Cristes mel on heofenum æfter sunnan setlan gange. on þy geare ge fuhton Myrce and Cantwara æt Ottan forda. and wundorlice nædran wæron ge seogene on Suðseaxna lande.

776. Her forðferde Pehtwine biscop on xiii kl' Octob'. se wæs b' xiiii wintra.

777. Her Cynewulf and Offa gefuhton ymb Benesingtūn and Offa nam þone tuun.

780. Her Ald Seaxe and Francan gefuhtun.

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F. 777. Her was Æðelbyrht gehalgod to b' to Hwit'ne on Euerwic.

778. Her feng Alwold to rice and rixad x winter.

779. Her Æðelbyrht arb' forðferde. and Eanbald was gehalgud an his loh. and Cynebald geset in Lindisfarna ēē.

780. Her Alcmund b' on Hagstd'ēē forðferde. and Tilb'eht

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9 The fifth piece of the records of Peterborough Minster. It is two old documents; the first a Lease of Abbey Lands, the second an instrument of affiliation.

The historian has his originals before him; he divests them of their technicalities, and gives them a more familiar form. So it was with the earlier parts also: for we may sometimes discern in them the fragmentary traces of an older form, though we know nothing of it from any other source. There is a document in existence concerning the gift of Ceadwala in 686, but it is spurious. It may be seen in Mr. Kemble's great work, the Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici (No. 40). But the present insertion may be compared with extant originals; Cod. Dipl. Nos. 165. 168. The former identifies itself completely with the text, and forms an excellent illustration.

✠ In nomine gubernantis dei monarchiam totius mundi! Ego Beonna abbas gratia dei, cum conscientia et licentia fratrum deum colentium in monasterio quod appellatur Medeshamstede, tradidi Cuthberhto principi terram x. manentium, quæ nuncupatur æt Suinesheabde, cum pratis et pascuis ac silbis cunctisque ad se pertinentibus. Hanc autem terram ille Cuthberht a me digno comparauit prætio, id est mille solidis, et singulis annis mihi meisque successoribus unius noctis pastum aut triginta . . . rauit siclos. Hoc territorium præfatus princeps ea conditione adquisiuit, ut post completionem diei illius, qui ab eo meruere satagunt hæredibus derelinquat, et hæredes prædecessoris præfatam conditionem conseruent in pastu uel pecunia; et post uitam illorum absque offendiculo pacis ad ius pristinum antenominata terra reuertatur. Huius autem rei ita gestæ hi fideles testes aderant et conscripserunt.

✠ Ego Offa gratia dei rex Merciorum signo crucis Christi propria manu roboraui. + Ego quoque Ecgferth rex Merciorum consensi et subscripsi. + Ego Hygeberht archiepiscopus firmando subscripsi. + Ego Ce[ol]uulf episcopus scribendo consensi. + Ego Unuuona episcopus scribendo firmaui. + Ego Beonna abbas hanc meam munificentiam signo crucis Christi firmaui. + Ego Uu[ig]bald presbyter et arc consensi. + Ego Beornuuald presbyter subscribendo consenso. + Ego Eanred presbyter subscribo et consenso. + Ego Tilþegn scribendo firmaui.

777. Her Cynewulf and Offa ge flyton ymb Benesingtun. and Offa genam þone tun. And þy ilcan geare man gehalgode Æðelberht to biscope to Hwiterne in Eoferwic on xvii kl' Iulii.

9On þas kinges dæi Offa. wæs an abbot on Medeshamstede Beonne gehaten. se ilca Beonne þurh ealle þa muneke red of þere minstre þa let he Cuðbriht ealdorma x bonde land æt Swines heafde mid læswe and mid mædwe. and mid eal þet þær to læi. and swa þ seo Cuðbriht geaf þone abbote L punde þær fore. and ilca gear anes nihtes feorme ouðer xxx scyllinge penega. swa eac þ eafter his dæi scolde seo land ongean into þa mynstre. At þis gewitnesse wæs seo kining Offa. and seo kining Egferð. and seo ærceb' Hygeberht. and Ceolwulf biscop. and Inwona b'. and Beonna abbot. and feola oþre biscopes and abbotes. and feola oðre ricemen.

On þes ilca Offa dæi. wæs an ealdorman Brordan wæs ge haten. he geornde at se kyning. þ he scolde for his luuen freon his ane mynstre Wocingas het. forþi ðet he hit wolde giuen into Medeshamstede. and Sče Peter. and þone abbote þe þa was. he was Pusa gehaten. seo Pusa wæs æfter Beonna. and seo kining hine luuede swiðe. and seo kyning freode þa þ mynstre Wocingas wið cining and wið biscop and wið eorl. and wið ealle men. swa þ nan man ne hafde þær nan onsting. buton S. Peter and þone ab'. Ðis wæs don on þe cininges tune Freoric burna hatte.

778. Her Æðebald and Hearberht of slogon iii heah ge refan Ealdulf Bosing æt Cininges clife. and Cynewulf. and Ecgan æt Hela þyrnum on xi kl' Apr. and þa feng Alfwold to rice. and Æðelred be draf on lande. and he rixade x winter.

Karolus in Hispanias intravit. Karolus Saxoniam venit. Karolus Pampileniam urbem destruxit, atque Cesar Augustam: exercitum suum conjunxit, et acceptis obsidibus, subjugatis Sarracenis, per Narbonam Wasconiam Franciam rediit.

779. Her Ealdseaxe and Francon ge fuhton. and Norð hymbra heah ge refan forbearndon Beorn ealdor man on Sele tune on ix kl' Janr. and Æðelberht erceb' forðferde in Ceastre. and on þæs stall Eanbald wæs ge halgod. and Cynebald b' ge sæt in Lindisfarna ee.

780. Her Alchmund biscop in Hagsta'd ee forðferde on vii

784. Her Cyneheard ofslog Cynewulf cyning and he þær wearþ ofslægen and lxxxiiii monna mid him and þa onfeng Beorhtric Wesseaxna rices. and he ricsode xvi gear and his lic liþ æt Werham. and his ryht fædren cyn gæþ to Cerdice. *To þysan timan rixode Ealh mund cing innon Cent.*

785. Her wæs geflit fullic senoþ æt Cealc hyþe. and Iaenbyrht ærcebisc̃ forlet sumne dæl his bisc̃domes. and from Offan kyninge Higebryht wæs gecoren. and Ecgferþ to cyninge gehalgod.

787. Her nom Beorhtric cyning Offan dohtor Eadburge. And on his dagum cuomon ærest iii scipu and þa se gerefa þærto rad and hie wolde drifan to þæs cyninges tune þy he nyste hwæt hie wæron. and hiene mon ofslog. Þæt wæron þa ærestan scipu Deniscra monna þe Angelcynnes lond gesohton.

790. Her Iaenbryht ærcebisc̃ forþferde. and þy ilcan geare wæs gecoren Æþelheard abbud to bisc̃.

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was gecoren þan to. and Hibald to Lindisfarana éé. and Alwold cing sende to Rome æfter pallium to Eanboldes arb' behoue.

782. Her forðferde Cynewulf b' of Lind' and Sinoð was at Aclea.

785. Her sæt full sinoð at Cealchyðe. and Ianbęrht arb' farlet sum dæl of his b'dome. and fram Offan cinge Higbyrht was gecoren. and Egferð to cinge gehalgod. and on ðis timan wæron ærendracan gesend fram Adriane papan to Englalande to geniweanne ðone geleavan. ða sc̃s Gregorius us sende. and hi man mid wurðscipe underfeng.

787. Her Brihtric cing nam Offan doht' Eadburhge to wive. and on his dagan coman ærost iii scipa Norðmanna of Hereða lande. þ wæran ða æroston scipa Deniscra manna ðe Angelcynnes land gesohton.

788. Her was Sinoð gegaderod on Nordhumbralande æt Pincanheale.

789. Her was Alwold Norðhymbra cing wearð ofslagen and heovonlice lioht was gelome gesawen ðar ðar he ofslagen was. and Osred Alcredes sunu feng to rice forðan he was Alwoldes neva. And mycel sinoð was at Aclea.

790. Her Ianbyrht arb' forðferde. and ðas ylcan geares was gecoren Aðelhard Hludensis monasterii abb' to arb'. and Osred Norðhymbra cing was aflymed of rice. and Æðelred Aðelwaldes sunu eft feng to rice.

791. Her Baldulf was gehalgod to b' fram Eanbalde arb' and fram Æðelb'hte b' to Hwit'ne.

id' Sept. and Tilberht man ge halgode on his steal on vi nō Octob'. and Higbald man ge halgode to biscop æt Soccabyrig to Lindisfarna ee. and Ælfwold cining sende man æfter pallium to Rome and Eanbald dyde to ærceb'.

782. Her forðferde Wærburh Ceolredes cwen. and Cyne wulf b' in Lindisfarna ee. and seonod wæs at Aclea.

784. Her Cyneheard of sloh Cynewulf cining. and he wærð þær of slagen. and lxxxiiii manna mid him. and þa onfeng Brihtric West Seaxna cining to rice. and he rixade xvi gear. and his lic lið ær Wærham. and his riht fædern cyn gæð to Certice.

785. Her forðferde Botwine abbot in Hripum. and her wæs ge flit fullic sinoð æt Cealchyðe. and Ianberht erceb' forlet sumne dæl his biscop domes. and fram Offan cininge Hygebriht wes ge coren. and Ecgferð to cining ge halgode.

And in ðas tid wæren ærendracen ge send of Rome fram Adrianum papan to Ængla lande to niwianne þone geleafan and þa sibbe ðe sēs Gregorius us sende þurh þone b' Augustinum. and hi man mid wurðscipe under feng.

787. Her nam Breohtric cining Offan dohter Eadburge. and on his dagum comon ærest iii scipu Norðmanna of Hereða lande. and þa se ge refa þær to rad. and he wolde drifan to ðes cininges tune þy he nyste hwæt hi wæron. and hine man of sloh þa. Ðæt wæron þa erestan scipu Deniscra manna þe Angel cynnes land ge sohton.

788. Her wæs sinoð ge gaderod on Norðhymbra lande æt Pincan heale on iiii nō Sept. and Aldberht abb' forðferde.

Karolus per Alemanniam venit ad fines Bauuarie.

789. Her Alfwold Norðanhymbra cining wæs of slagan fram Sigan on ix kl' Octobr. and heofenlic leoht wæs gelome seogen ðær þer he of slagen wæs. and he wæs be byrged on Hagust'd ee. innan þære cyrican. and sinoð wæs ge gaderod æt Aclea. and Osred Alchredes sunu feng to rice æfter him se wæs his nefa.

790. Her Ianbriht arcebiscop forðferde. and þy ilcan geare wæs ge coren Æðelheard abb' to arceb'. and Osred Norðan hymbra cining wæs be swicen and of rice adrefed. and Æðelred Aðelwaldes sunu eft feng to rice.

791. Her wæs Baldwulf ge halgod to b' to Hwiterne on xvi kl' Aug. fram Eanbalde arceb'. and fram Æðelberhte biscope.

792. Her Offa Miercna cyning het Æþelbryhte rex þæt heafod ofaslean.

794. Her Adrianus pāp and Offa cyning forþferdon. and Æþelred Norþan hymbra cyning wæs of slægen from his agenre þeode and Ceolwulf bisc̃ and Eadbald bisc̃ of þæm londe aforon. and Ecgferþ feng to Miercna rice. and þy ilcan geare forþferde. And Eadbryht onfeng rice on Cent. þam was oþer noma nemned Præn.

796. Her Ceolwulf Miercna cyning oferhergeade Cantware oþ Mersc and gefengun Praen hiera cyning and gebundenne hine on Mierce læddon.

797. Her Romane Leone þæm pāp his tungon forcurfon and his eagan astungon and hine of his setle afliemdon. and þa sona eft Gode fultomiendum he meahte geseon and sprecan. and eft was papa swa he ær wæs.

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792. Her Offa cing het Æðelb'hte cinge þ heavod ofaslean.

793. Her wæran reðe forebycna cumene on Norðhymb'land. and ð folc earmlice drektan. ð wæran ormete ligræscas. and wæran gesawenæ fyrene dracan on ðam lifte fleogende. and sona fylygde mycel hunger. and æfter ðam ðes ylcan geares earmlice hæðenra hergung adyligodan Godes cyrican in Lindisfarena éé. ðurh reaflac and manslyht.

794. Her Adrian' papa and Offa cing forð ferdon. and Aðelred Norðh' cing was ofslagen. and Ceolwulf b' and Eadbald b' of ðan lande foron. and Egcferð feng to Myrc'rice. and on ðan geare forð ferde. and Eadb'ht Præn onfeng rice on Cent.

795. Her was se mona aðestred. betwyx hancre and dagung. and Eardulf feng to Nordh'rice. and gebletsod to cing fram Eanbalde arb' and Æðelb'hte b'. and Higbalde. and Badewulfe b'.

796. Her on ðyson gearæ Ceolwulf Myrcna cing overhergode Cent. and gefeng Eadberht Præn heora cing and gebundene lædde on Myrce. and let him pycan ut his eagan. and ceorfan of his hand.*

797. 798. 799. . . (E. 797) . . and Alfhun b' forðferde on Sudb'i. he wearð bebyrged on Domuce. and Tidfrið wearð gecoren æfter him. and Siric Eastsexana cing ferde to Rome. In ðysum ylcan geare Wihtburge lichama wearð gefunden eal gehal and unfor . . ‡ . . d a Deorham after fif and fiftē gearon þas ðe heo of ðysum live gewat. (‡ *sine corruptione.* F. *Lat.*)

792. Her Offa Myrcena cining het Æðelbrihte þ heafod of slean. and Osred þe wæs Norþanhymbra cining æfter wræc siðe ham cumenum ge læht wæs. and of slagen on xviii kl' Octobr. and his lic ligð æt Tinan muþe. and Æðelred cining feng to niwan wife. seo wæs Ælfled ge haten. on iii kl' Octob.

793. Her wæron reðe forebecna cumene ofer Norðanhymbra land. and þ folc earmlice bregdon. þ wæron ormete lig ræscas and wæron ge seowene fyrene dracan on þam lyfte fleogende. þam tacnum sona fyligde mycel hunger. and litel æfter þam þæs ilcan geares on vi id' Jañr earmlice heðenra manna hergung adiligode Godes cyrican. in Lindisfarena ee. þurh reaflac and man sleht. and Sicga forðferde on viii kl' Mr.

794. Her Adrianus papa and Offa cining forðferden. and Æðelred Norðanhymbra cining wæs of slagan fram his agenre þeode on xiii k' Mai. and Ceolwulf b' and Eadbald biscop of þan lande aforon. and Ecgferð feng to Myrcene rice. and þy ilcan geare forðferde. And Eadbriht onfeng rice on Cent þam wæs oðer nama nemned Præn. And Æðelheard ealdorman forðferde on k' Aug. and þa hæðenan on Norðhymbrum hergodon. and Ecgferðes mynster æt ðone muþe berefodon. and þær heora heretogena sum of slægen wearð. and eac heora scipu sume þurh ofer weder wurdon to brocene. and heora feala þær adruncon. and sume cuce to þam stæðe comon. and þa man sona of sloh æt ðære ea muðan.

795. Her wæs seo mona aðistrod be twux hancred and dagunge on v kl' Apr. And Eardwulf feng to Norþanhymbran cine dome on ii id Mai. and he wæs syððan ge bletsod and to his cine stole ahofen on vii k' Junii on Eoferwic fram Eanbalde arceb' and Æðelberhte. and Higbalde. and Badewulfe.

796. Her forðferde Offa Myrcena cining on iiii id' Augusti. se rixode xl wintra. and Eanbald arceb' on iiii id Aug' þæs ilcan geares. and his lic ligð on Eoferwic. and þes ilcan geares forð ferde Ceolwulf b'. and man ge halgode oþerne Eanbald on þæs oðres stal on xix kl' Sept. and þy ilcan geare Ceolwulf Myrcena cining ofer hergode Cantware and Mersc ware. and ge fengon Præn heora cining. and ge bundenne hine læddon on Myrce.

797. Her Romane Leone þam papan his tungan forcurfan. and his eagan ut astungon. and hine of his setle aflymdon. and þa sona eft Gode ge fultumiendum he mihte ge seon and sprecan. and eft wæs papa swa he ær wæs. and Eanbald

799. Her Æþelheard ærce bisc̃ and Cynebryht Wesseaxna bisc̃ foron to Rome.

800. Her Beorhtric cyning forþferde and Worr aldor mon. And Ecgbryht feng to Wesseaxna rice. And þy ilcan dæge rad Æþelmund aldorman of Hwiccium ofer æt Cynemæres forda. Þa mette hine Weoxtan aldor man mid Wilsætum. Þær wearþ micel gefeoht and þær begen ofslægene þa aldor men. and Wilsætan namon sige.

802. Her wæs gehadod Beorn mod bisc̃ to Hrofes ceastre.

803. Her Æþelheard ærce bisc̃ forþferde and Wulfred wæs to ærce bisc̃ gehadod. and Forþred abbud forþferde.

804. Her Wulfred ærce bisc̃ pallium onfeng.

805. Her Cuþred cyning forþferde on Cantwarum and Ceolburg abbudesse and Heabryht aldor man.

812. Her Carl cyning forþferde. and he ricsode xlv wiñt. And Wulfred arce bisc̃ and Wigbryht Wesseaxna bisc̃ foron begen to Rome.

813. Her Wulfred ærce bisc̃ mid bledsunge þæs papan Leon hwearf eft to his agnum bisc̃ dome and

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F. 806. . (E) . . Eac on ðyse ylcan geare. ii nō Iunii. rode tacn wearð ateowed on ðam monan. anes Wodnes dæges. innan ðare dagenge. and eft on ðysum geare iii kl' Sept. an wunderlic trendel wearð ateowed abutan ðare sunnan. (*Luna xii, die Dominica, hora iiii[a] mirabilis corona in circuitu solis apparuit.* F. *Lat.*)

809. Her seo sunne aðestrode on angynne ðare fifte tide ðas dæges xvii kal' Augusti. ii feria. luna xxix.

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10 Eodem vero die quo rex Brihtricus vita decessit, contigit *Merciorum* ducem Æthelmundum de Mercia cum suis exiisse, vadumque, quod linguâ Anglorum Cymeresford nominatur, transisse; cujus adventu cognito, Wiltoniensium dux Weohstanus cum Wiltoniensibus ascendit contra eum; commissoque gravi prælio, multi ex his et ex illis ceciderunt, amboque duces occisi corruerunt, victoriam verò Wiltonienses habuerunt. (Flor.)

1 Wihstan B. Wehostan C.

2 Brihtric's death; Asser 855.

onfeng pallium on vi id' Sept. and Æðelberht b' forðferde on iii kl' Nov.

798. Her wæs mycel gefeoht on Norðhymbra lande on lengtene on iiii nō Apr. æt Hwealløge. and þær man ofsloh Alric Heardberhtes sunu. and oðre mænige mid him.

799. Her Æðelred arceb' and Cynebriht Wæst Sæxna biscop foran to Roma.

800. Her wæs se mona aðistrad on ðære oðre tid onniht on xvii kl' Febr. and Brihtric cining forðferde[2]. and Worr ældorman. And Ecgberht feng to Wæst Seaxna rice. And þy ilcan dæg rad Æþelmund ealdorman of Hwiccum[10] ofer æt Cynemæres forda. þa gemette hine Weohstan[1] ealdorman mid Wilsætum and þær wærð mycel gefeoht. and þær begen ofslagene wæron. þe ealdormen. and Wilsæte namon sige.

Karolus rex imperator factus est, et a Romanis appellatus Augustus; qui illos qui Leonem papam dehonestaverant morte damnavit, sed precibus papæ morte indulta exilio retrusit. Ipse enim papa Leo imperatorem eum sacraverat.

802. Her aðeostrade se mona on dagunge on xiii kl' Jañr. and Beornmod wæs gehalgod to b' to Rofeceastre þy ilcan geare.

803. Her forðferde Higbald Lindisfarna b' on viii k' Julii. and man gehalgode on his steal Ecgberht on iii id' Junii. and Æðelherd arceb' forðferde on Cent. and Wulfred to arceb' gehalgod.

804. Her Wulfred arceb' onfeng pallium.

805. Her Cuðred cining forðferde on Cantwarum. and Ceolburh abb'e. and Heardberht.

806. Her se mona aðistrode on kl' Sept. and Eardwulf Norðanhymbra cining wæs of his rice adrifen. and Eanberht Hagustealdbs̄ forðferde.

810. Karolus cum Niceforo imperatore Constantinopol' pacem fecit.

812. Her Karl cining forðferde. and he rixade xlv wintra. and Wulfred arceb'. and Wigbriht Wæst Sæxna b' foran to Rome. Cireneius Karolo imperatori legatos suos cum pace mittit. Karolus imperator obiit.

813. Her Wulfred arceb' mid bletsunge þæs papan Leon hwearf eft to his agenum biscop dome. and þy geare geher-

þy geare gehergade Ecgbryht cyning on West Walas from easte weardum oþ weste wearde.

814. Her Leo se æþela pāp and se halga forþferde. and æfter him Stephanus feng to rice.

816. Her Stephanus pāp forþferde. and æfter him was Paschalis to papan gehadod. And þy ilcan geare forborn Ongol cynnes scolu.

819. Her Cenwulf Miercna cyning forþferde and Ceolwulf feng to rice. and Eadbryht aldor mon forþ ferde.

821. Her wearþ Ceolwulf his rices besciered.

822. Her tuegen aldormen wurdon ofslægene Burg helm and Muca. and senoþ wæs æt Clofes hoo.

823. Her wæs Wala gefeoht and Defna æt Gaful forda. And þy ilcan geare gefeaht Ecbryht cyning and Beornwulf cyning on Ellen dune. and Ecgbryht sige nam. and þær wæs micel wæl ge slægen. Þa sende he Æþlwulf his sunu of þære fierde and Ealhstan his biscĕ and Wulfheard his aldor mon to Cent micle werede and hie Baldred þone cyning norþ ofer Temese adrifon. and Cant ware him to cirdon and Suþrige and Suþ Seaxe and East Seaxe þy hie from his mægum ær mid un ryhte anidde wærun.

And þy ilcan geare East Engla cyning and seo þeod gesohte Ecg bryht cyning him to friþe and to mund boran for Miercna ege and þy geare slogon East Engle Beornwulf Miercna cyning.

825. Her Ludecan Miercna cyning and his v aldor men mon ofslog mid him and Wiiglaf feng to rice.

827. Her mona aþistrode on middes wintres mæsse niht.

And þy ilcan geare ge eode Ecgbryht cyning Miercna rice and al þæt be suþan Humbre wæs. and he wæs se eahteþa cyning seþe Bretwalda wæs. Ærest Ælle Suþ Seaxna cyning se þus micel rice hæfde. se

gode Ecgberht cining on West Walas fram eastewearðum oð westewearde.

814. Her Leo se æðela papa and se halga forðferde. and æfter him Stephanus feng to rice.

815. Her Stephanus papa forðferde. and æfter him wæs Paschalis to papan ge halgod. And þy ilcan geare forbarn Angel cynnes scolu.

819. Her Cenwulf Myrcena cining forðferde. and Ceolwulf[3] feng to rice. and Eadberht ealdorman forðferde.

821. Her wærð Ceolwulf his rices bescered.

822. Her twægen aldormen wurdon of slagene Burhhelm and Muca. and sinoð æt Clofes hó.

823. Her wæs Weala ge feoht and Defena æt Gafol forda. And þy ilcan geare ge feaht Ecgberht West Seaxna cining and Beornulf Myrcena cining æt Ellan dune. and Ecgberht sige nam. and þær wæs mycel wæl ge slægen. Þa sende he Æðelwulf his sunu of þære ferde. and Ealhstan his b'. and Wulfheard his ealdorman to Cent mycele wærede. and hi Baldred þone cining norð ofer Temese adrifen. and Cantwara him to cyrdon. and Suðrig. and Suðseaxe. and Eastseaxe. þy hi fram his magum ær mid unrihte anydde wæron.

And þy ilcan geare East Engla cining and seo þeod ge sohte Ecgbriht cining him to friðe and to mundburan for Myrcena ege. and þi ilcan geare slogon East Engle Beornulf Myrcena cining.

825. Her Ludecan Myrcena cining. and his v ealdormen man ofsloh mid him. and Wiglaf feng to rice.

827. Her se mona aðistrode on middes wintres messa niht.

And þy geare ge eode Ecgbriht cining Myrcena rice. and eal þ be suðan Humbre wæs. and he wæs se eahtoða cining se þe Bryten wealda wæs. And ærest wæs Ælle Suðseaxna cining se

3 Between Cenwulf and Ceolwulf was a brief reign of the sainted king, Cenhelm: found in no MS. of the Chronicle. Florence celebrates him: Rex Merciorum S. Kenulphus, . . . . filium suum Kenelmum septennem regni reliquit hæredem. Sed paucis mensibus evolutis, germanæ suæ Quendrythæ insidiis, cujus sævam conscientiam dira cupido regnandi armarat, ausu crudelitatis ab Asceberhto, nutritore suo cruentissimo, in vasta sylvaque nemorosa sub arbore spinosa occulte traditur jugulo; verum qui solo teste cœlo est jugulatus, cœlo teste per columnam lucis postmodum est revelatus, &c. Dr. Ingram quotes an early English Life of S. Kenelm, from a MS. in the Library of Trin. Coll. Oxon. (No. 57. Arch.)

æftera wæs Ceawlin Wesseaxna cyning. seþridda wæs Æþelbryht Cantwara cyning. sefeorþa wæs Rædwald East Engla cyning. fifta was Eadwine Norþan hymbra cyning. siexta wæs Oswald se æfter him ricsode. seofoþa wæs Oswio Oswaldes broþur. eahtoþa wæs Ecgbryht Wesseaxna cyning.

And se Ecgbryht lædde fierd to Dore wiþ Norþan hymbre. and hie him þær eaþmedo budon and geþuærnesse. and hie onþam tohwurfon.

828. Her eft Wilaf onfeng Miercna rices and Æþelwald bisc̃ forþferde and þy ilcan geare lædde Ecgbryht cyning fierd on Norþ Walas. and he hie to eaþmodre hersumnesse gedyde.

829. Her Wulfred ærce bisc̃ forþferde.

830. Her Ceolnoþ wæs gecoren to bisc̃ and gehadod. and Feologid abbud forþferde.

831. Her Ceolnoþ ærce bisc̃ onfeng pallium.

832. Her hæþne men oferhergeadon Sceapige.

833. Her gefeaht Ecgbryht cyning wiþ xxxv scip hlæsta æt Carrum. and þær wearþ micel wæl geslægen and þa Denescan ahton wæl stowe gewald And Hereferþ and Wigþen tuegen biscepas forþferdon and Dudda and Osmod tuegen aldormen forþferdon.

835. Her cuom micel sciphere on West Walas and hie to anum gecierdon. and wiþ Ecgbryht West Seaxna cyning winnende wæron. Þa he þæt hierde and mid fierde ferde and him wiþ feaht æt Hengest dune. and þær gefliemde ge þa Walas[e] ge þa Deniscan.

836. Her Ecgbryht cyning forþferde and hine hæfde ær Offa Miercna cyning and Beorhtric Wesseaxna cyning afliemed iii gear of Angel cynnes lande on Fronc lond ær he cyning wære and þy fultumode Beorhtric Offan þy he hæfde his dohtor him to cuene And se Ecgbryht ricsode xxxvii wint' and vii monaþ.

þus mycel hæfde. oþær wæs Ceawlin West Seaxna cining. þridde Æþelbriht Cantwara cining. feorðe Redwald East Engla cining. fifta Ædwine Norþan hymbra cining. sixta wæs Oswald þe æfter him rixade. seofaðe wæs Oswiu Oswaldes broþor. eahtoða wæs Ecgbriht West Seaxna cining.

And se Ecgbriht lædde fyrde to Dore wið Norþan humbra. and hi him þær eadmedo budon. and þwærnessa. and hi mid þan to hwurfon.

828. Her Wiglaf eft onfeng Myrcena rice. and Æðelbald b' forðferde. and þy ilcan geare Ecgbriht cining lædde fyrde on Norð Wealas. and he heom ealle to eadmodere hyrsumnesse ge dyde.

829. Her Wulfred ærceb' forðferde.

830. Her Ceolnoþ wæs to b' gecoren and gehadod. and Feolagild abbot forðferde.

831. Her Ceolnoð ærceb' onfeng pallium.

832. Her hæðene men ofer hergodon Sceap ege.

833. Her Ecgbriht cining ge fealt wið xxv sciphlæsta æt Carrum. and þær wærhð mycel wæl ge slagen. and þa Deniscan ahton wælstowe ge weald. and Hereferð and Wigferð ii b' forðferdon. and Duda and Osmod ii ealdormen forðferdon.

835. Her com micel sciphere on Wæst Wealas. and hi to anum ge cyrdon. and wið Ecgbriht Wæst Seaxna cining winnende wæron. Þa fyrdode him to geanes. and wið him fealt æt Hengestes dune. and þær ægðer aflymde ge þa Wealas ge þa Deniscan.

836. Her Ecgbriht cining forðferde. and hine ær hæfde Offa Myrcena cining and Byrhtric Wæst Sæxna cining aflymde iii gear of Angel cynnes lande on Franc land ær he cining wære. and se Ecgbriht rixade xxxvii winter. and

e These **Walas** or **West Walas** are the men of **Cornwall**. So 710, 823. They are called **Corn Walas**, 891, 997 E. The Gothic folks gave the name **Walas** to *strange* races on all sides, to the Celts in Gaul and Britain, and to those who spoke the Roman dialects in the South. The Saxons called the natives of Gaul, **Gal Walas**: of Britain, **Bret Walas**; of Cerniu, **Corn Walas** or **West Walas**; those north of the Bristol Channel, **Norþ Walas** (922), now WALES; those of Strathclyde, **Strægled Walas** (875, 924). The Old High German calls the Latin Language, or any of its dialects, **Walahisca**; and the designation still lives in Germ. *Wälsch*. In Mid High German it was used as equivalent to *not-German*, as, in allen Welschen und in Tiutschen richen (Ziemann M. H. D. Wört.) = *in all the world*. Hence *wal-nut*, Germ. *wallnuss* = *foreign nut*. A. S. wealh, wylen. Cf. Graff. v. Walah.

AND FENG EþElwulf Ecgbrehting to Wesseaxna rice. And he salde his suna Æþelstane Cantwara rice and East Seaxna and Suþrigea and Suþ Seaxna.

837. Her Wulfheard aldor man gefeaht æt Ham tune wiþ xxxiii sciphlæsta and þær micel wæl geslog. and sige nom. and þy geare forþferde Wulfheard And þy ylcan geare gefeaht Æþelhelm dux wiþ Deniscne here on Port mid Dornsætum and gode hwile þone here gefliemde. and þa Deniscan ahton wæl stowe gewald and þone aldor mon ofslogon.

838. Her Here bryht aldor mon wæs ofslægen from hæþnum monnum and monige mid him on Mersc warum and þy ilcan geare eft on Lindesse and on East Englum and on Cantwarum wurdon monige men ofslægene from þam herige.

839. Her wæs micel wælsliht on Lundenne and on Cwantawic and on Hrofes ceastre.

840. Her Æþelwulf cyning gefeaht æt Carrum wiþ xxxv sciphlæsta. and þa Deniscan ahton wælstowe gewald.

845. Her Eanulf aldor man gefeaht mid Sumur sætum and Ealch stan bisc̃ and Osric aldorman mid Dorn sætum gefuhton æt Pedridan muþan wiþ Deniscne here and þær micel wæl geslogon and sige namon.

851. Her Ceorl alder mon gefeaht wiþ hæþene men mid Defena scire æt Wicgan beorge and þær micel wæl geslogon and sige namon.

AND þY ILCAN geare Æþelstan cyning and Ealchere dux micelne here ofslogon æt Sondwic on Cent and ix scipu gefengun and þa oþre gefliemdon and hæþne men ærest ofer winter sæton.

And þy ilcan geare cuom feorðe healf hund scipa on Temese muþan. and bræcon Cont wara burg and Lunden burg and gefliemdon Beorhtwulf Miercna

vii monðas. And feng Æþelwulf his sunu to West Seaxna rice. and Æðelstan his oðer sunu feng to Cantwara rice. and to Suðrigan. and to Suðseaxna rice.

837. Her Wulfheard ealdorman ge feaht æt Hamtune wið xxxiii sciphlesta. and þær mycel wæl ge sloh. and sige nam. and þy geare forðferde Wulfheard. and Æþelhelm ealdorman ge feaht wið þa Deniscan on Port mid Dorsætum. and se ealdor man wærð of slægen. and þa Deniscan ahton wælstowe ge weald.

839. Her wæs mycel wæl sleht on Lundene. and on Cant wic and on Rofes cæstre.

840. Her Æðelwulf cining ge feaht æt Carrum wið xxxv sciphlesta. and þa Deniscan ahton wæl stowe ge weald.

845. Her Earnulf dux mid Sumor sæton. and Ealchstan b'. and Osric dux mid Dorsæton ge fuhton æt Pedredan muþan wið Denisce here. and þær mycel wæl ge slogon and sige namon.

851. Her Ceorl ealdorman ge feaht wið heðene men mid Defene scire æt Wic gean beorge. and þær mycel wæl ge slogon. and sige genamon. and hæðene men on Tenet ofer winter ge sæton.

And þy ilcan geare com feorþe healf hund scipa on Temese muþan. and bræcon Cantware burh. and ge flymdon Brihtwulf Myrcena cining mid his fyrde. and foran þa suð ofer Temese on Suðrige. and him ge feaht wið Æðelwulf cining. and Æðelbald his sunu æt Acléa mid Wæst Sæxna fyrde. and þær þ mæste wæl ge slogon on hæðene here þe we æfre ge secgan herdon. and þær sige namon.

And þy ilcan geare Æðelstan cining. and Ealhere dux ge fuhton on scipum. and mycelne here of slogon æt Sandwic. and ix scipu ge fengon. and þa oðre ge flymdon.

852. Her on þis tima leot Ceolred abb' of Medesham stede and þa munecas Wulfrede to hande þet land of Sempigaham to þ forewearde þ æfter his dæi scolde þ land in to þe minstre. and Wulfred scolde gifen þ land of Sliowa forda in to Medeshamstede. and he scolde gife ilca gear in to þe minstre sixtiga foðra wuda. and twælf foður græfan. and sex foður gearda. and twa tunnan fulle hlutres aloð. and twa slæg næt. and sex hund hlafes. and ten mittan Wælsces aloð. and ilca gear an hors and þrittiga scillinga.

De Sempygaham

cyning mid his fierde. and foron þa suþ ofer Temese on Suþrige and him gefeaht wiþ Æþelwulf cyning and Æþelbald his sunu æt Aclea mid West Seaxna fierde and þær þæt mæste wæl geslogon on hæþnum herige þe we secgan hierdon oþ þisne andweardan dæg and þær sige namon.

853. Her bæd Burgred Miercna cyning and his wiotan Æþelwulf cyning þæt he him gefultumade þæt him Norþ Walas gehiersumade He þa swa dyde and mid fierde fór ofer Mierce on Norþ Walas and hie him alle gehiersume dydon.

✠ And þy ilcan geare sende Æþelwulf cyning Ælfred ✠ his sunu to Rome þa was domne Leo pāp on Rome and he hine to cyninge gehalgode and hiene him to biscep suna nam.

Þa þy ilcan geare Ealhere mid Cantwarum and Huda mid Suþrigium gefuhton on Tenet wiþ hæþnum herige and ærest sige namon and þær wearþ monig mon ofslægen and adruncen on gehwæþere hond.

Ond þæs ofer Eastron geaf Æþelwulf cyning his dohtor Burgrede cyninge of Wesseaxum on Merce.

855. Her hæþne men ærest on Sceapige ofer wiñt sætun. And þy ilcan geare gebocude Æþelwulf cyning teoþan dæl his londes ofer al his rice Gode to lofe and him selfum to ecere hælo.

And þy ilcan geare ferde to Rome mid micelre weorþnesse and þær wæs xii monaþ wuniende and þa him ham weard fór and him þa Carl Francna cyning his dohtor geaf him to cuene and æfter þam to his leodum cuom and hie þæs gefægene wærun. And ymb ii gear þæs ðe he on Francum com he gefór. and his lic liþ æt Wintan ceastre and he ricsode nigon teoþe healf gear. Ond se Æþelwulf wæs Ecgbrehting Ecgbryht Ealhmunding Ealhmund Eafing Eafa Eop-

and ane næht gefeormige. Her wæs wiþ se cining Burhred. and Ceolred ærceb'. and Tunberht b'. and Cenred b'. and Alhhun b'. and Berhtred b'. and Wihtred abb'. and Werhtherd abb'. Æþelheard ealdorman. Hunberht ealdorman. and feola oðre[4].

852. Her Burhred Myrcene cining under þeodde him Norð Wealas mid Æþelwulfes cininge fultume.

And þy ilcan geare Ealhhere mid Cantwarum. and Huda mid Suðrigum gefuhton on Tenet wiþ hæðene here. and þær wæron feala ofslægene and adruncen on ægðre hand. and þa ealdormen bege dæde.

And Burhred Myrcene cining feng to Æðelwulfes dohtor West Seaxna cininges.

855. Her hæþene men ærest on Sceap ege ofer winter sæton. And þy ilcan geare gebocade Æðelwulf cining teoðan dæl his landes ofer eal his rice Gode to lofe. and him selfum ecre hæle.

And þy ilcan geare ferde to Rome mid mycclum wurðscipe. and þær wunade xii monaþ. and he feng to Karles dohter Francna cining þa he hamweard wæs. and gesund ham com. and þæs ymbe ii gear forðferde. and his lic liþ on Wintanceastre. and he rixade ix gear. He wæs Ecgbrihting.

4 Peterborough Record, No. 6. The original is extant, and more, it is in the mother tongue.

The philologer, as well as the historian, will be gratified to have at hand the document upon which the text was based. Cod. Dipl. No. 267.

✠ In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti! Ceólred abbud and ða higan on Medeshámstede sellaþ Wulfrede ðet land æt Sempingahám in ðás geredнisse; ðet he hit hæbbe and brúce suá lange suá he life and ánum ærfeuuarde æfter him; and élce gére sextig foðra wuda tó ðæm hám on Hornan ðæm wuda, and tuelf foðer græfan and sex foður gerda. End forðon we him ðis land sellaþ, ðet he ðes landes fulne friodóm bigete in æce ærfeweardnisse æt Sempingahám and æt Slioforda, and brúce ðére cirican láfard on Medeshámstede ðes landes æt Slioforda, and Wulfred ðes on Sempingahám: and he geselle éghwelce gére tó Medeshámstede tuá tunnan fulle luhtres aloð, and tuá sleg neát, and sex hund láfes and ten mittan wælsces aloð, and ðére cirican láforde geselle éghwelce gére hors and þrittig scillinga, and hine áne niht gefeormige fiftene mitta luhtres aloð, fif mitta welsces aloð, fiftene sestras liðes: and hí siðn symle in allum here life eádmóde and heársume and underþeódde, and ofer here tuega dæg ðonne ágefe hió ðet land intó ðére cirican tó Medeshámstede mid freodóme; and we him ðis sellaþ mid felda and mid wuda and mid fenne suá ðer tó belimpeð. &c.

ping Eoppa Ingilding Ingild wæs Ines broþur West Seaxna cyninges þæs þe eft ferde to Sc̄e Petre and þær eft his feorh ge sealde and hie wæron Cenredes suna Cenred wæs Ceolwalding Ceolwald Cuþaing Cuþa Cuþwining. Cuþwine Ceaulining Ceawling Cynricing Cynric Cerdicing Cerdic Elesing Elesa Esling Esla Giwising Giwis Wiging Wig Freawining Freawine Friþogaring Friþogar Bronding Brond Bældæging Bældæg Wodening Woden Friþowalding Friþuwald Freawining Frea laf Friþuwulfing Friþuwulf Finning Fin Godwulfing God wulf Geating Geat Tætwaing Tætwa Beawing Beaw Sceldwaing Sceldwea[f] Heremoding Heremod Itermoning Itermon Hraþraing se wæs geboren in þære earce Noe Lamach Matusalem Enoh Iaered Maleel Camon Enos Sed Ādam. primus homo et pater noster. est Xp̄s Āmen.

Ond þa fengon Æþelwulfes suna twegen to rice Æþelbald to Wesseaxna rice and Æþelbryht to Cant wara rice and to East Seaxna rice. and to Suþrigea and to Suþ Seaxna rice and þa ricsode Æþelbald v gear.

860. Her Æþelbald cyng forþferde and his lic liþ æt Scira burnan and feng Æþelbryht to allum þam rice his broþur and he hit heold on godre ge þuærnesse and on micelre sibsumnesse.

Ānd on his dæge cuom micel sciphere up and abræcon Wintanceastre. and wiþ þone here gefuhton Osric aldor man mid Ham tun scire and Æþelwulf aldormon mid Bearruc scire and þone here ge fliemdon and wæl stowe gewald ahton and se Æþelbryht ricsode v gear and his lic liþ æt Scire burnan.

865. Her sæt hæþen here on Tenet and genamon friþ wiþ Cantwarum and Cantware him feoh geheton wiþ þam friþe and under þam friþe and þam feoh ge hate se here hiene on niht up bestæl. and ofer hergeade alle Cent eastewearde.

And þa fengon his ii sunu to rice. Æðelbald to West Seaxna rice. and to Suðrigean. And he rixade v gear.

860. Her Æðelbald cining forðferde. and his lic lið æt Scireburnan. and feng Æðelbriht to eallum þam rice his broðor.

And on his dæge com mycel scip here up. and abræcon Wintanceastre. and wið þone here fuhton Osric ealdor man mid Hamtune scire. and Æðelwulf ealdorman mid Barrucscire and þone here ge flymdon. and wælstowe ge weald ahton. and se Æðelbriht rixade v gear. and his lic lið æt Scirburnan.

865. Her sæt se hæðene here on Tenet and ge nam frið wið Cantwarum. and Cantware heom feoh be heton wið ðam friðe. and on þam feoh be hate se here hine on niht up be stæl. and ofer hergode ealle Cent easte warde.

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B. 855. . (Ƭ) . . Itermon Haðraing. Haðra Hwalaing. Hwala Bedwiging. Bedwig Sceafing. id est filius Noe se wæs geboren on þære earce Noes. Lamech. Matusalem. Enoc. Iared. Malalehel. Camon. Enos. Seth. Adam primus homo & pater ñr. Id est Xp̃s.

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F. 861. Her forðferde S. Swiðun b'. and Æðelbald cing. and he lið on Scirburnan. and Æðelb'ht feng to eallan ðan rice his broðer. and on his dæge com mycel sciphere and abræcan Wintanceast' and wið ðone here fuhtan Hamtunscir and Bearrucscir and ðone here geflymdon. and ðes Æðelbyrht rixode v gear and his lic lið at Scirburnan.

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f This pedigree outruns all others in the Chronicle. It is rare to mount higher than **Woden**, the divine father of kings. In 547 we are carried up to **Geat**, which is quite transcendental. But here, the lineage strains after the loftiest attainable elevation, quitting the mythological for the Scriptural genealogy, and from the summit of the latter soaring away into the region beyond.

In the mythological stage, B. C. D. go higher than Ƭ; all up to **Sceaf**, the mysterious ancestor of fabled kings. This remote progenitor appears in the Beowulf, but only as the patronym of **Scyld**, the oldest personage of whom any doings are there related. The Longobards preserved the name of **Sceaf** at the head of their traditions, as may be gathered from the Traveller's Song, line 64. For further information cf. Kemble's Preface to his Beowulf, vol. ii.

866. Her feng Æþered Æþelbryhtes broþur to Wesseaxna rice And þy ilcan geare cuom micel here on Angel cynnes lond and wint'setl namon on East Englum and þær gehorsude wurdon and hie him friþ namon.

867. Her fór se here of East Englum ofer Humbre muþan to Eofor wic ceastre on Norþhymbre And þær wæs micel un þuærnes þære þeode betweox him selfum and hie hæfdun hiera cyning aworpenne Osbryht and ungecyndne cyning underfengon Ællan. and hie late on geare to þam gecirdon þæt hie wiþ þone here winnende wærun and hie þeah micle fierd gegadrodon and þone here sohton æt Eoforwic ceastre and on þa ceastre bræcon and hie sume inne wurdon and þær was ungemetlic wæl geslægen Norþan hymbra sume binnan sume butan. and þa cyningas begen ofslægene and sio laf wiþ þone here friþ nam.

And þy ilcan geare gefór Ealchstan bisc and he hæfde þæt bisc rice L wint' æt Scire burnan. and his lic liþ þær on tune.

868. Her fór se ilca here innan Mierce to Snotengaham and þær wint'setl namon And Burgræd ✠ Miercna cyning and his wiotan bædon Æþered West Seaxna cyning and Ælfred his broþur þæt hie him gefultumadon þæt hie wiþ þone here gefuhton And þa ferdon hie mid Wesseaxna fierde innan Mierce oþ Snotenga ham. and þone here þær metton on þam geweorce. and þær nan hefelic gefeoht ne wearþ and Mierce friþ namon wiþ þone here.

869. Her for se here eft to Eoforwicceastre and þær sæt i gear.

870. Her rad se here ofer Mierce innan East Engle and wiñt setl namon. æt Þeodforda. And þy wint' Eadmund cyning him wiþ feaht. and þa Deniscan

866. Her feng Æðelred Æðelbrihtes broðor to West Seaxna rice. And þy ilcan geare com mycel hæðen here on Angel cynnes land. and winter setle namon æt East Englum. and þær ge horsade wurdon. and hi heom wið frið ge namon.

867. Her for se here of East Englum ofer Humbre muðan. to Eoferwic ceastre on Norðan hymbre. and þær wæs mycel unðwærnesse ðere þeode betwux heom sylfum. and hi hæfdon heora cining aworpene Osbriht. and unge cynde cining under fengon Ællan. and hi late on geare to þam ge cyrdon. þ hi wið þone here winnende wæron. and hi ðeah myccle fyrd[4] ge gadorodan. and þone here sohton æt Eofewic ceastre. and þa ceastre brecon. and hi sume inne wurdon. and þær wæs ungemet wæl ge slægen Norðanhymbra sume binnan sume butan. and þa ciningas bægen of slægene. and seo lafe wið þone here fryð nam.

And þy ilcan geare ge for Ealhstan b'. and he hæfde þ biscop rice æt Scireburnan L winter. and his lic lið þær on tune.

868. Her for se ilca here innan Myrce to Snotingham. and þær winter setle namon. and Burhcred Myrcena cining and his witan bædon Æðelred West Seaxna cining and Ælfred his broðor þet hi him fultumedon. þæt hi wið þone here ge fuhton. and þa færdon hi mid Wæst Sæxa fyrde in on Myrcene oþ Snotingaham. and þone here metton þær on þam ge weorce. and hine inne be setton. and þær nan hefilic ge feaht ne wearð. and Myrce frið namon wið þone here.

869. Her for se here eft to Eoferwic ceastre. and þær sæt an gear.

870. Her for se here ofer Myrce innon East Ængle. and winter setle namon æt Ðeodforda. and on þam geare sce Ædmund cining him wiðge feaht. and þa Deniscan sige

4 The national force is called **fierd, fyrd**; and the invading armament is **here**. The latter word probably meant at first a *body* of men, a *band*; and this unprejudiced sense still lives in the Germ. **Heer**. But in A. S. it contracted the *bad* notion of a troop; viz. that of waste, pillage, buccaneering. Hence the words, **hergian, hergung**, to **harry**, &c. In the Laws of King Ine it has a criminal sense, and is numerically defined. If more than 35 persons band together, it is **here**: from 7 up to that number it is only **hlo**ð: 7 or less are merely **thieves**.

The **fierd** was the national militia, embodied in each shire under the ealdorman: so called from their *marching* off on service (**faran**); in Latin named **expeditio**. No property in the country was exempt from the obligation to send its contingent to the **fyrd**.

sige namon and þone cyning ofslogon. and þæt lond all ge eodon.

And þy geare gefor Ceolnoþ ærce bisc. *and Æþered Wiltunscire biscop wearþ gecoren to ærcebiscepe to Cantuareberi.*

871. Her cuom se here to Readingum on West Seaxe and þæs ymb iii niht ridon ii eorlas up. Þa gemette hie Æþelwulf aldorman on Engla felda and him þær wiþ gefeaht and sige nam. Þæs ymb iiii niht Æþered cyning and Ælfred his broþur þær micle fierd to Readingum gelæddon and wiþ þone here gefuhton and þær wæs micel wæl geslægen on gehwæþre hond and Æþelwulf aldormon wearþ ofslægen and þa Deniscan ahton wæl stowe gewald And þæs ymb iiii niht gefeaht Æþered cyning and ✠ Ælfred his broþur wiþ alne þone here on Æsces dune and hie wærun on twæm gefylcum. on oþrum wæs Bachsecg and Halfdene þa hæþnan cyningas and on oþrum wæron þa eorlas. and þa gefeaht se cyning Æþered wiþ þara cyninga getruman and þær wearþ se cyning Bagsecg ofslægen. and Ælfred his broþur wiþ þara eorla getruman and þær wearþ Sidroc eorl ofslægen se alda and Sidroc eorl se gioncga and Osbearn eorl and Fræna eorl and Hareld eorl and þa hergas begen gefliemde and fela þusenda ofslægenra and onfeohtende wæron oþ niht. And þæs ymb xiiii niht gefeaht Æþered cyning and Ælfred his broður wiþ þone here æt Basengum and þær þa Deniscan sige namon And þæs ymb ii monaþ gefeaht Æþered cyning and Ælfred his broþur wiþ þone here æt Mere tune and hie wærun on tuæm gefylcum and hie butu gefliemdon and longe on dæg sige ahton and þær wearþ micel wæl sliht on gehwæþere hond and þa Deniscan ahton wæl stowe gewald. and þær wearþ Heahmund bisc ofslægen and fela godra monna and æfter þissum gefeohte cuom micel sumor lida. And

naman. and þone cining of slogon. and þ land eall ge eodon. and fordiden ealle þa mynstre þa hi to comen. on þa ilcan tima þa comon hi to Medeshamstede. beorndon and brǽcon. slogon abbot and munecas. and eall þ hi þær fundon. macedon hit þa þ ær wæs ful rice. þa hit wearð to nan þing. and þy geare ge for Ceolnoþ arcebiscop.

871. Her rad se here to Readingum on Westseaxe. and þes ymb iii niht ridon twegen eorlas up. þa ge mette Æðel wulf ealdorman hie on Engla felda. and heom þær wiþ ge feaht and sige nam. and wearð þær se oþer of slægen. þæs nama wæs Sidrac. Ða ymb iiii niht Æðelred cining. and Ælfred his broðor þær mycle fyrd to Rædingum ge læddon. and wiþ þone here ge fuhton. and þær wæs mycel wæl ge slægen on ge hwaðere hand. and Æðelwulf ealdor man wearð of slægen. and þa Deniscan ahton wæl stowe ge weald. And ymb iiii niht ge feaht Æðered cining and Ælfred his broðor wiþ ealne ðone here on Æsces dune. and hi wæron on twam ge fylcum. on oðrum wes Basecg and Halfdene ða hæðene ciningas. and on oðrum wæron þa eorlas. and þa feaht se cining Æðered wiþ ðara cininga ge truman. and þær wearð se cining Bagsecg of slægen. and Ælfred his broðor wiþ þara eorla ge truman and þær wearð Sidrac eorl of slægen se ealda. and Sidrac se geonga and Osbearn eorl. and Fræna eorl. and Harold eorl. and þa hergas begen ge flymde. and feala þusenda of slagenra. and on feohtende wæron oð niht. And ðæs ymb xiiii niht ge feaht Æðered cining. and Ælfred his broðor wiþ þone here æt Basingum. and þar þa Deniscan sige ge namon. and þæs ymb twægen monðas ge feaht Æðered and Ælfred his broðor wiþ þone here æt Mære dune. and hi wæron on twam ge fylcum. and hi butu ge flymdon. and lange on dæg sige ahton. and þar wearð mycel wæl sliht on hwæðre hand. and þa Dæniscan ahton weal stowe ge weald. and þær Hæhmund biscop of slagen and feala godra manna. and æfter þisum ge feohte com mycel sumer lida to Readingum.

þæs ofer Eastron gefor Æþered cyning and he ricsode v gear and his lic liþ æt Winburnan.

✠ Þa feng Ælfred Æþelwulfing his broþur to Wesseaxna rice and þæs ymb anne monaþ gefeaht Ælfred cyning wiþ alne þone here lytle werede[g] æt Wiltune and hine longe on dæg gefliemde and þa Deniscan ahton wælstowe gewald.

And þæs geares wurdon viiii folc gefeoht gefohten wiþ þone here on þy cynerice be suþan Temese and butan þam þe him Ælfred þæs cyninges broþur and anlipig aldormon and cyninges þegnas oft rade onridon þe mon na ne rimde and þæs geares wærun ofslægene viiii eorlas and an cyning. And þy geare namon West Seaxe friþ wiþ þone here.

872. Her fōr se here to Lunden byrig from Readingum and þær wint'setl nam. and þa namon Mierce friþ wiþ þone here.

873. Her for se here on Norþhymbre. and he nam wint'setl on Lindesse æt Tureces iege and þa namon Mierce friþ wiþ þone here.

874. Her for se here from Lindesse to Hreope dune and þær wint'setl nam. and þone cyning Burgræd ofer sæ adræfdon ymb xxii wint' þæs þe he rice hæfde and þæt lond all ge eodon and he fōr to Rome and þær gesæt[h] and his lic liþ on Sča Marian ciricean on Angel cynnes scole. And þy ilcan geare hie sealdon anum unwisum cyninges þegne Miercna rice to haldanne. and he him aþas swor and gislas salde. þæt he him gearo wære swa hwelce[i] dæge swa hie hit habban wolden. and he gearo wære mid him selfum. and on allum þam þe him læstan woldon. to þæs heres þearfe.

875. Her for se here from Hreope dune. and Healfdene fōr mid sumum þam here on Norþhymbre. and nam wint' setl be Tinan þære ei. and se here

and þær æfter Eastron ge for Æðered cining. and he rixade v gear. and his lic lið æt Winburnan mynster.

Alfrede

Ða feng Ælfred Æðelwulfing his broðor to West Seaxna rice and þæs ymb i monað ge feaht Ælfred cining wið ealne þone here litle werede æt Wiltune. and hine lange on dæg ge flymde. and þa Deniscan ahton wælstowe ge weald.

And þes geares wurdon ix folc ge feoht ge fohten wið þone here on þam cine rice be suðan Temese. butan þam þe hi Ælfred þes cinges broðer. and ealdor men. and ciningas þægnas oft rada on riden þe man na ne rimde and þæs geares wæron of slagene ix eorlas. and an cyning. and þy geare namon West Seaxa frið wið þone here.

872. Her for se here to Lunden byrig fram Redingum. and þær nam winter setle. and þa naman Myrce frið wið þone here.

873. Her nam se here winter setle. æt Turces ige.

874. Her for se here of Lindesse to Hreope dune. and þær winter setle nam. and þone cining Burgred ofer sæ adrefdon ymb xxii wintra þæs þe he rice hæfde. and þet land eall ge eodan. and he for to Rome and þær sæt. and his lic lið on sča Marian cyrican on Angel cynnes scole. And þy ilcan geare hi sealdon Ceolwulfe anum un wisum cynges þegne Myrcena rice to healdenne. and he him aðas swor and gislas sealde. þet hit him georo wære swa hwilce dæge swa hi hit habban woldon. and he geare wære mid him sylfum. and mid eallum þam þe him ge læstan wolden to þæs heres þærfe[5].

875. Her for se here fram Hreope dune. and Healfdene for mid sumum þam here on Norðan hymbre. and nam winter setle be Tinan þære ea. and se here þet land ge eode.

[g] Æthelweard says: Erat autem exiguus tum Anglorum exercitus propter absentiam regis, qui eodem tempore exequias fratris impleverat.

[h] þar wunode ealto his lifes ende. F.

[i] Instead of swa hwelce, B has swylce, C swilce.

[5] Lappenberg remarks, that the object of the Danes was not power, but plunder. So they did not occupy the vacant thrones, but placed in them nominal kings to serve as the instruments of their rapacity.

þæt lond ge eode. and eft hergade on Peohtas. and on Stræcled Walas. And for Godrum and Oscytel and Anwynd. þa iii cyningas. of Hreope dune to Grante brycge. mid micle here. and sæton þær an gear.

And þy sumera for Ælfred cyning ut on sæ mid sciphere. and gefealht wiþ vii sciphlæstas. and hiera an gefeng. and þa oþru gefliemde.

876. Her hiene bestæl se here into Werham. Wesseaxna fierde. and wiþ þone here se cyning friþ nam. and him þa aþas sworon on þam halgan beage. þe hie ær nanre þeode noldon. þæt hie hrædlice of his rice foren. and hie þa under þam hie nihtes bestælon þære fierde se gehorsoda here into Escan ceaster.

And þy geare Healfdene Norþan hymbra lond ge dælde. and ergende wæron and hiera tilgende.

877. Her cuom se here into Escan ceastre from Werham. and se sciphere sigelede west ymb utan. and þa mette hie micel yst on sæ. and þær forwearþ cxx scipa æt Swanawic. and se cyning Ælfred æfter þam gehorsudan here mid fierde rád oþ Exan ceaster. and hie hindan ofridan ne meahte ær hie on þam fæstene wæron. þær him mon to ne meahte. and hie him þær fore gislas saldon. swa fela swa he habban wolde. and micle aþas sworon. and þa godne friþ heoldon. and þa on hærfæste gefor se here on Miercna lond. and hit gedældon sum. and sum Ceolwulfe saldon.

878. Her hiene bestæl se here on midne winter. ofer tuelftan niht. to Cippanhamme. and geridon Wesseaxna lond and gesæton. micel þæs folces ofer sæ
✠ adræfdon. and þæs oþres þone mæstan dæl hie geridon. and him to gecirdon. buton þam cyninge Ælfrede. and he lytle werede. un ieþelice. æfter wudum for. and on mor fæstenum.

And þæs ilcan wintra wæs Inwæres broþur and

and oft ge hergode on Pehtas. and on Strætlæd Wealas. and for Godrum. and Oscytel. and Anwend. þa þry ciningas of Hreope dune to Grantan brycge. myd mycclum here. and sæton þær an gear.

And þy sumera for Ælfred cyning ut on sæ mid scip here. and ge feaht wiþ vii scip hlesta. and heora an ge feng. and þa oðre ge flymde.

876. Her hine be stæl se here into Wærham West Seaxna fyrde. and siððan wiþ þone here se cyning friþ nam. and him þa gislas sealdon þe on þam here weorþuste wæron to þam cyninge. and him þa aðas sworon on þam halgan beage þe hi ær nanre þeode don noldon þet hi hredlice of his rice foron. and hi þa under þam hi nihtes be stælon þære fyrde se ge horsade here into Exan ceastre.

And þy geare Healfdene Norðan hymbra land ge dælde. and hergende weron. and heora tiligende wæron. Rollo cum suis Normaniam penetravit. and regnavit annis liii.

877. Her com se here to Exanceastre fram Wérham. and se scip here seglode west ymbutan. and þa ge mette hi mycel yst on sæ. and þear forwearð cxx scipa æt Swanawíc. and se cing Ælfred æfter þam ge horsedum here mid fyrde rád oð Exan ceastre. and hi hindan of ridan ne mihte ær hi on þam feastene wæron þær him man to ne mihte. and hi him þar fore gislas sealdon swa feala swa he habban wolde. and mycele aðas sworon. and þa godne friþ heoldan. and þa on herfeste ge for seo heora on Myrcena land. and hit ge dældon sum. and sum Ceolwulfe sealdon.

878. Her hine be stæl se here on midne winter ofer twelftan niht to Cippanhamme. and ge ridan West Seaxna land and ge setton. and mycel þæs folces ofer sæ adræfdon. and þæs oðres þone mæstan dæl hi ge ridon butan þam cynge Ælfrede litle werede un yðelice æfter wudum for. and on mor festenum.

And þes ilcan wintra wæs Iweres broðor and Healf-

Healfdenes on West Seaxum. on Defena scire. mid xxiii scipum. and hiene mon þær ofslog. and dccc monna mid him. and xl monna his heres.

And þæs on Eastron worhte Ælfred cyning. lytle werede. geweorc æt Æþelinga eigge[k]. and of þam ge weorce was winnende wiþ þone here. and Sumur sætna. se dæl se þær niehst wæs. Þa on þære seofoðan wiecan ofer Eastron he gerad to Ecgbryhtes stane. be eastan Seal wyda. and him to cō mon þær ongen Sumor sæte alle and Wilsætan. and Hamtun scir se dæl se hiere behinon sæ was. and his gefægene wærun. and he fōr ymb ane niht of þam wicum to Iglea. and þæs ymb ane to Eþan dune. and þær ge feaht wiþ alne þone here. and hiene gefliemde. and him æfter rad oþ þæt geweorc. and þær sæt xiiii niht. and þa salde se here him fore gislas and micle aþas. þæt hie of his rice uuoldon. and him eac geheton þæt hiera kyning fulwihte onfon wolde. and hie þæt gelæston swa. And þæs ymb iii wiecan com se cyning to him Godrum þritiga sum þara monna þe in þam here weorþuste wæron æt Alre. and þæt is wiþ Æþelingga eige. and his se cyning þær onfeng æt fulwihte. and his crism lising was æt Weþmor. and he was xii niht mid þam cyninge. and he hine miclum and his geferan mid feo weorðude.

879. Her for se here to Cirenceastre of Cippan hamme. and sæt þær án gear.

And þy geare gegadrode on hloþ wicenga and gesæt æt Fullan hamme be Temese.

And þy ilcan geare aþiestrode sio sunne ane tid dæges.

880. Her for se here of Ciren ceastre on East Engle. and gesæt þæt lond. and gedælde.

denes on West Sexum on Defenan scire. and hine mon þær sloh. and dccc manna mid him. and xl manna his heres. and þar wæs se guðfana genumen þe hi ræfen heton.

And þæs on Eastron wrohte Ælfred cyning lytle werede geweorc æt Æðelingaige. and of þam geweorce wæs winnende wið þone here. and Sumersætena se del þe þær nehst wæs. þa on ðere seofeðan wucan ofer Eastron he gerad to Ecgbrihtes stane be easton Wealwudu. and him comon þær ongean Sumor sæte ealle. and Will sæte. and Hamtun scyr se dæl þe hire beheonan sæ wæs. and his gefægene wæron. and he for ymb ane niht of þam wicum to Æglea. and þæs ymb ane niht to Eðandune. and þær gefeaht wið ealne here and hine geflymde. and him æfter rád oð þet geweorc. and þær sæt xiiii niht. and þa sealde se here him gislas. and mycele aðas. þet hi of his rice woldon. and him eac geheton þet heora cyng fulwihte onfon wolde. and hi þ gelæston. and þæs ymb iii wucan com se cyng Godrum. þrittigum sum. þara manna þe in þam here weorðuste wæron æt Alre. and þ is wið Æðelingaige. and his se cyng onfeng þær æt fulwihte. and his crism lysing wæs æt Wedmor. and he wes xii niht mid þam cynge. and he hine mycclum and his geferan mid feo weorðode.

879. Her for se here to Cirenceastre of Cippanhamme. and sæt þær an winter.

Þy geare gegaderodon an hloð wicinga. and gesæt æt Fullanhamme be Temese.

And þy ilcan geare aþystrode seo sunne an tid dæges.

880. Her for se here of Cirenceastre on East Engle. and gesæt þ land and gedælde.

[k] The "Isle of Princes" was formed and fortified by the stagnate waters of the Tone and Parrot at their junction. Hence the maxima gronnia paludosissima et intransmeabilia of Asser. It is now drained and cultivated, and known as Athelney Farm, in the Parish of Stoke St. Gregory, east of the line of rail from Bridgewater to Taunton, and about seven miles distant from each of those places. In the year 1693 the celebrated "Alfred jewel" was found in Newton Park, somewhat north of this spot. It is deposited in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, and it has often been figured and described in books. The legend upon it gives a point to the locality of the discovery, and invests the object itself with an interest beyond all other extant monuments of Saxon Art. It says: ✠ ÆELFRED MEC HEHT GEWYRCAN.

And þy ilcan geare fór se here ofer sæ þe ær on Fullan homme sæt on Fronc lond to Gend. and sæt þær an gear.

881. Her for se here ufor on Fronc lond. and þa Francan him wiþ gefuhton. and þær þa wearþ se here gehorsod æfter þam gefeohte.

882. Her for se here up on long Mæse feor on Fronclond. and þær sæt an gear.

And þy ilcan geare fór Ælfred cyning mid scipum ut on sæ. and gefeaht wiþ feower scip hlæstas Deniscra monna. and þara scipa tu genam. and þa men ofslægene wæron þe ðer on wæron. and tuegen scip heras him on hond eodon. and þa wæron miclum forslægene and for wundode ær hie on hond eodon.

883. Her for se here up on Scald to Cundoþ. and þær sæt an gear.

884. Her for se here up on Sunnan to Embenum. and þær sæt án gear.

885. Her to dælde se fore sprecena here on tu. oþer dæl east. oþer dæl to Hrofes ceastre. and ymb sæton ða ceastre. and worhton oþer fæsten ymb hie selfe. and hie þeah þa ceastre aweredon oþþæt Ælfred com utan, mid fierde. þa eode se here to hiera scipum. and forlet þæt geweorc. and hie wurdon þær behorsude. and sona þy ilcan sumere ofer sæ gewiton.

And þy ilcan geare sende Ælfred cyning sciphere on East Engle. sona swa hie comon on Stufe muþan. þa metton hie xvi scipu wicenga. and wiþ ða gefuhton. and þa scipo alle geræhton. and þa men ofslogon. þa hie þa ham weard wendon mid þære here hyþe. þa metton hie micelne sciphere wicenga. and þa wiþ þa gefuhton þy ilcan dæge. and þa Deniscan ahton sige.

Þy ilcan geare ær middum wintra. forþ ferde Carl Francna cyning. and hiene ofslog án efor. and ane

And þy ilcan geare for se here ofer sæ̀ þe on Fullanhamme sæt on Frangland to Gent. and sæt þær angear.

881. Her for se here ufor on Frangland. and þa Francan him wiþ gefuhton. and þær þa warð se here horsad æfter þam gefeohte.

882. Her for se here up andlang Mæse ofor on Frangland and þær sæt an gear.

And þy ilcan geare for Ælfred cyng mid scipum ut on sæ. and gefeaht wiþ iiii scip hlæstas Deniscra manna. and þara scipa twa genamon. and þa men of slogon. and twa him on hand eodon. and þa men wæron myclum of slagene and for wundode ær hi on hand eodan.

883. Her for se here up on Scald to Cundoð. and þær sæt angear. and Marinus papa sende þa lignum dn̄i Ælfrede cynge. and þy ilcan geare lædde Sighelm. and Æðelstan þa ælmessan to Rome þe Ælfred cing gehet þider. and eac on Indea to sc̃e Thome. and to sc̃e Bartholomee. þa hi sæton wiþ þone here æt Lundene. and hi þær Godes þances swyðe bentigðe wæron æfter þam gehatum.

884. Her for se here up on Sunnan to Embenum. and þær sæt angear.

885. Her todælde se forsprecena here on twa. oðer east. oðer dæl to Hrofeceastre. and ymb sæton þa ceastre. and wrohton oðer fæsten ymb hi sylfe. and hi þeah þa ceastre aweredan oððet Ælfred cyng com úton mid fyrde. þa eode se here to heora scipum. and forleton þet geweorc. and hi wurdon þær behorsade. and sona þy ilcan sumera eft ofer se gewiton.

Ðy ilcan geare sænde Ælfred cyng scip here of Cænt on East Engle. sona swa hi comon on Sture muðan þa ge mætton hi xvi scipa wicinga. and wiþ þa gefuhton. and þa scipa ealle geræhton. and þa men of slogen. þa hi þa ham weard wæron mid þære here huðe. þa gemetton hi mycelne sciphere wicinga. and wiþ þa gefuhton þy ilcan dæge. and þa Deniscan ahton sige.

And þy ilcan geare ær middan wintra forðferde Carl Francna cyng. and hine of sloh an éofor. and ane geare ær

F. 884. Her forðferde se welwillenda b' Æðelwold. Hic obiit Æðelwoldus episcopus Wentoniensis, et electus est in loco ejus Alfee qui alio nomine vocabatur Godwinus.

geare ær. his broður forþferde. se hæfde eac þæt west rice. and hie wæron begen Hloþwiges suna. se hæfde eac þæt west rice. and forþferde þy geare þe sio sunne aþiestrode. se wæs Karles sunu þe Æþelwulf West Seaxna cyning his dohtor hæfde him to cuene.

And þy ilcan geare gegadrode micel sciphere on Ald Seaxum. and þær wearþ micel gefeoht. tua on geare. and þa Seaxan hæfdun sige. and þær wæron Frisan mid.

Þy ilcan geare feng Carl to þam west rice. and to allum þam west rice behienan Wendel sæ. and be geondan þisse sæ. swa hit his þridda fæder hæfde. butan Lidwiccium. se Carl was Hloþwiges sunu. se Hloþwig was Carles broþur. se wæs Iuþyttan fæder þe Æþelwulf cyning hæfde. and hie wæron Hloþwiges suna. se Hloþwig was þæs aldan Carles sunu. se Carl was Pippenes sunu.

And þy ilcan geare forþferde se goda papa Marinus. se gefreode Ongel cynnes scole be Ælfredes bene West Seaxna cyninges. and he sende him micla gifa. and þære rode dæl þe Crist on þrowude.

And þy ilcan geare se here on East Englum bræc friþ wiþ Ælfred cyning.

886. Her for se here eft west þe ær east gelende. and þa up on Sigene. and þær wint' setl namon.

Þy ilcan geare gesette Ælfred cyning Lunden burg. and him all Angel cyn to cirde þæt buton Deniscra monna hæftniede was. and hie þa befæste þa burg Æþerede aldormen to haldonne.

887. Her for se here up þurh þa brycge æt Paris. and þa up andlang Sigene oþ Mæterne. oþ Carici. and þa sæton þara and innan Ionan. tu winter on þam twam stedum.

And þy ilcan geare forþferde Karl Francna cyning. and * Earnulf his broþur sunu vi wicum ær he forþferde

his broðor forðferde. se heafde eac þ west rice. se forðferde þy geare þe seo sunne aðystrode. se wæs Carles sunu þe Aðelwulf West Seaxna cyng his[7] dohtor hæfde to cwene.

Ðy ilcan geare forðferde se goda papa Marinus. se ge freode *Marin'* Angel cynnes scole be Ælfredes bene West Seaxna cyninges. and he sende him myccle gifa[8]. and þære rode dæl þe Crist on ðrowode.

And þy ilcan geare for se here on Estenglum. and brec frið wið Ælfred cyning.

886. Her for se here eft west þe ær east ge lende. and þa up on Sigene. and þær winter sætu namon æt Paris þære byrig[9].

Ðy ilcan geare ge sette Ælfred cyning Lunden burh. and him eall Angel cyn to ge cyrde. þ butan Deniscra manna hæfnede wes. and he þa be feste þa burh Æþerede ealdormen to healdenne.

887. Her for se here up þurh ða brycge æt Paris. and þa up andlang Sigene oð Mæterne. and þa up on Mæterne oð Caziei. and þa sæton þar innan Ionan twa winter on þam twam stedum.

And þy ilcan geare forðferde Carl Francena cyng. and Earnulf his broðor sunu hine vi wucan ær he forðferde be

7 "He was the son of that Charles *whose* daughter Æthelwulf had for his queen."

When the Language had no distinct Relative Pronoun except the indeclinable þe, oblique cases were made out by a contrivance which is usual in Hebrew, viz. the addition of the Personal Pronoun in the case required.

Thus þe . . . his = whose
þe . . . hine = whom
þe . . . hyra = quorum.

A more succinct Relative Pronoun was at length obtained, by the gradual employment of a word which had hitherto been known only as an Interrogative. Such is the history of our present Interrogative and Relative Pronoun WHO: up to about the year 1200 it had only the function of questioning, but in the early part of the 13th century it acquired the position of a declinable Relative. The two texts of Laȝamon illustrate this fact very well, instances of Who-Relative occurring in the later text, but (?) not in the earlier.

8 micele giua on halidome F.

9 This siege of Paris is minutely described by Abbo of Fleury in two Books of Latin Hexameters. Cf. Felibien, Histoire de la Ville de Paris, l. iii. (Ingram.)

* hine hæfde seems to be wanting here.

berædne æt þam rice. and þa wearþ þæt rice to dæled on v. and v kyningas to gehalgode[1]. þæt wæs þeah mid Earnulfes geþafunge. and hi cuædon. þæt hie þæt to his honda healdan sceoldon. forþæm hira nán næs on fædren healfe to geboren. buton him anum. Earnulf þa wunode on þæm londe be Eastan Rin. and Roþulf þa feng to þæm middel rice. and Oda to þæm west dæle. and Beorngar and Wiþa to Long beardna londe. and to þæm londum on þa healfe muntes. and þæt heoldun mid micelre unsibbe. and tu folc gefeoht gefuhton. and þæt lond oft and gelome forhergodon. and æghwæþer oþerne oftrædlice ut dræfde.

And þy ilcan geare þe se here forforþ up ofer þa brycge æt Paris. Æþelhelm aldormon lædde Wesseaxna ælmessan and Ælfredes cyninges to Rome.

888. Her lædde Beocca aldormon Wesseaxna ælmessan and Ælfredes cyninges to Rome. and Æþelswiþ cuen. sio wæs Ælfredes sweostor cyninges. forþferde and hire lic liþ æt Pafian.

And þy ilcan geare Æþelred ercebisc and Æþelwold aldormon. forþferdon on anum monþe.

889. On þissum geare næs nan færeld to Rome. buton tuegen hleaperas Ælfred cyning sende mid gewritum.

890. Her lædde Beornhelm abb' WestSeaxna ælmessan to Rome and Ælfredes cyninges.

And Godrum se norþerna cyning forþferde. þæs fulluht nama wæs Æþelstan. se wæs Ælfredes cyninges god sunu. and he bude on EastEnglum. and þæt lond ærest gesæt.

And þy ilcan geare for se here of Sigene to Sant Laudan. þæt is butucoh Brettum and Francum. and Brettas him wiþ gefuhton. and hæfdon sige. and hie bedrifon ut on ane ea. and monige adrencton.

*Her wæs Plegemund gecoron of Godem and of callen his halechen.*

rædde æt þam rice. and þa wearð þet rice to dæled on v. and fif cyningas to ge halgode. þet weas þæh mid Earnulfes þafunge. and hi cwæðon þ hi him þet to handa healdan scoldan. forðan þet heora nan næs of fædren halfe geboren butan him anum. Earnulf wunode on þam lande be æstan Rine. and Hroðulf þa feng to þam middel rice. and Oþa þa to þam weast dæle. and Beorngar and Wiða to Langbeardna lande. and to þam landum on þa healfe muntes. and þet heoldan mid mycel un sibbe. and twa folc ge feoht ge fuhton. and þ land oft and ge lome for hergodon. and æghweðer oðerne oft rædlice ut adræfde.

And þy ilcan geare þe se here for forð up ofer þa brycge æt Paris. Æðelhelm ealdorman lædde Weast Seaxna ælmessan and Ælfredes cyninges to Rome.

† Elemosinā nō debitū!

888. Her lædde Beocca ealdorman West Seaxna ælmessan and Ælfredes cyninges to Rome. and Æðelfrið cwæn seo wæs Ælfredes swustor cyninges. and heo forðferde[10]. and hire lic lið æt Pauian.

And þy ilcan geare Æðered arcebiscop[1]. and Aþewold ealdorman forðferdon on anum monþe.

889. On þissum geare næs nan færeld to Rome buton twegen hleaperes Ælfred cyng sende mid ge writum.

890. Her lædde Beornhelm abb' West Seaxna ælmessan to Rome. and Ælfredes cynges.

And Godrum se norðerne cyning forðferde. þæs fulluht nama wæs Æðelstan se wæs Ælfredes godsune cyninges. and he bude on East Englum. and þ land ærest ge sæt.

And þy ilcan geare for se here of Sigene to Scandlaudan. þet is betwix[2] Bryttum and Francum. and Brittas him wið ge fuhton. and hæfdon sige. and hi bedrifon ut on ane éa. and manige adrencton.

Hic Plegemundus archiepiscopus a Deo et omni populo electus est.

[1] and fif cingas þar wæron to gehalgode. and þ mid Arnulfes geðafunge. and hie beheton þ hi on his handa healdan sceoldon F.

[m] and of eallan folce to þam arb' rice on Cantwareb'i F.

10 be Rome wege F. cf. Wendover.

1 se ærceb' of Cantwaraberi F.

2 betweoh A. betuh B. betwyx F.

891. Her for se here east. and Earnulf cyning gefeaht wiððæm ræde[n] here ær þa scipu cuomon. mid East Francum and Seaxum and Bægerum. and hine gefliemde.

And þrie Scottas cuomon to Ælfrede cyninge. on anum bate butan ælcum gereþrum. of Hibernia[o]. þonon hi hi bestælon. forþon þe hi woldon for Godes lufan on elþiodignesse beon. hi ne rohton hwær. se bat wæs geworht of þriddan healfre hyde þe hi on foron. and hi namon mid him þæt hi hæfdun to seofon nihtum mete. and þa comon hie ymb vii niht to londe on Cornwalum. and foron þa sona to Ælfrede cyninge. þus hie wæron genemnde. Dubslane and Maccbethu[p] and Maelinmun[q]. And Swifneh[r] se betsta lareow þe on Scottum wæs gefor[s].

And þy ilcan geare ofer Eastron. ymbe gang dagas oþþe ær. æt eowde se steorra þe mon on boc læden hæt cometa. same men cweþaþ on Englisc þæt hit sie feaxede steorra. forþæm þær stent lang leoma of. hwilum on ane healfe. hwilum on ælce healfe.

893. Her on þysum geare for se micla here. þe we gefyrn ymbe spræcon. eft of þæm east rice westweard to Bunnan. and þær wurdon gescipode. swa þæt hie asettan him on ænne siþ ofer mid horsum mid ealle. and þa comon up on Limene muþan mid ccl hunde scipa. se muþa is on easte weardre Cent. æt þæs miclan wuda eastende þe we Andred hatað. se wudu is east lang and west lang hund twelftiges mila lang oþþe lengra. and þritiges mila brad. seo ea þe we ær ymbe spræcon lið ut of þæm wealda. on þa ea hi tugon up hiora scipu oþþone weald. iiii mila fram þæm muþan utan weardum. and þær abræcon an ge weorc. inne on þæm fæstenne sæton feawa cirlisce men on and wæs samworht.

Þa sona æfter þæm com Hæsten mid lxxx scipa up on Temese muðan. and worhte him ge weorc æt Middeltune. and se oþer here æt Apuldre.

892. Her for se myccla here þe we gefyrn ær ymb spræcon eft of þam east rice weast ward to Bunan. and þær wurdon ge scipode swa þ hi ásætton hi on ænne sið ofer mid horsum mid ealle. and þa comon up on Limine muðan mid þridde healf hund scipa. se muða is on east warde Cent æt þes mycclan wuda east enda þe we Andræd hatað. se wudu is west lang and east lang hund twelftig mila lang. oððe lengre. and xxx mila brad. se éa þe we ær ymb spræcon. lið ut of þam wealda. on þe éa hi túgon up heora scipa oð ðone weald iiii mila fram þam muþan utan weardum. and þær abræcon an ge weorc inne on ðam fænne[3] sæton feawa cyrlisce men on. and wæs sam worht.

Þa sona æfter þam com Hæsten mid lxxx scipa up inne Tæmese muþe and worhte him ge weorc æt Middel tune. and seo oðer here æt Apuldre.

Hic obiit Wulfhere Norðan hymbrorum arc̃ eps.

[3] fæstenne B. fæstene C. D. fenne A. A. F. fænne E.

Though four of the MSS. have **fenne** (fænne) against three that exhibit **fæstenne** (fæstene): yet from the context, and from the evidence of the Latin historians, there can be no doubt that the latter is the true reading. The Editors of the **Mon. Hist. Brit.** restored it to the text, and it may be regarded as established. Æthelwerd says: in Limneo portu constituunt puppes, Apoldre loco condicto, orientali Cantiæ parte; destruuntque ibi prisco opere castrum, propter quod rustica manus exigua quippe intrinsecus erat. Florence thus: quamdam arcem semistructam, quam pauci inhabitabant villani, diruerunt; aliamque sibi firmiorem in loco qui dicitur Apultreo, construxerunt.

[n] râde B. rad D. contra *pedestrem* exercitum **Flor.** This was an important battle, and by it the kingdom of Arnolph was rid of the devastators. It was fought on the river Dyle, near Louvain, Septr. 1. 891: a day long afterwards kept up in memory of the victory. Cf. Lappenberg, vol. i. p. 341. In the next year they had to flee before the famine which their own ravages had caused, and they fell back on those western provinces which were under the sway of less doughty warriors than Arnolph. Guided by Hasting, a viking of great renown, they burst upon England like a storm,—the last which agitated the eventful life of Alfred.

The concerted invasion, and the promptness of the king to meet the foe wherever his dominion was assailed, are here told in a narrative which has all the freshness and reality of contemporary writing.

[o] Yrlande F.

[p] Maccbeðað B. Machbeðu C. Macbeðu D. F as A.

[q] Maelinmuin B. Maelinmumin C. Maelmumin D. F as A.

[r] Suifne B.

[s] At this point ends the first handwriting in A; and the narrative is continued in a new hand, and on a greatly enlarged scale. At the same time, E shrinks into the smallest compass: and this untoward coincidence will throw out the parallel for many pages.

894. On þys geare. þæt wæs ymb twelf monaþ þæs þe hie on þæm east rice geweorc ge worht hæfdon. Norþhymbre and East Engle hæfdon Ælfrede cyninge aþas ge seald. and East Engle fore gisla vi and þeh ofer þa treowa. swa oft swa þa oþre hergas mid ealle herige ut foron. þoñ foron hie. oþþe mid oþþe on heora healfe an. Þa gegaderade Ælfred cyning his fierd. and fór þæt he gewicode betwuh þæm twam hergum. þær þær he niehst rymet hæfde. for wudu fæstenne ond for wæter fæstenne. swa þæt he mehte ægþerne geræcan gif hie ænigne feld secan wolden. Þa foron hie siþþan æfter þæm wealda hloþum and flocradum. bi swa hwaþerre efes swa hit þoñ fierdleas wæs. and him mon eac mid oþrum floccum sohte mæstra daga ælce. oþþe on niht. ge of þære fierde. ge eac of þæm burgum. hæfde se cyning his fierd on tu to numen. swa þæt hie wæron simle healfe æt ham. healfe ute. butan þæm monnum þe þa burga healdan scolden. ne cóm se here oftor eall ute of þæm setum þoñ tuwwa. oþre siþe þa hie ærest to londe comon. ær sio fierd gesamnod wære. oþre siþe þa hie of þæm setum faran woldon. Þa hie ge fengon micle here hyð. and þa woldon ferian norþ weardes ofer Temese in on East Seaxe ongean þa scipu. Þa for rad sio fierd hie foran. and him wiþ ge feaht æt Fearnhamme. and þone here ge fliemde. and þa here hyþa ahreddon. and hie flugon ofer Temese buton ælcum forda. þa up be Colne on anne iggaþ. Þa besæt sio fierd hie þær utan þa hwile þe hie þær lengest mete hæfdon. ac hie hæfdon þa heora stemn ge setenne. and hiora mete ge notudne. and wæs se cyng þa þider weardes on fære. mid þære scire þe mid him fierdedon. Þa he þa wæs þider weardes. and sio

oþeru fierd wæs ham weardes. and ðа Deniscan sæton þær be hindan. forþæm hiora cyning wæs ge wundod on þæm ge feohte. þæt hi hine ne mehton ferian.

Þa ge gaderedon þa þe in Norþ hymbrum bugeað. and on East Englum. sum hund scipa. and foron suð ymb utan. and sum feowertig scipa norþ ymb utan. and ymb sæton an ge weorc on Defna scire be þære norþ sæ. and þa þe suð ymb utan foron. ymb sæton Exan cester. Ða se cyng þæt hierde. þa wende he hine west wið Exanceastres mid ealre þære fierde. buton swiþe ge waldenum dæle easte weardes þæs folces.

Þa foron forð oþþe hie comon to Lundenbyrg. and þa mid þæm burg warum and þæm fultume þe him westan cōm. foron east to Beam fleote. wæs Hæsten þa þær cumen mid his herge. þe ær æt Middel tune sæt. and eac se micla here wæs þa þær to cumen. þe ær on Limenc muþan sæt æt Āpuldre. hæfde Hæsten ær ge worht þæt geweorc æt Beam fleote. and wæs þa ut afaren on hergaþ. and wæs se micla here æt ham. Þa foron hie to and ge fliemdon þone here. and þæt geweorc abræcon. and ge namon eal þæt þær binnan wæs. ge on feo. ge on wifum. ge eac on bearnum. and brohton eall in to Lundenbyrig. and þa scipu eall oðþe to bræcon. oþþe for bærndon. oþþe to Lunden byrig brohton oþþe to Hrofes ceastre. and Hæstenes wif. and his suna twegen mon brohte to þæm cyninge. and he hi him eft ageaf. forþæm þe hiora wæs oþer his godsunu. oþer Æðeredes ealdor monnes. hæfdon hi hiora on fangen ær Hæsten to Beam fleote come. and he him hæfde ge seald gislas and aðas. and se cyng him eac wel feoh sealde. and eac swa þa he þone cniht agef and þæt wif. ac sona swa hie to Bleam fleote comon. and þæt geweorc ge

worct wæs. swa hergode he on his rice þone ilcan ende þe Æþered his cum pæder healdan sceolde. and eft oþre siþe he wæs on hergað gelend on þæt ilce rice. þa þa mon his geweorc abræc.

Þa se cyning hine þa west wende mid þære fierde wiþ Exan cestres. swa ic ær sæde. and se here þa burg be seten hæfde. þa he þær to gefaren wæs. þa eodon hie to hiora scipum.

Þa he þa wiþ þone here þær wæst abisgod wæs. and þa hergas wæron þa gegaderode begen to Sceo byrig on East Seaxum. and þær geweorc worhtun. foron begen æt gædere up be Temese. and him com micel eaca to. ægþer ge of East Englum. ge of Norþ hymbrum. Foron þa up be Temese oþþæt hie gedydon æt Sæferne. þa up be Sæferne. Þa gegaderode Æþered ealdor mon. and Æþelm ealdor man. and Æþelnoþ ealdor man. and þa cinges þegnas þe þa æt ham æt þæm ge weorcum wæron. of ælcre byrig be eastan Pedredan. ge be westan Seal wuda ge be eastan. ge eac be norþan Temese. and be westan Sæfern. ge eac sum dæl þæs Norð Weal cynnes. Þa hie þa ealle gegaderode wæron. þa offoron hie þone here hindan æt Butting tune. on Sæferne staþe. and hine þær utan be sæton on ælce healfe. on anum fæstenne. Þa hie ða fela wucena sæton on twa healfe þær ē. and se cyng wæs west on Defnum wiþ þone scip here. þa wæron hie mid mete lieste gewægde. and hæfdon miclne dæl þara horsa freten. and þa oþre wæron hungre acwolen. þa eodon hie ut to ðæm monnum þe on east healfe þære ē wicodon. and him wiþ gefuhton. and þa Cristnan hæfdon sige. and þær wearð Ordheh cyninges þegn

as

of slægen. and eac monige oþre cyninges þegn ofslægen. and se dæl þe þær aweg com wurdon on fleame ge nerede. Þa hie on East Seaxe comon to hiora ge

weorc. and to hiora scipum. þa gegaderade sio laf eft of East Englum. and of Norð hymbrum. micelne here onforan winter. and be fæston hira wif and hira scipu and hira feoh on East Englum. and foron án streces dæges and nihtes. þæt hie gedydon on anre westre ceastre on Wir healum. seo is Lega ceaster ge haten. þa ne mehte seo fird hie ná hindan of faran. ær hie wæron inne on þan ge weorce. be sæton þeah þæt geweorc utan sume twegen dagas. and genamon ceapes eall þæt þær buton wæs. and þa men ofslogon þe hie foran forridan mehton butan ge weorce. and þæt corn eall forbærndon and mid hira horsum fretton on ælcere efenehðe. and þæt wæs ymb twelf monað þæs þe hie ær hider ofer sæ comon.

895. Ond þa sona æfter þæm. on ðys gere. fór se here of Wír heale in on Norð Wealas. forþæm hie ðær sittan ne mehton. þæt wæs forðy þe hie wæron be numene ægðer ge þæs ceapes ge þæs cornes. ðe hie ge hergod hæfdon. Þa hie ða eft ut of Norð Wealum wendon mid þære here hyðe þe hie ðær genumen hæfdon. þa foron hie ofer Norð hymbra lond and East Engla. swa swa sio fird hie geræcan ne mehte. oþþæt hie comon on East Seaxna lond easteweard. on an igland þæt is ute on þære sǽ. þæt is Meres ig haten.

And þa se here eft ham weard wende. þe Exanceaster be seten hæfde. þa hergodon hie up on Suð Seaxum neah Cisse ceastre. and þa burg ware hie ge fliemdon. and hira monig hund ofslogon. and hira scipu sumu genamon.

Ða þy ylcan gere on foran winter þa Deniscan þe on Meres ige sæton. tugon hira scipu úp on Temese. and þa up on Lygan. Þæt wæs ymb twa ger þæs þe hie hider ofer sǽ comon.

896. On þy ylcan gere worhte se fore sprecena here ge weorc be Lygan xx mila bufan Lunden byrig.

þa þæs on sumera. foron micel dæl þara burg wara. and eac swa oþres folces. þæt hie gedydon æt þara Deniscana ge weorce. and þær wurdon gefliemde. and sume feower cyninges þegnas ofslægene. þa þæs on hærfæste. þa wicode se cyng on neaweste þare byrig. þa hwile þe hie hira corn gerypon. þæt þa Deniscan him ne mehton þæs ripes for wiernan. þa sume dæge rad se cyng up be þære eā. and gehawade hwær mon mehte þa ēa for wyrcan. þæt hie ne mehton þa scipu ut brengan. and hie þa swa dydon. worhton ðā tū geweorc. on twa healfe þære ēas. Ða hie ðā þæt ge weorc furþum ongunnen hæfdon. and þær to ge wicod hæfdon. þa onget se here þæt hie ne mehton þa scypu ut brengan. þa forleton hie hie. and eodon ofer land þæt hie gedydon æt Cwat brycge be Sæfern. and þær gewerc worhton. Ða rad seo fird west æfter þæm herige. and þa men of Lunden byrig ge fetodon þa scipu. and þa ealle þe hie ālædan ne mehton tobræcon. and þa þe þær stæl wyrðe wæron binnan Lunden byrig gebrohton. and þa Deniscan hæfdon hira wif befæst innan East Engle ær hie ut of þæm ge weorce foron. þa sæton hie þone wint' æt Cwat brycge. þæt wæs ymb þreo ger þæs þe hie on Limene muðan comon hider ofer sā.

897. Ða þæs on sumera on ðysum gere tofōr se here. sum on East Engle. sum on Norðhymbre. And þa þe feoh lease wæron him þær scipu begeton. and suð ofer sā foron to Sigene.

Næfde se here. Godes þonces. Angel cyn ealles for swiðe gebrocod. ac hie wæron micle swiþor gebrocede on þæm þrim gearum mid ceapes cwilde and monna. ealles swiþost mid þæm þæt manige þara selestena cynges þena þe þær on londe wæron. forð ferdon on þæm þrym gearum. þara wæs sum Swiðulf biscop on Hrofes ceastre. and Ceolmund ealdor mon on Cent.

and Beorhtulf ealdormon on EastSeaxum. and Wulfred ealdormon on Hamtun scire. and Ealhheard biscop æt Dorce ceastre. and Eadulf cynges þegn on Suð Seaxum. and Beornulf wic gefera on Winte ceastre. and Ecgulf cynges hors þegn. and manige eac him þeh ic ða geðungnestan nemde.

Þy ilcan geare drehton þa hergas on EastEnglum and on Norð hymbrum WestSeaxna lond. swiðe be þæm suð stæðe. mid stæl hergum. ealra swiþust mid ðæm æscum þe hie fela geara ær timbredon. Þa het Ælfred cyng timbran lang scipu ongen ða æscas. þa wæron fulneah tu swa lange swa þa oðru. sume hæfdon lx ara. sume má. þa wæron ægðer ge swiftran ge unwealtran. ge eac hieran þonne þa oðru. næron nawðer ne on Fresisc gescæpene. ne on Denisc. bute swa him selfum ðuhte þæt hie nyt wyrðoste beon meahten. Þa æt sumum cirre þæs ilcan geares. comon þær sex scipu to Wiht. and þær mycel yfel gedydon. ægðer ge on Defenum ge wel hwær be ðæm sǽ riman. Þa het se cyng faran mid nigonum tó þara niwena scipa. and for foron him þone muðan foran on uter mere. þa foron hie mid þrim scipum ut ongen hie. and þreo stodon æt ufe weardum þæm muðan on drygum. wæron þa men uppe on londe of ágáne. þa gefengon hie þara þreora scipa tú æt ðæm muðan uteweardum. and þa men ofslogon. and þæt án oð wand. on þæm wæron eac þa men ofslægene buton fifum. þa comon forðy on wég ðe ðara oþerra scipu ásæton. þa wurdon eac swiðe un eðelice áseten. þreo ásæton on ða healfe þæs deopes ðe ða Deniscan scipu aseten wæron. and þa oðru eall on oþre healfe. þæt hira ne mehte nan to oðrum. ac ða þæt wæter wæs ahebbad fela furlanga from þæm scipum. þa eodan ða Deniscan from þæm þrim scipum to þæm oðrum þrim þe on hira healfe beebbade wæron.

and hie þa þær gefuhton. þær wearð ofslægen Lucumon cynges gerefa. and Wulfheard Friesa. and Æbbe Friesa. and Æðelhere Friesa. and Æðelferð cynges geneat. and ealra monna. Fresiscra and Engliscra lxii and þara Deniscena cxx. þa com þæm Deniscum scipum þeh ær flod to. ær þa Cristnan mehton hira ut ā scufon. and hie forðy ut oð reowon. þa wæron hie to þæm gesargode. þæt hie ne mehton Suð Seaxna lond utan berowan. ac hira þær tu sæ on lond wearp. and þa men mon lædde to Winteceastre to þæm cynge. and he hie ðær ahon het. and þa men comon on East Engle. þe on þam ānum scipe wæron. swiðe forwundode.

Ðy ilcan sumera forwearð nolæs þoñ xx scipa mid monnum mid ealle. be þam suðriman.

Ðy ilcan gere forðferde Wulfric cynges horsðegn. se wæs eac Wealhgefera.

898. Her on þysum gere gefor Æðelm. Wiltun scire ealdormon. nigon nihtum ær middum sumere. and her forðferde Heahstan. se wæs on Lundenne biscop.

901. Her gefor Ælfred Æþulfing. syx nihtum ær ealra haligra mæssan. Se wæs cyning ofer eall Ongel cyn butan ðam dæle þe under Dena on walde wæs. ✠ and he heold þæt rice oþrum healfum læs þe xxx wintra. Ænd þa feng Eadweard his sunu to rice.

Ða gerad Æðelwald his fædran sunu. þone ham æt Winburnan. and æt Tweoxneam. butan ðæs cyninges leafe and his witena. þa rad se cyning mid firde oð he gewicode æt Baddan byrig wiþ Winburnan. and Æðelwald sæt binnan þæm ham mid þæm monnum þe him togebugon. and hæfde ealle þa geatu forworht in to him. and sæde þæt he wolde oðer oððe þær libban oððe þær licgan. þa under þæm þa bestæl he hine on niht on weg. and gesohte þone here on Norð hymbrum. and se cyng het ridan æfter. and

901. Her gefor Ælfred cyning vii kl' Novēb'. and he heold þet rice xxviii wintra and healf gear. and þa feng Ædward his sunu rice[4].

F. 901. Her ge forðferde Ælfred cing. vii id' Noūb'. and he heold þ rice xxviii wintra and healf gear. and ðа feng Eadward his sunu to rice. Rex Ælfred' ob' & fili' ei' Edward' suscep' regnū. Ælfred' regnaū xxviii annis.

D. 901. Her geför Ælfred cyning vii k' Nouembris and heold þone rice xxviii wintra and healf gear. And þa feng Eadweard his sunu to rice.

And þa [gerad] Æþelwold æðeling his fæderan sunu þone ham æt Winburnan. and æt Tweoxnám þæs cynges unþances and his witena. Þa rad se cyning mid fyrde. oððe he gewicode æt Baddan byrig wið Winburnan. and Aþelwold sæt binnan þam hame mid þam monnum þe him to gebugon. and he hæfde ealle þa gatu forworhte into him. and sæde þ he wolde oþþe ðær libban oððe þær licgean. þa under þam þa rad se æþeling on niht aweg and gesohte þone here on Norð hymbrum. and hi hine under fengon him to cyninge and him

4 Famosus bellicosus victoriosus, viduarum pupillorum orphanorum pauperumque provisor studiosus, poetarum Saxonicorum peritissimus, suæ genti carissimus, affabilis omnibus, liberalissimus; prudentia fortitudine justitia temperantia præditus; infirmitate qua assidue laborabat patientissimus, in exequendis judiciis indagator discretissimus, in servitio Dei vigilantissimus et devotissimus, Angul Saxonum rex ÆLFREDUS, piissimi regis Athulfi filius, xxix annis, sexque mensibus regni sui peractis, indictione quarta, mortem obiit, feria quarta, v kal' Novembris [28 Oct.], et Wintoniæ in Novo Monasterio sepultus, beatæ immortalitatis stolam, et resurrectionis gloriam cum justis expectat. Huic filius successit EADWARDUS, cognomento Senior, litterarum cultu patre inferior, sed dignitate potentia pariter, et gloria superior; nam, ut in sequentibus clarebit, multo latius quam pater fines regni sui dilatavit, siquidem civitates et urbes multas ædificavit, nonnullas vero destructas reædificavit; totam East Saxoniam, East Angliam, Northhymbriam, pluresque etiam Merciæ provincias, quas Dani multo possederant tempore, manibus illorum extorsit; Merciam, post obitum suæ germanæ Ægelfledæ, totam obtinuit et possedit; Scottorum, Cumbrorum, Streatgledwalorum, omnesque Occidentalium Britonum reges in deditionem accepit; reges et duces ab eo, prœlio victi, cæsique quamplurimi. Ex muliere nobilissima Ecgwyna filium suum primogenitum ÆTHELSTANUM, ex regina autem sua Eadgiva filios tres Eadwinum, Eadmundum, Eadredum, filiamque, Deo devotissimam virginem, Eadburgam, tresque insuper habuit filias; quarum unam Otto, Romanorum imperator octogesimus nonus, alteram vero in conjugem habuit rex Occidentalium Francorum Karolus; cujus amitam, Karoli scilicet imperatoris filiam, uxorem duxit rex Occidentalium Saxonum Athulfus; tertiam autem filiam in uxorem habuit rex Northanhymbrorum Sihtricus. (Flor.)

þa ne mehte hine mon of ridan. þa berad mon þæt wif þæt he hæfde ær genumen butan cynges leafe and ofer þara biscopa gebod. forðon ðe heo wæs ær to nunnan gehalgod.

And on þys ilcan gere forðferde Æþered. wæs on Defenum ealdormon. feower wucum ær Ælfred cyning.

903. Her gefor Æþulf ealdormon. Ealhswiðe broðor. and Uirgilius abbud of Scottum. and Grimbald mæsse preost. *viii idus Iulii.*

904. Her com Æðelwald hider ofer sǣ mid þæm flotan þe he mid wæs on EastSexe.

905. Her ā́spón Æðelwald þone here on East Englum to unfriðe. þæt hie hergodon ofer Mercna land oð hie comon to Crecca gelade. and foron þær ofer Temese. and namon ægðer ge on Bradene ge ðær ymb utan eall þæt hie ge hentan mehton. and wendan ða eft ham weard. þa for Eadweard cyning æfter. swa he raðost mehte his fird gegadrian. and oferhergade eall hira land betwuh dicum and Wusan. eall oð ða fennas norð. þa he ða eft þonan ut faran wolde. þa het he beodan ofer ealle þa fird þæt hie foron ealle ut æt somne. þa æt sæton ða Centiscan þær be æftan ofer his bebod. and seofon ærend racan he him hæfde to ā́send. þa befor se here hie ðær. and hie ðær gefuhton. and þær wearð Sigulf ealdor mon ofslægen. and Sigelm ealdormon. and Eadwold cynges ðegen. and Cenulf abbod. and Sigebreht Sigulfes sunu. and Eadwald Accan sunu. and monige eac him. þeh ic ða ge ðungnestan nemde. And on ðara Deniscena healfe wearð ofslægen Eohric hira cyng. and Æðelwald æðeling. ðe hine to þæm unfriðe ge spon. and Byrht sige Beornoðes sunu æðelinges. and Ysopa hold. and Os cytel hold. and swiðe monige eac him. þe we nu genemnan ne magon. And þær

wæs on gehwæðre hond micel wæl geslægen. and þara Denescena þær wearð má ofslægen. þeh hie wæl stowe gewald ahton.

And Ealhswiþ gefor þy ilcan geare.

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(F) 903. Her forðferde Grībaldi þes sac' and þys ylcan geares was gehalgod Niwe mynster on Wincest'. and S' Iudoces cyme. Ob' S' Grībaldi sac'. & aduent' S' Iudoci. & dedicat' Noui Monast' Went'. ☜

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(D) to bugon. Þa berad man þ wîf þet he hæfde ær genumen butan þæs cynges leafan and ofer þæra biscopa gebodu forþam heo wæs ær to nunnan gehalgod.

And on þys ilcan geare forðferde Æþered wæs on Defenum ealdorman. iiii wucan ær Ælfred cyning.

903. Her gefor Aþulf ealdorman. Ealhswyðe broðor. Eadweardes moder cynges. and Uirgilius abbud of Scottum. and Grimbald mæsse preost.

904. Her com Aðelwold hider ofer sæ mid eallum þam flotan þe he begitan mihte and him to gebogen wæs on East Seaxe.

905. Her cometa æteowde xiii k' Nouembris.

Her gelædde Aþelwold þone here on East Englum to unfriðe. þ hi gehergodon ofer eall Myrcna land oð hi comon to Creoccgelade. and foron þær ofer Temese and namon ægþer on Brædene ge þær on buton. eall þ hi gehentan meahton. and wendon þa east hamweard. Þa for Eadweard cyning æfter swa he raðost mihte his fyrd gegaderian. and ofer hergode eall hyra land betweoh dicum and Wúsan eall oð fennas norð. Þa he eft þanon faran wolde. þa het heo beodon ofer ealle þa fyrd. þ hi foron ealle ut æt somne. Þa æt sæton þa Centiscan þær be æftan ofer his bebod. and vii ærendracan he him hæfde to asend. Þa beför se here hi þær. and hi ðær gefuhton. and þær [wearð] Siulf ealdorman ofslægen. and Sihelm ealdorman. and Eadwold cynges þeng. and Kenulf abb'. and Sigebryht Siulfes sunu. and Eadwold Accan sunu. and manige eac to him. þeah ic þa ge þungenestan nemde. And on þæra Deniscena healfe wæs ofslægen Eoric cyning. and Aðelwold æþeling þe hi him to cyninge gecurum. and Beorht sige Beorht noðes sunu æþelinges. and Ysopo hold. and Os kytel hold. and swiðe mænige eac mid him. þe we nu genemnan nemagon. And þær wæs on gehwæðere hand mycel wæl geslægen. and þæra Deniscna wearð ma ofslægen. þeah hi wæl stowe gewealdahton. And Ealhswiþ gefor þy ilcan geare.

906. Her on þys geare gefor Ælfred wæs æt Baðum gerefa. And on þæm ilcan gere mon fæstnode þone frið æt Yttinga forda. swa swa Eadweard cyng gerædde. ægðer wið EastEngle ge wið Norð hymbre.

908. Her gefor Denulf. se wæs on Winte ceastre biscop.

910. Her feng Friðestan to biscopdōme on Winte ✠ ceastre. and Asser biscop gefor æfter ðæm. se wæs æt Scireburnan biscop.

And þy ilcan gere sende Eadweard cyng firde ægðer ge of WestSeaxum ge of Mercum. and heo gehergade swiðe micel on þæm norð here. ægðer ge on mannum ge on gehwelces cynnes yrfe. and manega men ofslogon þara Deniscena. and þær wæron fif wucan inne.

911. Her bræc se here on Norð hymbrum þone frið. and forsawon ælc frið þe Eadweard cyng and his witan him budon. and hergodon ofer Mercna lond. and se cyng hæfde gegadrod sum hund scipa. and wæs þa on Cent. and þa scipu foran be suðan east andlang sæ togenes him. þa wende se here þæt his fultumes se mæsta dæl wære on þæm scipum. and þæt hie mehten faran un be fohtene þær þær hie wolden. þa geascade se cyng þæt þæt hie ut on hergað foron. þa sende he his firde ægðer ge of West Seaxum ge of Mercum. and hie offoron ðone here hindan. þa he hamweard wæs. and him þa wið gefuhton and þone here gefliemdon. and his fela þusenda ofslogon. and þær wæs Ecwils cyng ofslægen.

912. Her ge for Æðered ealdormon on Mercum. and Eadweard cyng feng to Lundenbyrg and to Oxna forda. and to ðæm landum eallum þe þær to hierdon.

913. Her on þys geare ymb Martines mæssan. het Eadweard cyning atymbran þa norðran burg æt

906. Her ge festnode Eadward cyng for neode friþ ægþer ge wiþ East Engla here. ge wiþ Norþhymbre.

910. Her Engle here and Dene gefuhton æt Teotan heale. And Æþered Myrcena ealdor forðferde. and Eadward cyng feng to Lunden byrig. and to Oxnaforda. and to ealle þam landum þe þær to gebyredon. And mycel sciphere hider com suþan of Lidwicum. and hergedon swiðe be Sefærn. ac hi þær mæst ealle siððan forforon.

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(F) 909. Her gefor Denulf b' of Winceast'. Denulf' ēps Wentan' ob'. *is fuit Plegmundi successor*

910. Asser b' of Scirb' ob'. Her Eadward cing feng to Lundenb'i and to Oxanaforda and to eallū ðā landon þe ðarto hyrdon. Hic rex Eaduuard' suscep' Lundoniā & Oxanaford & ōms trās q' illis adjacent. Fridestan' suscep' ep'atū Wentoniensē.

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(D) 906. Her wæs sce Oswaldes lichoma alæded of Beardan igge. Her on þysson geare Ælfred gefór. wæs æt Baðumtune gerefa. And on þam ylcan geare man gefæstnode þone friþ æt Ytingaforda. swa swa Eadward cyning gerædde. ægþær ge wiþ East Æenglum ge wiþ Norð hymbræ.

909. Her Myrce and West Seaxe gefuhton wiþ þone here neh Teotan heale. on viii idus Agustus. and sige hæfdon. and þy ilcan geare Æþelflæd getimbrode Bremes burh. Her gefór Denewulf se wæs on Wintan ceastre b'.

910. Her feng Friðstan to biscop dome on Winta ceastre. and Asser gefor æfter þam. se wæs æt Scire burnan biscop.

And þy ilcan geare sende Eadweard cyning fyrde ægþer ge of West Seaxum ge of Myrcum. and he gehergode swyðe mycel on þam norð here. ægþær ge on mannum ge on hwylcum yrfe. and manege men ofslogon þæra Dæniscra. and þær wæron v wucan inne.

Her Æengle and Dene gefuhton æt Totan heale. And Æþelred Myrcna ealdor forðferde. and Eadward cyning feng to Lunden byrig. and to Oxnaforda. and to eallum þam landum þe þær to hyrdon. And mycel scip here hider com suðan of Lidwicum. and hergodon swyðe be Sæfern. ac hi þær mæst ealle syþþan for foran.

911. Her bræc se here þone friþ on Norð hymbrum. and forsawon ælc riht þe Eadweard cyning and his witan him budon. and hergodon ofer Myrc land. And se cyning hæfde gegaderod sum hund scipa. and wæs þa on Cent. and þa scipu foron be suðan east andlang sæ togeanes him. Þa wende se here þ his fultum wære se mæsta dæl on þam scipum. and þæt hi mihton un be fohtene faran þær þær hi woldon. Þa ge ahsode se cyning þæt þæt hi on hergeað foron. þa sende he his fyrd ægðer ge of West Seaxum ge of Myrcum. and hy of foron þone here hindan. þa he ham weard wæs. and him wiþ þa gefuhton. and þone here geflymdon. and his feola of slogen. and þær wæs Eowilisc cyng ofslægen. and Healden cyng. and Ohter eorl. and Scurfa eorl. and Aþulf hold. and Agmund hold.

912. Her gefor Æþelred ealdor man on Myrcum. and Eadweard cyning feng to Lunden byrig and to Oxnaforda. and to eallum þam landum þe þær to hyrdon.

913. Her Æþelfled getimbrode Tameweorðe. and eac Stafforda

Heorotforda. betweox Memeran and Beneficcan and Lygean[x].

And þa æfter þam þæs on sumera. betweox gang dagum and middum sumera. þa fōr Eadweard cyning mid sumum his fultume on EastSeaxe to Mældune. and wicode þær þa hwile þe man þa burg worhte and getimbrede æt Witham. and him beag god dǣl þæs folces tō þe ær under Deniscra manna anwalde wæron. and sum his fultum worhte þa burg þa hwile æt Heorotforda on suþhealfe Lygean.

917. Her on þys gere rād se here ūt ofer Eastron of Hamtune and of Ligera ceastre. and brǣcon þone friþ. and slogon monige men æt Hocneratune. and þær onbutan. and þa swiðe raþe æfter þæm. swa þa oþre hām comon. þa fundon hie oþre flocrade. þæt rād ūt wið Lygtunes. and þa wurdon þa landleode his ware and him wiþ gefuhton. and gebrohton hie on fullum fleame. and ahreddon eall þæt hie ge numen hæfdon. and eac hira horsa and hira wæpna micelne dæl.

918. Her on þysum geare com micel sciphere hider ofer suþan of Lidwiccum. and twegen eorlas mid. Ohtor and Hroald. and foron west onbutan þæt hie gedydon innan Sæferne muþan. and hergodon on NorþWealas æghwær be þam sæ. þær hie þonne on hagode. and gefengon Cameleac biscop on Ircinga felda. and læddon hine mid him to scipum. and þa aliesde Eadweard cyning hine eft mid xl pundum. Þa æfter þam for se here eall up. and wolde faran þa giet on hergaþ wið Ircinga feldes. þa gemetton þa men hie of Hereforda and of Gleaweceastre[y]. and of þam niehstum burgum. and him wið gefuhton and hie gefliemdon. and ofslogon þone eorl Hroald and þæs oþres eorles broþor Ohteres. and micel þæs heres. and bedrifon hie on anne pearruc. and besæton hie

918. Her Æðelflæd forðferde Myrcena hlæfdige[5].

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(D) burh. Her on þyssum geâre ymbe Martines mæssan het Eadward cyning atimbrian þa norðan burh æt Heortforda. betweoh Mæran and Beneficean and Ligean.

And þa æfter þam þæs on sumera. betwux gang dagum and middan sumera for Eadweard cyning mid sumum his fultume on East Seaxe to Mældune. and wicode þær þa hwile þe man þa burh worhte and getrymode æt Witan ham. and him beah god dæl þæs folces to þe ær under Dæniscra manna anwealde wæron. and sum his fultum worhte þa burh æt Heortforda on suðhealfe Lygean.

914. Her on gere rád se here ut ofer Eastron of Ham tune and of Ligere ceastre. and bræcon þonne frið and slogon manegan mæn æt Hoccenere tune. and þær abuton. And þa hwile swyðe raðe æfter þam. swa oþre ham comon. þa fundon hi oðre floc rade þ rád út wið Lig tunes. and þa wurdon þa land leode his gewǽr and him wið gefuhton. and gebrohton hi on fullan fleame. and a hræddon eall þ hi genumen hæfdon. and eac heora horsa and heora wæpna mycelne dæl.

915. Her on þison geare wæs Wærinc wic getimbrod. and com mycel scip here hider ofer suðan. of Lioðwicum. and ii eorlas. mid Ohter and mid Hraold. and foron þa west abuton þ hi gedyde innon Sæfern muðan. and hergodon on Norð Wealas æghwær be þam staðum þær hi þonne on hagode. and gefengon Camelgeeac bisceop on Iercinga felda. and læddon hine mid him to scipe. and þa alysde Eadweard cyning hine eft mid xl pundum. Þa æfter þam þa for se here eall úp. and wolde faran þa git on hergeað wið Iercinga feldes. Þa gemytton hy of Here forda and of Gleawe ceastre and of þam nyxtan burgum. and him wið gefuhton and hi geflymdon. and of slogon þane eorl Hraold. and þæs oþres eorles broþor Ohteres. and mycel þæs heres. and bedrifon hi on anne pearroc. and besæton hi

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x This and the notice of Hertford a few lines lower describe the site of that town as it is at this day. Part of it is north of the Lea, between the points of its junction with the Maran and the Beane. The south part of the town is on the opposite bank of the Lea, and there stands Hertford Castle.

y "There came against them the men of Hereford and of Gloucester."

5 See below, pp. 108, 109.

þær utan. [a]oþþe hie him sealdon gislas. þæt hie of Eadweardes cyninges andwalde afaran woldon. And se cyng hæfde funden[b] þæt him mon sæt wiþ. on suþ healfe Sæfern mûþan. westan from Wealum. east oþ Afene mûþan. þæt hie ne dorston þæt land nawer ge secan on þa healfe. þa bestælon hie hie þeah nihtes upp æt sumum twam cirron. æt oþrum cierre be eastan Wæced. and æt oþrum cierre æt Portlocan. þa slog hie mon æt ægþrum cirre. þæt hira feawa on weg comon. buton þa ane þe þær ût ætswummon to þam scipum. and þa sæton hie ute on þam iglande æt Bradan Relice. oþ þone first þe hie wurdon swiþe mete lease. and monige men hungre acwælon. forþon hie ne meahton nanne mete geræcan. foran þa þonan to Deomodum. and þa ût to Irlande. and þis wæs on hærfest.

And þa æfter þam on þam ilcan gere foran to Martines mæssan. ða fôr Eadweard cyning to Buccinga hamme mid his firde. and sæt þær feower wucan. and geworhte þa burga buta on ægþere healfe eas ær he þonon fore. and Þurcytel eorl hine ge sohte him to hlaforde. and þa holdas ealle. and þa ieldestan men ealle mæste. ðe to Bedanforda hierdon. and eac monige þara þe to Hamtune hierdon.

919. Her on þys gere Eadweard cyng fôr mid fierde to Bedanforda. foran to Martines mæssan. and beget þa burg. and him cirdon to mæst ealle þa burg ware þe hie ær budon. and he sæt þær feower wucan. and het atimbran þa burg on suþ healfe þære eas. ær he þonan fore.

920. Her on þys gere foran to middum sumera. for Eadweard cyning to Mældune. and getimbrede þa burg and gestaðolode ær he þonon fore.

And þy ilcan geare fôr Þurcytel eorl ofer sæ on Froncland. mid þam mannum þe him gelæstan woldon. mid Eadweardes cynges friþe and fultume.

921. Her on þysum gere foran to Eastron. Ead

921. Her Sihtric cyng ofsloh Niel his broþor.

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(F) 921. Her Sihtric cing of sloh Niel his broðer. Rex Sihtric' occidit frēm suum Niellū.

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(D) þær utan oð hi him sealdon gislas. þæt hi of þæs cynges anwealde faran woldon. And se cyng hæfde funden ꝑ him mon sæt wið. on suð healfe Sæfern muþan westan fram Wealum. east oþ Afene muþan. þæt hi ne dorstan þæt land nawær on þa healfe ge secean. Þa be stælan hi þeah nihtes úp æt sumum twam cyrrum. æt oþrum cyrre be eastan Weced. æt oþrum cyrre æt Por locan. Þa sloh hi mon æt ægþerum cyrre. ꝑ hyra feawa on weg comon buton þa ane þær ut oðswymman mihton to þam scipum. And þa sæton hi ute on þam iglande æt Steapan Reolice oð þone fyrst þe hi wurdon swyþe mete lease. and manege men hungre acwælon. forþon hi ne meahton nænne mete geræcan. foron þa þanon to Deomedum. and þanon to Yrlande. and þis wæs on hærfest.

And þa æfter þam on þam ilcan geare foran to Martines mæssan. þa for Eadweard cyning to Buccinga hámme mid his fyrde. and sæt þær feower wucan. and geworhte þa byrig buta on ægþær healfe eás ær he þanon fore. And Þurcytel eorl hine ge sohte him to hlaforde. and þa eorlas ealle. and þa yldestan mæn þe to Beda forda hyrdon. and eac mænige þæra þe to Ham tune hyrdon.

917. Her Æþelflæd Myrcna hlæfdige Gode fultumiendum foran to hlam mæssan begeat þa burh mid eallum þam þe þær to hyrde. þe is gehaten Deoraby. þær wæron eac ofslægene hyre þægna feower þe hire be sorge wæron binnan þam gatan.

918. Her heo begeat on hyre geweald mid Godes fultume on fore weardne gear þa burh æt Ligran ceastre. and se mæsta dæl þæs herges þe þær to hyrde wearð hyre under þeod. and hæfdon eác Eofor wicyngas hyre gehaten. and sume on wedde geseald sume mid aþum gefæstnod ꝑ hi on hire rædinge beon woldon.

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a þæt B. oð C. D. B is fond of þæt = *until, insomuch that,* where oð is more usual: cf. 937.

b "And the king had arranged for opposing their landing on the south coast of the æstuary of the Severn; from Cornwall westward, to the mouth of the Avon eastward."

(A.D. 921) weard cyning het gefaran þa burg æt Tofe ceastre. and hie getimbran. And þa eft æfter þam. on þam ilcan geare to gangdagum. he het atimbran þa burg æt Wiginga mere.

Þy ilcan sumera betwix hlafmæssan and middum sumera. se here bræc þone friþ of Ham tune and of Ligera ceastre and þonan norþan. and foron to Tofe ceastre. and fuhton on þa burg ealne dæg. and þohton þæt hie sceoldon abrecan. Ac hie þeah awerede þæt folc þe þær binnan wæs oþ him mara fultum tō com. and hie forleton þa þa burg and foron aweg. And þa eft swiðe raþe æfter þam. hie foron eft ūt mid stælherge nihtes. and comon on ūn gearwe men. and genomon ūt lytel. ægþer ge on mannum ge on ierfe. betweox Byrne wuda and Ægles byrig.

Þy ilcan siþe for se here of Huntandune. and of EastEnglum. and worhton þæt geweorc æt Tæmese forda. and hit budon. and bytledon. and forleton þæt oþer æt Huntandune. and þohton þæt hie sceoldon þanon of mid gewinne and mid unfriðe eft þæs landes mare geræcan. And foran þæt hie gedydon æt Bedan forda. and þa foran þa men ūt ongean þe þær binnan wæron. and him wiþ gefuhton and hie gefliemdon and hira godne dǣl ofslogon.

Þa eft æfter þam þa giet gegadorode micel here hine of EastEnglum and of Mercna lande. and foran to þære byrig æt Wiginga mere. and ymb sæton hie utan. and fuhton lange on dæg on. and namon þone ceap on butan. And þa men aweredon þeah þa burg þe þær binnan wæron. and þa forleton hie þa burg and foron aweg.

Þa æfter þam þæs ilcan sumeres gegadorode micel folc hit on Eadweardes cynges anwalde. of þam niehstum burgum. þe hit ðа gefaran mehte. and foron to Tæmese forda. and besæton ðа burg. and fuhton þær

on oð hi hie abræcon. and ofslogon þone cyning and (A.D. 921)
Toglos eorl and Mannan eorl his sunu and his broþor. and ealle þa þe þær binnan wæron and hie wergan woldon. and namon þa oþre and eal þæt þær binnan wæs.

Þa æfter þam þæs forhraþe gegadorode micel folc hit on hærfest. ægþer ge of Cent ge of Suþrigum ge of EastSeaxum ge æghwonan of þam nihstum burgum. and foron to Colne ceastre and ymb sæton þa burg. and þær on fuhton oþ hie þa ge eodon. and þæt folc eall ofslogon. and ge namon eal þæt þær binnan wæs. buton þam mannum þe þær oþ flugon ofer þone weall.

Þa æfter þam þa giet þæs ilcan hærfestes gegadorode micel here hine of EastEnglum. ægþer ge þæs landheres ge þara wicinga þe hie him to fultume aspanen hæfdon. and þohton þæt hie sceoldon ge wrecan hira teonan. and foron to Mældune. and ymb sæton þa burg. and fuhton þær on. oþ þam burg warum com mara fultum tō utan to helpe. and forlet se here þa burg and for fram. and þa foron þa men æfter ūt of þære byrig. and eac þa þe him utan comon to fultume. and gefliemdon þone here and ofslogon hira monig hund. ægþer ge æsc manna ge oþerra.

Þa þæs forhraþe þæs ilcan hærfestes for Eadweard cyning mid WestSexna fierde to Passan hamme. and sæt þær þa hwile þe mon worhte þa burg æt Tofe ceastre mid stan wealle. and him cirde to Þurferþ eorl and þa holdas and eal se here þe to Hamtune hierde. norþ oþ Weolud. and sohton hine him to hlaforde and to mund boran.

Ænd þa se firdstemn fōr hām þa fōr oþer ūt and ge fōr þa burg æt Huntandune. and hie ge bette and ge edneowade þær heo ǣr to brocen wæs. be Eadweardes cyninges hæse. and þæt folc eal þæt þær to

lafe wæs þara landleoda. beag to Eadwearde cyninge and sohton his friþ and his mundbyrde.

Þa giet æfter þam þæs ilcan geres foran to Martines mæssan. fōr Eadweard cyning mid WestSexna fierde to Colneceastre[c]. and gebette þa burg and geednewade þær heo ǣr tobrocen wæs. and him cirde micel folc tō. ægþer ge on EastEnglum ge on East Seaxum. þe ær under Dena anwalde wæs. and eal se here on EastEnglum him swor annesse. þæt hie eal þæt woldon þæt he wolde. and eall þæt friþian woldon þæt se cyng friþian wolde. ægþer ge on sǣ ge on lande. and se here þe to Grantanbrycge hierde. hine geces synderlice him to hlaforde and to mundboran. and þæt fæstnodon mid aþum. swa swa he hit þa arēd.

922. Her on ðysum gere betweox gangdagum and middan sumera. for Eadweard cyng mid firde to Steanforda. and het gewyrcan ða burg on suð healfe ðære eas. and ðæt folc eal ðe to ðære norþerran byrig hierde. him beah tō. and sohtan him hine to hlaforde.

Ānd þa on þæm setle ðe he þær sǣt. þa gefor Æþelflæd his swystar æt Tameworþige[d] xii nihtum ær middum sumera. Ānd þa gerad he þa burg æt Tameworþige. and him cierde tō eall se þeod scype on Myrcna lande. þe Æþelflæde ær underþeoded wæs. and þa cyningas on NorþWealum. Howel and Cledauc and Ieoþwel. and eall NorþWeallcyn hine sohton him to hlaforde.

Þa fōr he þonan to Snotingaham and gefōr þa burg. and het hie gebetan and gesettan. ægþer ge mid Engliscum mannum ge mid Deniscum.

Ānd him cierde eall þæt folc to þe on Mercnalande geseten wæs. ægþer ge Denisc ge Englisce.

923. Her on þysum geare fōr Eadweard cyning

923. Her Regnold cyng gewan Eoferwic.

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(F) 923. Her Regnold cing gewann Euorwic. Rex Regnold' deuicit Eboracā.

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(D) Ac swyðe hrædlice þæs þe hi þus geworden hæfde heo gefor. xii nihtum (pridie ID' IUNII) ær middan sumera. binnan Tamweorðe þy eahtoðan geare þæs þe heo Myrcna anweald mid rihte hlaford dome healdende wæs. and hire lic lið binnan Glewe ceastre innan þam east portice sc̄e Petres cyrcean.

919. Her eac wearð Æþelredes dohter Myrcna hlafordes ælces anwealdes on Myrcum benumen. and on WestSeaxe alæded. þrym wucum ær middan wintre. se wæs haten Ælfwyn.

921. Her Eadweard cyning getimbrode þa burh æt Cledemuþan.

923. Her Regnold cyning gewan Eoforwic.

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[c] At Colchester, Edward "repaired and restored the fortress wheresoever it had a breach." No mention of new constructions as elsewhere (gewyrcan ane burg), for the fortifications date from Roman times. It seems to be established now that Colchester is the R. Colony of Camulodunum (Tac. An. xiv. 31), which was surprised and stormed by the infuriated Boadicea, A. D. 61. See "The Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain" by Maj. Gen. Roy, p. 187, and "Colchester Castle" by Rev. H. Jenkins. Quarterly Review, No. 193.

The walls, of which particular mention is made on the previous page, form a parallelogram, longer on the north and south sides; measuring about $1\frac{3}{4}$ m. round. According to Maj. Gen. Roy, they are based on a Roman vallum, and the whole position is such as the Romans would choose—a commanding point of land, formed by the Colne on one side and a ravine on the other.

Such being the strength of the place, it was a spirited act of the men of Kent, Surrey, and Essex to dislodge the Danes, and recover a stronghold of so much importance. In this we see the good effect of the king's vigorous conduct upon the temper and resolution of his people.

[d] Æthelflæd, the Lady of Mercia, died at Tamworth, which seems (from the language of some Charters) to have been the Residence of the kings of Mercia.

Æthelflæd had governed with more than feminine energy; she had humbled the Welsh, and fortified her territory against the Danes. The Latin Chroniclers make a point of giving her *masculine* titles, as Henry of Huntingdon says: Hæc igitur domina tantæ potentiæ fertur fuisse, ut a quibusdam non solum domina vel regina, sed etiam *Rex* vocaretur ad laudem et excellentiam mirificationis sui, &c. So D. has, mid rihte *hlaford* dome.

Holinshed styles her "the martial ladie and manlie Elfleda." Speed calls her "another Zenobia."

On the death of his sister, Eadweard occupied Mercia, and united it finally with Wessex. A line drawn from the mouth of the Mersey to that of the Welland, with a free outward curve, would now describe the Saxon frontier towards the Briton and the Dane.

mid fierde on ufan hærfest to þelwæle. and het ge wyrcan þa burg and ge settan and ge mannian. and het oþre fierd. eac of Miercna þeode. þa hwile þe he þær sæt. ge faran Mame ceaster on Norþhymbrum. and hie ge betan and ge mannian. *Her forþferde Plegemund arcebisceop.*

924. Her on þysum gere foran to middum sumera. fór Eadweard cyning mid fierde to Snotinga ham. and het ge wyrcan þa burg on suþ healfe þære eas. ongean þa oþre. and þa brycge ofer Treontan be twix þam twam burgum. and fór þa þonan on Peac lond to Badecan wiellon. and het ge wyrcan ane burg þær on neaweste. and ge mannian. and hine ge ces þa to fæder and to hlaforde Scotta cyning and eall Scotta þeod. and Regnald and Eadulfes suna and ealle þa þe on Norþhymbrum bugeaþ. ægþer ge Englisce ge Denisce ge Norþmen ge oþre. and eac Strælcd Weala cyning and ealle Strælcd Wealas.

925. Her Eadweard cing forþ ferde. and Æþelstan his sunu feng to rice. *And Sce Dunstan wearð akænned. and Wulfelm feng to þan arcebiscoprice on Cantuarebyri.*

931. Her mon hadode Byrnstan bisceop to Wintan ceastre iiii kl' Iunii. and he heold þridde healf gear bis'dom.

932. Her forþferde Fryþestan bisceop.

933. Her for Æþelstan cyning in on Scotland. ægþer ge mid land here ge mid scyp here. and his micel oferhergade. And Byrnstan bisꝑ forþferde ón Wintan ceastre. to Omnium Sc̃orum.

934. Her feng Ælfheah bisꝑ. to biscopdome.

924. [Her Ædward cyning forðferde. and Æþelstan his sunu feng to rice.]

925. Her Wulfelm biscop wes gehalgod. and þy ilcan geare Ædward cyning forðferde.

927. Her Æþelstan cyning fordraf Guðfrið cyng. and her Wulfelm arcb' for to Rom.

928. Will'm suscepit regnum. et xv annis regnavit.

933. Her adranc Ædwine æðeling on sæ.

934. Her for Æþelstan cyning on Scotland. ge mid land here. ge mid sciphere. and his mycel ofer hergode.

(F) 924. Her wearþ Eadward cing gecoren to fædere and to hlauorde of Scotta cinge and of Scotton. and Regnolde cinge and of eallū Norðhūbrū. and eac Streaclede Wæla cinge. and of eallon Streclæd Wealan. Hic Eduuard' fili' Alfredi elect' e' a rege Scotie & ab ōmib' Scottis in patrē & dūm. & a Regnoldo rege & a cunctis de Norð hūbra. & a Streclæde rege Uualor' & a pop'lo ei'.

925. Her Eadward cing forþferde. and Æðestan his sunu feng to rice. and Wulfelm wearþ gehadod to arb' to Cant' and S' Dunstanus was geboren. Hic ob' Eaduuard' rex fili' Alfredi reg' & Æðestan suscep' regnū & Wlfelm' ordinat' e' ad ar'ep'atū Cantie

& beatus Dunstanus natus e'.

927. Her Æðestan cing fordraf Guþfrið cing and her Wulfelm arb' ferde to Rome. Rex Æðestan' pepulit Guthfridū regē. & Wlfelm' ar'ēps perrex' Rome p' pallio.

928. Willelmus feng to Normandi. and heald xv gear. Willelm' sucep' Normanniā regendā et xv annis tenuit.

931. Her forðferde Friðestan b' Wentanus. and Byrnstanus wearð gebletsod on his loh. Friðestan' ēps Wyntoniensis ob'. et Byrnstan' ordinat' loco ei'.

934. Her for Æðestan cing to Scotlande mid land here ge mid sciphere. and his mycel ouer hergode. Rex Æðestan' vadit in Scotiā cum magno &c.

935. Her feng Ælfeah to b'stole on Winč. Ælfheg' suscep' pontificatū W...

(D) 924. Her Eadweard cyning gefor on Myrcum æt Farndune. and Ælfweard his sunu swyþe hraðe þæs gefor ymbe xvi dagas æt Oxanforda. and hyra lic lið æt Wintanceastre. and Æþelstan wæs gecoren to cynge of Myrcum. and æt Cyngestune gehalgod. and he geaf his sweostor Offæ Eald Seaxna cynges suna.

925. Her Æþelstan cyning and Sihtric Norð hymbra cyng heo gesamnodon æt Tame weorðþige. iii k' Februarius. and Æþelstan his sweostor him forgeaf.

926. Her oðeowdon fyrena leoman on norð dæle þære lyfte. and Sihtric acwæl. and Æþelstan cyning feng to Norð hymbra rice. and ealle þa cyngas þe on þyssum iglande wæron he gewylde. ærest Huwal West Wala cyning. and Cosstantin Scotta cyning. and Uwen Wenta cyning. and Ealdred Ealdulfing from Bebban byrig. and mid wedde and mid aþum fryþ gefæstnodon. on þære stowe þe genemned is æt Ea motum. on iiii idus Iulii. and ælc deofol geld to cwædon. and syþþam mid sibbe to cyrdon.

934. Her for Æþelstan cyning on Scotland mid here ge mid sciphere. and his mycel ofer hergode.

937. Her Æþelstan cyning · eorla dryhten ·
beorna beahgifa · and his broþor éac ·
Eadmund æþeling. ealdor langne tír ·
geslogon æt sæccea · sweorda écgum ·
ymbe Brunan burh. Bord weal clufan.
heowan heaþo linde · hamora lafanb ·
cafaran Eadweardes. swa him geæþele wæs ·
from cneo mægum · þ hi æt campe oft ·
wiþ laþra gehwæne · land ealgodond ·
hord and hámas. Hettend crungun ·
Sceotta leodae · and scip flotan ·
fæge feollan. feld dænnedef ·
sécgas hwateg · siðþan sunne úp ·
on morgen tíd · mære tungol ·
glad ofer grundas · Godes condel beorht ·
eces Drihtnes · hoð sio æþele gesceaft ·
sah to setle. Þær læg secg mænig ·
garum agetedi · guma norþerna ·
ofer scild scoten. swilce Scittisc eác ·
werig wíges[k] sæd. Wes Seaxe fórð ·
ondlongne dæg · eorod cistuml ·
on last legdun · laþum þeodum.
heowan here fleman[m] · hindan þearle ·
mecum mylen scearpan[n]. Myrce ne wyrndon ·
ohe eardes hond plegan · hæleþa nanum ·
pþæ mid Ánlafe · ofer æra ge bland[q] ·
on lides[r] bosme · land gesohtun ·
fæge to gefeohte. Fife lægun ·
ón þam campstede · cyninges giunge[s] ·
sweordum aswefede. swilce seofene eác ·
eorlas Ánlafes. unrim heriges[t] ·
flotan and Sceotta. Þær ge flemed wearð ·
Norð manna bregu[u] · nede gebeded[x] ·
to lides stefne · litle weorode ·

937. Her Æðelstan cyning lædde fyrde to Brunanburig.

(F) 937. Her Æðestan cing and Eadmund his broðer lædde fyrde to Brunanburi. and þar gefeht wiþ Anelaf. and Xþe fultumegende sige hæfde. Hic factū e' illud magnū & famosū bellū in Brunanburi &c.

[a] geslōgan æt sake B. geslohgon æt secce A.

[b] heowan heaðolinda hamera lafum D.

[c] eaforan B. aforan C. eoforan D.

[d] gealgodon D.

[e] crungon Scotta leode B. C. D.

[f] dennade B. C. dennode D. dynede A.

[g] secga swate B. C. D; and this seems the genuine text.

[h] þ seo B; as above 918. a.

[i] garum forgrunden B.

[k] wigges B. C.

[l] andlangne dæg eored cystum B.C.D.

[m] here flyman B. here flymon C. heora flyman D. here fliman A.

[n] scearpum B.C. mycel scearpum D.

[o] heardes B. C. D. heordes A.; the true reading.

[p] þe A. þara ðe B. C. þæra þe D.

[q] ear gebland B. C. ēar- D.

[r] liðes C.

[s] geonge A. B. C. iunga D.

[t] and ūnrim herges C.

[u] brego B. C. D.

[x] gebæded B. neade gebæded C. D. nyde A. See below 942. c.

This national song of victory is a fine sample of the genius and art of Saxon poetry, and a noble memorial of the life of our forefathers. Much of the Chronicle has the merit (too rare in Saxon prose) of being genuine and homespun, free from the intrusion of strange ideas, and the infection of foreign models. But these verses shew us the native spirit in its more excited mood; they speak the tumultuous joy of brave and simple patriots with the rage of battle still tingling in their veins. Such glowing words could not become extinct: they have scored themselves indelibly on the tablet of literature.

Gibson appreciated the poetry, though in his day the sense had not been perfectly made out. He notes: "*Idioma hic et ad An.* 942 *et* 975 *perantiquum et horridum, inquit Whelocus.* Perantiquum proculdubio, horridum interim haud dicendum; quippe quod stylum Cædmonianum, elegantissimum plane, et in quo Ducum res gestæ ob ejus sublimitatem decantari antiquitus solebant, aliquatenus saltem referat."

The song is preserved in five out of the seven MSS.; viz., A. A. B. C. D. The later Chronicles E and F omit it: under Norman rule it had no longer any interest. Of the Latin historians Henry of Huntingdon alone has embodied this gem into his work. His version has many happy renderings, and likewise many curious mistakes, speciously paraphrased. For the sake of ready comparison it is appended here; the more glaring faults being printed in Italics.

'Rex Adelstan, decus ducum, nobilibus torquium dator, et frater ejus Edmundus, *longa stirpis serie splendentes,* percusserunt in bello, acie gladii apud Brunesburh. Scutorum muros fiderunt, *nobiles ceciderunt, domesticæ* reliquiæ *defuncti* Edwardi. Sic namque iis ingenitum fuerat a *genibus* cognationum, ut bellis frequentibus ab infestis nationibus defenderent patriæ thesauros et domos, *pecunias et xenia.* Gens vero Hibernensium, et puppium habitatores, fatales corruerunt; colles resonuerunt. Sudaverunt armati, ex quo sol mane prodiit, micans hilariter, *lætificans* profunda, Dei luminare, fax Creatoris, usque quo idem nobilis *ductor* occasu se occuluit. Ibi viri jacuerunt multi a Dacia oriundi, telis perforati, sub scutis lanceati, simul et Scotti bello fatigati. Gens vero Westsexe, tota simul die, *prius electi, post indefessi,* invisæ gentis globos straverunt; *viri elegantes, hastas* cædebant, viri Mercenses *acuta jacula mittebant,* duro manus ludo. *Sanitas ibi nulla* his qui cum Anlavo trans maris campos in ligni gremio terram petierunt, Marte morituri. Quinque occubuerunt in loco belli reges juvenes, gladiis percussi, ducesque septem regis Anlavi; absque numero *ceciderunt* Scotti, *deperiitque Normannorum tumor. Nec enim paucos ad litem belli, duxerant secum: cum paucis vero*

[a]cread cnearen flot · cyning utgewat ·
ón fealene flod · feorh generede.
Swilce þær eác se froda · mid fleame com ·
on his cyþþe norð · Costontinus ·
hár hildering. hreman ne þorfte ·
[b]mæcan gemanan. he wæs his mæga sceard ·
freonda gefylled · ón folcstede ·
[c]beslagen æt sæcce · and his sunu forlet ·
ón wælstowe · wundun fergrunden[d] ·
giungne æt guðe. gelpan ne þorfte ·
beorn blandenfeax · bilgeslehtes ·
eald inwidda[e]. ne Anlaf þy ma.
mid heora herelafum · hlehhan ne þorftun ·
þæt [f]heo beaduweorca · beteran wurdun ·
*vel cumbel*
ón campstede · [g]cul bodgehnades ·
garmittinge · gumena gemotes ·
wæpengewrixles · þæs [h] hi ón wælfelda ·

in maris fluctus rex navi provectus, *intrinsecus gemebat.* Simul et *Froda ductor Normannus, cumque suis notis* dux Constantinus, de Martis congressu, jactare nequierunt, ubi cognationis suæ fragmen apparuit, ubi amici sui corruerant, in statione populi bello prostrati, et filium suum in loco prœlii vulneribus demolitum carum reliquit. *Nec Gude Dacus,* declamare potuit, *licet verbis blandus,* et mente vetustus. Nec Anlaf ipse, cum reliquiis suis, *mentiri* potuit, quod ad hoc negotium *sui præstiterint* in campo belli, ictuum immanitate, telorum transforatione, in *concilio proborum. Matres vero et nurus planxerunt suos belli alea* cum Edwardi filiis lusisse; cum Normanni, navibus clavatis, *et Anlaf* tabefactus, ultra profundum flumen, terras suas, mœsto animo, repetissent. Postea frater uterque rediit Westsexe, belli reliquias post se deserentes, carnes virorum in escam paratas. Ergo corvus niger, ore cornutus, et buffo livens, aquila cum milvo, canis lupusque mixtus colore, his sunt deliciis diu recreati. Non fuit bellum hac in tellure majus patratum, nec cædes tanta præcessit istam, postquam huc venerunt, trans mare latum, Saxones et Angli, Brittones pulsuri: clari Martis fabri, Walenses vicerunt, reges fugaverunt, regna susceperunt.'

His causa recreandi interpositis ad historiam redeamus.

[a] Creat D. cnear on A.B.C.D. ón D. flod A.D.

[b] mecea B. meca C. mecga D. *For* He wæs *B and C have* Her wæs.

[c] forslegen B. beslegen C. beslægen D.

[d] wundum forgrunden A.B.C.D.

[e] inwitta B.C. inwuda D.

[f] hi C.D. hie A.B.

[g] cumbel A. cumbol gehnastes B.C.D.

[h] þe *adds* D.

wiþ Eadweardes · afaran plegodan.
Gewitan him þa Norþmen · [i]nægled cnearrum ·
dreorig daraðalaf · ón [k]dinges mere ·
ofer deop wæter · [l]Difelin secan ·
and eft hira land[m] · æwisc mode.
Swilce þa gebroþer · begen æt samne ·
cyning and æþeling · cyþþe sohton ·
Wesseaxena land · wiges hrámige.
Letan him behindan · [n]hræ bryttian ·
saluwig padan · þone sweartan hræfn ·
hyrned nebban · and þane hasewan[o] padan ·
earn æftan hwit · æses brucan ·
grædigne guðhafóc · and þæt græge deor ·
wulf ón wealde. Ne wearð wæl mare ·
ón þis eiglande · æfer[p] gieta ·
folces gefylled · beforan þissum ·
sweordes écgum. þæs þe us secgað béc ·
ealde uðwitan. siþþan eastan hider ·
Engle and Seaxe · up becoman ·
ofer brad brimu[q] · Brytene sohtan ·
wlance wig smiðas · Wealles[r] ofer coman ·
eorlas arhwate · eard begeatan.

[i] negled C. dæggled on garum D.
[k] dynges B. dyniges D. dinnes A.
[l] Dyflen B. Dyflin C. Dyflig D.
[m] and heora land A. Yraland C. D.
[n] Hraw B. hra D.
[o] haso B. hasu C. D. hasean A.
[p] æfre B. C. D.
[q] brade B. C. D. brymum brad A.
[r] Wealas B. C. D.

This Ode has been often done into English, and it has been the work of many hands to smooth its difficulties for the modern student. See Guest's *History of English Rhythms*, vol. ii; and the improved Ed. (1840) of Price's Warton's *Hist. Engl. Poetry*, vol. i; where is a rich collection of notes and illustrations. In Ellis's *Specimens of Early English Poets* is a 'metrical version' in the style of the 14th century, which Conybeare (Illustrations of Anglo Saxon Poetry, p. lxxxi) praises as a successful imitation.

A faint echo of its sense comes back to us from the region of British Legend, as represented in the verses of Laȝamon. It is in the reign of Æþelstan that the story of British nationality is brought to its plaintive close, when their wandering prince is taught in a dream to cease his vain attempts against the power of the Saxon, and to wait the promised day foretold by their prophet Merlin.

941. Her Æþelstan cyning forð ferde [s] on vi kl' Nov'. ymbe xli wintra. butan anre niht. þæs þe Ælfred cyning forþ ferde. And Eadmund æþeling feng to rice. and he wæs þa xviii wintre. and Æþelstan cyning rixade xiiii gear and [t]x wucan. *Þa was Wulfelm arcebiscop on Cañt.*

942. [u]Her Eadmund cyning · Engla þeoden ·
[x]maga mundbora · Myrce geeode ·
dyre dædfruma · swa Dor scadeþ ·
hwitan wylles geat · and [y]Humbra ēa ·
brada brimstream · burga fife ·
Ligoraceaster · and Lindcylene[z] ·
and Snotingaham · swylce Stanford ēac ·
[a] Deoraby. [b]Dæne wæran ær ·
under Norðmannum · nyde gebegde[c] ·
ōn hæþenra · hæfte clommum ·
lange þraga[d] · oþ hie alysde eft ·
for his weorþscipe · wiggendra hleo ·
afera Eadweardes · Eadmund cyning ·
ōnfeng Anlafe cyninge æt fulluhte. and þy ylecan geare ymbtela micel fæc. he ōnfeng Rægenolde cyning æt bisceopes handa. . . . . *arcebisceop.*

943. [e] [*Her Eadmund cing S. Dunstane Glæs*]*tingeberig betæhte ðær he syððan ærest abbud wearð.*

944. Her Eadmund cyning geeode eal Norþhymbra land him to [f]ge wealdan. and aflymde ut twegen cyningas. Anlaf Syhtrices sunu. and Rægenald Guðferþes sunu.

945. Her Eadmund cyning ofer hergode eal Cumbra land. and hit let to eal Malculme[g] Scotta cyninge. ōn þ gerad[h] þ he wære his mid wyrhta ægþer ge ōn sæ ge ōn lande.

946. Her Eadmund cyning forð ferde ōn Sēs Agustinus mæsse dæge. and he hæfde rice seofoþe healf gear. And þa feng Eadred æþeling his broþor to rice. and gerad eal Norþhymbra land him to gewealde.

940. Her Æðelstan cyning forðferde. and feng Ædmund to rice his broðor.

942. Her Anlaf cyning forðferde.

Et Ricardus vetus suscepit regnum. et regnavit añ lii.

944. Her Ædmund cyning geeode ealle Norðhymbre. and ut aflymde twegen cyneborene mæn Anlaf and Regnald.

945. Her Ædmund cyning oferhergode eall Cumbraland.

948. Her Ædmund cyning wearð ofstungen. and feng Ædred his broðor to rice. and he sona gerád eall Norð-

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D. 941. Her Norðhymbra alugon hira getreowaða. and Anlaf of Yrlande him to cinge gecuron.

942. "Her Eadmund cyning . . (Ā) . . Eadmund cyning."

943. Her Anlaf abræc Tamewurþe. and micel wæl gefeol on ægþra hand. and þa Denan sige ahton and micele here huþe mid him aweg læddon. þær wæs Wulfrun genumen on þære hergunge.

Her Eadmund cyning ymbsæt Anlaf cyning and Wulfstan arcebiscop on Legraceastre. and he hy gewyldan meahte. nære þ hi on niht utne æt burston of þære byrig. And æfter þæm begeat Anlaf Eadmundes cynges freondscipe. and se cyning Eadmund onfeng þa Anlafe cyninge æt fulwihte. and he him cynelice gyfode. And ðy ilcan geare. ymbe tæla mycelne fyrst. he onfeng Regnalde cyninge æt bisceopes handa.

944 (Ā). 945 (Ā).

946. . . (Ā) . . *dæge.* þ wæs wide cuð. hu he his dagas geendode. þ Liofa hine ofstang. æt Puclancyrcan. And Æþelflæd æt Domerhame. Ælfgares dohter ealdormannes. wæs þa his cwen. *and he hæfde &c.*

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[s] on Gleaweceastre D.

[t] teon D.

[u] Eadmund had much ado to secure his inheritance. The Danes made a new effort to escape from the yoke of Wessex. They called over Anlaf of Ireland, the discomfited champion of Brunanburh, to be their deliverer and their king. Eadmund was defeated at Tamworth, but he besieged his enemy in Leicester. Through the two Abps (of whom each side had one) a peace was made, which confined Eadmund South of Watling Street, and made Anlaf king of all the North. But the death of Anlaf soon enabled Eadmund to recover his lost dominion, and to take a firmer hold on those outlying dependencies. Then were the Five Burghs reduced to submission, and the two 'kinglets' of the North were awed into the profession of Christianity. This done, they reigned awhile, Anlaf Sihtricson in the North division, and Regnald Guðferðson in the South district of which York was the capital.

[x] mæcgea B. mecga C. mægþa D.

[y] Humbran B. Hunbran C. Himbran D.

[z] Lindkylne B. Lindcylne C. Lincolne D.

[a] and B. C. D.

[b] Denum B. Dene A. C. wæron æror B. C. D.

[c] gebæded B. gebæded C. D. Cf. 937. x.

[d] þrage A. B. C. D.

[e] The words within brackets are from F to complete the sentence which in *a* is broken.

[f] gewealde A. B. C. D.

[g] Malculfe D.

[h] gearæd D.

and Scottas him aþas sealdan. ꝥ hie woldan eal ꝥ he wolde.

951. Her forþferde Ælfheah Wintan ceastres biscˉ. on Sc̃e Gregories mæssedæg.

955. Her forþferde Eadred cining. on Sc̃e Clementes mæssedæg. ón Frome. and he rixsade teoþe healf gear. And þa feng Eadwig to rice. Eadmundes sunu cinges. *And he aflæmde Sc̃e Dunstan ut of lande*[a].

958. Her forðferde Eadwig cyng on klˉ Octobrˉ. *and Eadgar his broðor feng to rice*[b]. *he sænte efter Sc̃e Dunstane. and gæf him þæt bˉrice on Wigracæstre. and ðær æfter þæt bˉrice on Lundene.*

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(D) 947. Her com Eadred cyning to Taddenes scylfe. and þær Wulstan se arcebiscop. and ealle Norðhymbra witan. wiþ þone cyning hi getreowsoden. and binnan litlan fæce hit eall alugon. ge wed and eac aþas.

948. Her Eadred cyning oferhergode eall Norðhymbra land. for þæm þe hi hæfdon genumen him Yryc to cyninge. and þa on þære hergunge wæs ꝥ mære mynster forbærnd æt Rypon. ꝥ Sc̃e Wilferðes getimbrede. And þa se cyning hamweard wæs. þa offerde se here innan Heoforwic. wæs þæs cynges fyrde hindan æt Ceaster forda. and þær mycel wæl geslogon. Ða wearð se cyning swa gram ꝥ he wolde eft infyrdian. and þone eard mid ealle fordon. Þa Norðhymbra witan ꝥ ongeaton. þa forlæton hi Hyryc and wiþ Eadred cyning gebeton þa dæde.

952. Her on þyssum geare het Eadred cyning gebringan Wulstan arcebiscop in Iudan byrig on þæm fæstenne. forþæm he wæs oft to þam cyninge forwreged. and on þyssum geare eac het se cyning ofslean mycel wæll on þære byrig Ðeotforda. on þæs abbodes wrece Eadelmes. þe hi ær ofslogon.

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[a] 956. Her wæs Dunstan abbˉ fram Edwie cinge adriuen ut of Engla lande. F.

[b] and Eadgar cing wearþ æfter him ouer eal Brytene. F. agðer ge on West Seaxum ge on Myrcum ge on Norðhymbrum. and he wæs þa xvi wintre. B. c.

[l] This Anlaf is distinct from the two mentioned on pp. 116, 117. In the Annals of Ulster (Rerum Hiber. Scriptores Ed. O'Conor, vol. iv) he appears as **Amlaibh Cuaran**, under the years 944, 946.

hymbraland him to gewealde. and Scottas him aðas sworon þ hi eall wolden þ he wolde.

949. Her com Anlaf Cwiran on Norðhymbra land[1].

952. Her Norðhymbre fordrifan Anlaf cyning. and under fengon Yric Haroldes sunu.

954. Her Norðhymbre fordrifon Yric. and Ædred feng to Norðhymbra rice.

955. Her Ædred cyning forðferde. and feng Eadwig to rice Eadmundes sunu.

956. Her forðferde Wulstan arc̃b'.

959. Her Eadwig cyning forðferde. and feng Eadgar his broðor to rice.

" On his dagum hit gododе georne. and God him geuðe þ he wunode on sibbe þa hwile þe he leofode. and he dyde swa him þearf wes. earnode þes georne. He arerde Godes lof wide. and Godes lage lufode. and folces frið bette swiðost þara cyninga þe ær him gewurde be manna gemynde. and God him eac fylste þ cyningas and eorlas georne him to bugon. and wurden under þeodde to þam þe he wolde. and butan gefeohte eal he gewilde þet he sylf wolde. He wearð wide geond þeodland swiðe geweorðad. forþam þe he weorðode Godes naman georne. and Godes lage smeade oft and gelome. and Godes lof rærde wide and side. and wislice rædde oftost á simle for Gode and for worulde eall his þeode. Ane misdæda

Tempore istius meliorata est terra Anglorum, & Deus pacificavit dies ejus, ita ut quamdiu viveret status pacis in nullo sit læsus. Sine bello omnia sui juris custodivit, circa cultum Dei diligenter se exhibebat, laudes Dei ubique erigebat, legem Dei intente meditabatur, meditando implere studebat, et cunctis sibi subjectis secundum Deum et sæculum sapienter consulebat. (F)

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(D) 954. Her Norð hymbre fordrifon Yric. and Eadred feng to Norð hymbra rice. Her Wulfstan arcebiscop onfeng eft biscop rices on Dorceceastre.

955. . . (A) . . *Frome.* and he rest on Ealdan mynstere. And Eadwig feng to West Seaxena rice. and Eadgar his broþor feng to Myrcena rice. and hi wæron Eadmundes suna cyninges and Sc̃e Ælfgyfe.

957. Her forðferde Wulfstan arcebiscop on xvii kl' Ianuar. and he wæs bebyrged on Undelan. And on þam ylcan geare wæs Dunstan abb' adræfed ofer sæ̃.

958. Her on þissum geare Oda arcebiscop totwæmde Eadwi cyning and Ælgyfe. forþæm þe hi wæron to gesybbe.

961. *Her gewat Odo arceb'. and Sce Dunstan feng to arceb'rice.*

962. Her forðferde Ælfgar cinges mæg on Defenum and his lic rest on Wiltune. Ānd Sigferð cyning hine offeoll. and his lic ligð æt Wimburnan. Ānd þa on geare wæs swiðe micel man cwealm. and se micela manbryne wæs on Lundene. and Paules mynster forbarn. and þy ilcan geare wearð eft gestaþelad.

On þys ilcan geare for Āþelmod mæsse preost to Rome and þær forðferde. xviii kl' Septemb'.

963. Her forðferde Wulfstan diacon. on Cilda mæssedæge. and æfter þon forðferde Gyric mæsse preost.

On þys ilcan geare feng Āþelwold abbod to þæm bisceop rice to Wintan ceastre. and hine mon gehalgode IN UIGILIA SCI ĀNDREE. wæs sunnan dæg on dæg.

1 This, No. 8. of the Peterborough Record, contains the Revival of that Abbey, after a long eclipse. No. 7. told of its ruin by the Danes, An. 870, the year in which they slew "Edmund King and Martyr," and in the period when their ravages were most extensive and desolating. All the Religious establishments North of the Thames perished; and before a time of renewal came about, their lands had found other proprietors. But Aðelwold, Bishop of Winchester, succeeded in reviving the old foundation of Medeshamstede, and in recovering its ancient possessions, immunities, and privileges.

Important writings, we are told, were found in the old wall. This is enough to set criticism on the alert as to the soundness of the antecedent history.

But here a new chapter opens. The *éclat* of the present movement, and the ensuing prosperity of Burch, are well described by Gunton (Hist. of the Church of Peterb. 1686):

"The Monastery thus re-edified, King *Edgar* desirous to see it went thither, with *Dunstane* then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Oswald* Archbishop of *York*, attended also with most of the Nobility and Clergy of *England*, who all approved and applauded both the place and work. But when King *Edgar* heard that some Charters and Writings, which some Monks had secured from the fury of the *Danes*, were found, he desired to see them, and having read the priviledges of this place, that he had a second *Rome* within his own kingdom, he wept for joy: And in the presence of that Assembly he confirmed their former priviledges and possessions; the King, Nobles, and Clergy offering large oblations, some of lands, some of gold and silver. At this glorious assembly the name of the place was changed from *Medeshamsted* to *Burgh;* and by reason of the fair building, pleasant situation, large priviledges, rich possessions, plenty of gold and silver, which this Monastery was endowed withal, there was an addition to the name, as to be called *Gildenburgh*, though in reference to the dedication it hath ever since been known by the name of *Peterburgh*."

he dyde þeah to swiðe þ he ælþeodige un sida lufode. and hæðene þeawas innan þysan lande gebrohte to fæste. and ut lændisce hider in tihte. and deoriende leoda be speon to þysan earde. Ac God him ge unne þ his gode dæda swyðran wearðan þonne misdæda. his sawle to ge scyldnesse on langsuman syðe."

963. Her fram Eadgar cyning to ðe biscopdome on Wintanceastra wes gecoren Sče Aðelwold. And þe arč-biscop of Cantwarbyrig Sče Dunstan him gehalgod to biscop on þe fyrste sunnon dæg of Aduent. þ wæs on iii kl' Decemb'.

On þes oðer gear syþþon he wæs gehalgod. þa makode he feola minstra. and draf út þa clerca of þe biscop rice. forþan þ hi noldon nan regul healden. and sætta þær muneca. He macode þær twa abbot rice. an of muneca oðer of nunna. þ wæs eall wið innan Wintanceastra. Syððan þa com he to se cyng Eadgar. bed him þet he scolde him giuen ealle þa minstre þa hæðene men hæfden ær to brocon. forði þet he hit wolde ge eadnewion. and se kyng hit bliþelice tyðode. And se biscop com þa fyrst to Elig. þær Sče Æðeldrið lið. and leot macen þone mynstre. geaf hit þa his án munac Brihtnoð wæs gehaten. halgode him þa abbot. and sætte þær munecas Gode to þewian. þær hwilon wæron nun. bohte þa feola cotlif æt se king. and macode hit swyðe rice.

[1] Syððon com se biscop Aðelwold to þære mynstre þe wæs Burh gehaten Medeshamstede. ðe hwilon wæs for don fra heðene folce. ne fand þær nan þing buton ealde weallas and wilde wuda. fand þa hidde in þa ealde wealle writes þet Headda abb' heafde ær ge writon. hu Wulfhere kyng and Æðelred his broðor hit heafden wroht. and hu hi hit freodon wið king and wið b' and wið ealle weoruld þeudom. and hu se papa Agatho hit feostnode mid his write. and se arčb' Deus-dedit. Leot wircen þa þ mynstre. and sætte þær abbot se wæs gehaten Aldulf. macede þær munecas þær ær ne wæs nan þing. Com þa to þe cyng. and leot him locon þa ge write þe ær wæron ge funden. and se kyng andswerode þa and cwed.

Ic Ædgar geate and gife to dæi to foren Gode and to foren þone ærceb' Dunstan freodom Sče Petres mynstre Medes-hamstede of kyng and of b'. and ealle þa þorpes þe ðærto

lin. þ is Æstfeld. and Dodes thorp. and Ege. and Pastun. And swa ic hit freo þet nan biscop ne haue þær nane hæse. buton se abbot of þone minstre. And ic gife þone tun þe man cleopaþ Vndela. mid eall þet þær to liþ. þ is þet man cleopeþ Eahte hundred. and market and toll. swa freolice þ ne king ne b' ne eorl ne scyr reue ne haue þær nane hæse. ne nan man buton se abbot ane and þam þe he þær to sæt. And ic gife Crist and Sc̃e Peter. and þurh þes b' bene Aðelwold. þas land. þ is Barwe. Wermingtun. Æsctun. Ketering. Castra. Egleswurðe. Waltun. Wiðringtun. Ege. Thorp. and an myneter in Stanforð. Ðas land and ealla þa oðre þe lin into þe mynstre þa cwede ic scyr. þ[et is] saca and socne. toll and team and infangenþef. Þas rihting and ealle oðre ða cweðe ic scyr Crist and S. Peter[2]. And ic gife þa twa dæl of Witlesmere mid watres and mid wæres and feonnes. and swa þurh Merelade on an to þ wæter þ man cleopeð Nen. and swa east weard to Cynges dælf. And ic wille þ markete beo in þe selue tun. and þ nan oþer ne be twix

2 "These lands and all the others which belong to the minster do I declare to be a **shire**; viz., (with) **Sac** and **Socn, Toll** and **Team,** and **Infangenthef.** These rights and all others grant I to be the shire of Christ and St. Peter." The Latin charter is given in Dugdale (No. ix) and in Cod. Dipl. No. 575, where it is marked by Mr. Kemble as spurious. The passage which corresponds to the above stands thus: "Sint ergo tam istæ villæ quam ceteræ omnes quæ ad ipsum monasterium pertinet, cum universis rebus et rationibus suis, et totum quod appellatur Saca et Socne, ab omni regali jure et ab omni seculari jugo in æternum liberæ, et in magnis et in minimis, in silvis campis pascuis pratis paludibus venationibus, omnimodis mercationibus, theloneis, omnium rerum procurationibus Dei beneficio provenientibus." These terms convey to the Abbot and Monks a complete *territorial* jurisdiction within their extensive domains. Not only were they to enjoy that independence of episcopal authority which religious houses commonly had; but further, there was to be no **Ealdorman** or **scirgerefa** (**scirreue** in the text, *sheriff*) exercising jurisdiction within their bounds.

The business of the **scyr** was transacted in the **scyrgemot,** held twice a year; and it was presided over jointly by the Bishop and the Ealdorman. According to the terms of this document, no Bishop or Ealdorman could sit within the Royalty of Burch; the Abbot and his Society would have the power all in their own hands. The Latin copy has the following near the close: "Hanc igitur totius Abbatiæ tam in longinquis quam proximis possessionibus regificam libertatem ab omnibus approbatam, excepta modo rata expeditione et pontis arcisve restauratione, satagimus per ipsum devotissimum hujus descriptionis auctorem Athelwoldum à sede apostolicâ Romanæ ecclesiæ, juxta primitivam ejusdem monasterii institutionem, perpetuò corroborare." It is remarkable in connection with this claim, that in the Latin Chronicle of Peterborough (Ed. Sparke), one of the many descendants of this Chronicle, Saxulf the first Abbot is styled **Comes** at the opening of the work. This title comprehended (at the date of the writer) all the temporal rights here specified; and looks like an attempt to ground them upon hereditary proprietorship.

On the constitution of the *scir* there is a chapter in Kemble's "Saxons in England" (book i. c. 3) which contains much rare information. On the terms Sac and Socu, Toll and Team, and Infangenthef, cf. Intr. to Cod. Dipl. p. xlv.

Stanford and Huntandune. And ic wille þet þus be gifen se toll. fyrst fra Wytles mære eall to þe cinges toll of Norðmannes cros hundred. and eft ongeanward fra Witles mære þurh Merelade on an to Nen. and swa swa þ wæter reonneð to Crulande. and fra Crulande to Must. and fra Must to Cynges dælf and to Witles mære. And ic wille þ ealle þa freodom and ealle þa forgiuenesse þe mine forgengles ☞ geafen þet hit stande. and ic write and feostnige mid Cristes rode tacne. +.

Ða andswerade se arcebiscop Dunstan of Cantwar byrig and sæide. Ic tyðe þ ealle þa þing þe her is gifen and sprecon. and ealle þa þing þe þin forgengles and min geatton. þa wille ic þ hit stande. and swa hwa swa hit to brecoð. þa gife ic him Godes curs and ealra halgan and ealre hadede heafde and min. buton he cume to dædbote. And ic gife to cnawlece Sče Peter min messe hacel and min stol and min ræf Criste to þeuwian. Ic Oswald arcebiscop of Eofer wic geate ealle þas worde þurh þa halgorode þet Crist wæs on þrowod. +. Ic Aðelwold biscop blætsige ealle þe þis healdon. and ic amansumie ealle þe þis to bræcon. buton he cume to dædbote. Her wæs Ælfstan biscop. Aþulf b'. and Escwi abbot. and Osgar abb'. and Æðelgar abb'. and Ælfere ealdorman. Æðelwine ealdorman. Brihtnoþ. Oslac ealdorman. and feola oðre rice men. and ealle hit geatton. and ealle hit writen mid Cristes mæl. +. Ðis wæs ge don syððon ure Drihtnes acennednesse dcccclxxii. þes kinges xvi gear.

Ða bohte se abbot Aldulf landes feola and manega. and godede þa þ mynstre swiðe mid ealle. and wæs þær þa swa lange þ se arcebiscop Oswald of Eoforwic wæs forðgewiton. and man cæs him þa to erceb'. And man cæs þa sona oðer abbot of þe sylfe mynstre. Kenulf wæs gehaten. se wæs syððon biscop in Wintan ceastre. And he macode fyrst þa wealle abutan þone mynstre. geaf hit þa to nama Burch. þe ær het Medeshamstede. wæs þær swa lange þ man sette him to biscop on Wintan ceastre. þa cæs man oðer abbot of þe silue minstre. þe wæs gehaten Ælfsi. se Ælfsi wæs þa abbot syððon fiftig wintre. Hc nam úp Sča Kyneburh and S. Kynesuið þe lægen in Castra. and S. Tibba þe læi in Rihala. and brohte heom to Burch. and offrede heom eall S. Peter on an dæi. and heold þa hwile þe he þær wæs.

De Aldulfo

men domo positum

Trsl' Sčar' Kyneburg

964. Her dræfde Eadgar cyng þa preostas on Ceastre of Ealdanmynstre. and of Niwan mynstre. and of Ceortes ige. and of Middel tune. and sette hy mid munecan. and he sette Æþelgar abbod to Niwan mynstre to abbode. and Ordbirht to Ceortes ige. and Cyneweard to Middel tune.

971. Her forðferde Eadmund æðeling. and his lic lið æt Rumesige.

973. Her Eadgar wæs · Engla waldend ·
corðre [l]micelre · to cyninge gehalgod ·
on ðære ealdan byrig · Ácemannes ceastre.
[m]eac hi igbuend · oðre worde beornas ·
Baðan nemnaþ. Þær wæs blis micel ·
on þam eadgan dæge · eallum geworden ·
þonne niðabearn · nemnað and cigað ·
Pentecostenes dæg. Þær wæs preosta heap ·
micel muneca ðreat · mine gefrege ·
gleawra gegaderod. and ða agangen wæs ·
tyn hund wintra · geteled rimes ·
fram gebyrdtide · bremes cyninges ·
leohta hyrdes · buton ðær to lafe ·
[n]þa agan wæs winter geteles · þæs ðe gewritu secgað ·
seofon and twentig. swa neah wæs sigora frean ·
ðusend afúrnen · ða þa ðis gelamp.
Ánd him Eadmundes eafora hæfde ·
nigon and xx · niðweorca heard ·
wintra on worulde · [o]þis geworden wæs ·
and þa on ðam xxx · wæs ðeoden gehalgod.

975. Her geendode · eorðan dreamas ·
Eadgar Engla cyning. ceas him oðer leoht ·
wlitig and wynsum · and þis wace forlet ·
líf þis læne. Nemnað leoda bearn ·
men on moldan · þæne monað gehwær ·
in ðisse eðeltyrf. þa þe ær wæran ·

[l] mycclum B. C. [m] eac hie egbuend B. C. hie buend A.
[n] ða get wæs B. C. [o] ða þis B. * i. e. Ælfðryðe: cf. Flor.

964. Hic expulsi sunt canonici de veteri monasterio.

966. Her Þored Gunneres sunu forhergode West moringa land. and þi ilcan geare Oslac feng to ealdordome.

969. Her on þissum geare Eadgar cyng het ofer hergian eall Tenetland.

970. Her forðferde Eadmund æþeling.

972. Her wæs Eadgar eþeling gehalgod to cyninge on Pentecoste mæsse dæi on v id' Mai. þe xiii geare þe he to rice feng. æt Hatabaðum. and he wæs þa ana wana xxx wintra. and sona æfter þam se cyng geleadde ealle his scip here to Lægeceastre. and þær him comon ongean vi cyningas. and ealle wið trywsodon þ hi woldon efen wyrhton beon on sæ and on lande.

975. Her Eadgar gefor
Angla reccent
West Seaxena wine
and Myrcene mundbora.
Cuð wæs þet wide
geond feola þeoda·
þ aferan Eadmund
ofer ganetes bað
Cyningas hine wide
worðodon side·
bugon to cyninge
swa wæs him gecynde.
Næs se flota swa ráng·
ne se here swa strang.
þ on Angelcynne
æs him gefétede.
þa hwile þe se æþela cyning
cyne stol gerehte.

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D. 965. Her on þissum geare Eadgar cyning genam *Ælfyðe him to cwene. heo wæs Ordgares dohtor ealdormannes.

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B. 971. Her forðferde Oskytel arcebisceop. se wæs ærest to Dorkeceastre to leodbisceope gehalgod. and eft to Eoferwic ceastre be Eadredes cinges unnan and ealra his witena. þ he wæs to ærcebisceope gehalgod. and he wæs xxii wintra bisceop. and he forðferde on ealra halgena mæsseniht x nihton ær Martines mæssan. æt Tame. And Þurkytel abb' his mæg ferede þæs bisceopes lic to Bédanforda. forðan þe he wæs þær ða abbud on ðone timan.

on rím cræfte · rihte getogene.
Iulius monoð · þ se geonga gewát ·
ᵖon þone eahteðan dæg · Eadgar of lífe ·
beorna beah gyfa. And feng his bearn syððan ·
to cynerice · cild únweaxen ·
eorla ealdor · þam wæs Eadweard nama.
And him tirfæst hæleð · tyn nihtum ær ·
of Brytene gewát · bisceop se goda ·
þurh gecyndne cræft · ðam wæs Cyneweard nama.
Ða wæs on Myrceon · mine gefræge ·
wide and welhwær · Waldendes lóf ·
afylled on foldan. fela wearð tódræfed ·
gleawra Godesðeowa. þ wæs gnornung micel ·
þam þe on breostum wæg · byrnende lufan ·
Metodes ón mode. Þa wæs Mærðafruma ·
to swiðe forsewen[q] · Sigora waldend ·
rodera Rædend. Þa man his riht tóbræc.
and þa wearð eac ádræfed · deormod hæleð ·
Oslac of earde · ofer yða gewealc[r] ·
ofer ganotes bæð. gamolfeax hæleð[s] ·
wís and wordsnotor. ofer wætera geðring ·
ofer hwæles eðel · hama bereafod.
And þa wearð ætywed · uppe on roderum ·
steorra on staðole · þone stiðferhþe ·
hæleð higegleawe · hatað wide ·
cométa be naman · cræftgleawe men ·
wise soðboran[t]. Wæs geond werðeode ·
Waldendes wracu · wide gefrege ·
hungor ofer hrusan · þ eft heofonaWeard ·
gebette Brego engla · geaf eft blisse ·
gehwæm cgbuendra · þurh eorðanwestm.

978. Her wearð Eadweard cyning ofslegen. on þis ylcan geare feng Æðelred æðeling his broðor to rice.

ᵖ eahtoðan B. C. eahtateoðan A. ᵠ forsawen B. C. ʳ gewalc B. C.
ˢ gomol B. C. ᵗ woðboran B. C.

And her Eadward Eadgares sunu feng to rice. and þa sona on þam ilcan geare on herfeste æteowde cometa se steorra. and com þa on þam eaftran geare swiðe mycel hungor. and swyðe mænig fealde styrunga geond Angel cyn. * and Ælfere ealdorman het to wurpon swyðe manig munuc lif þe Eadgar cyng het ær þone halgan biscop Aðelwold ge staðelian.* and on þam timan wæs eac Oslac se mæra eorl ge utod of Angel cynne.

978. Her on þissum geare ealle þa yldestan Angel cynnes witan ge feollan æt Cálne of anre up floran. butan se halgan Dunstan arcebiscop ana æt stod uppon anum beame. and sume þær swiðe ge brocode wæron. and sume hit ne[1] ge dygdan mid þam life.

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D. 975. . . . * On his dagum ·
for his iugoðe ·
Godes wiþærsacan ·
Godes lage bræcon·
Ælfere ealdorman ·
and oþre manega·
and munuc regol myrdon·
and mynstra to stæncton·
and munecas to dræfdon·
and Godes þeowas fesedon·
þe Eadgar kyning het ær·
þone halgan biscop·
Aþælwold gestalian.
and wydewan bestryptan·
oft and gelome·
and fela unrihta·
and yfelra unlaga·
arysan up siððan.
and áá æfter þam·
hit yfelode swiðe.*

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B. 976. Her wæs se micla hungor on Angelcynne.

977. Her wæs þ myccle gemot æt Kyrtlingtune. ofer Eastron. and þær forðferde Sideman bisceop. on hrædlican deaþe. on ii kl' Mai. se wæs Defna scire bisceop. and he wilnode þ his lic ræst sceolde beon æt Cridiantune. æt his bisceop stole. Þa hét Eadweard cing. and Dunstan arcebisceop. þ hine man ferede to Sc̃a Marian mynstre. þ is æt Abbandune. and man eac swa dyde. and he is eac arwyrþlice bebyrged on þa norðhealfe on Sc̃s Paulus portice. §

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C. 978. . . (A). . And he wæs on þam ylcan geare to cinge gehalgod. On þam geare forðferde Alfwold se wæs bisceop on Dorsætum. and his lic lið on þam mynstre æt Scire burnan.

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1 nyge dydon D. gebohtan F.

§ Here ends MS. B.

## 983. Her forðferde Ælfhere ealdorman.

(C) 979. On þys geare wæs Æþelred to cininge gehalgod. on þone sunnan dæig feowertyne niht ofer Eastron. æt Cinges tune. and þær wæron æt his halgunge twegen ercebisceopas. and tyn leodbisceopas. Þy ilcan geare wæs gesewen blodig wolcen on oft siðas. on fyres gelicnesse. and þ wæs swyðost on middeniht oþywed. and swa on mistlice beamas wæs gehiwod. þonne hit dagian wolde. þoñ to glad hit.

980. Her on þys geare. wæs Æþelgar abbod to bisceope gehalgod. on vi Nonas Mai. to þam bisceopstole æt Seolesigge. And on þam ylcan geare wæs Suð hamtun forhergod fram scip herige. and seo burh waru mæst ofslegen and gehæft. And þy ilcan geare wæs Tenet land gehergod. And þy ilcan geare wæs Legeceaster scir gehergod fram Norðscipherige.

981. Her on þis geare wæs Sc̃e Petroces stow forhergod. and þy ilcan geare wæs micel hearm gedon gehwær be þam sæ riman. ægþer ge on Defenum ge on Wealum. And on þam ylcan geare forðferde Ælfstan bisceop on Wiltunscire. and his lic lið on þam mynstre æt Abbandune. and Wulfgar feng þa to ðam bisceopdome. And on þam ylcan geare forðferde Womær. abbod on Gent.

982. Her on þys geare comon upp on Dorsætum iii scypu wicinga. and hergodon on Portlande. Þy ilcan geare forbarn Lunden byrig. and on þam ylcan geare forðferdon twegen ealdormenn. Æþelmær on Hamtun scire and Eadwine on Suð Seaxum. and Æþelmæres lic lið on Wintan ceastre on Niwan mynstre. and Eadwines on þam mynstre æt Abbandune. Þæs ylcan geares forðferdon twa abbodessan on Dorsætum. Herelufu on Sceaftes byrig and Wulfwin on Werham. And þy ilcan geare for Odda Romana casere to Grec lande. and þa gemette he þara Sarcena mycele fyrde cuman up of sæ. and woldon þa faran on hergoð on þæt Cristene folc. And þa gefeaht se casere wið hi. and þær wæs micel wæl geslægen on gehwæþere hand. and se casere ahte wæl stowe geweald. and hwæðere he þær wæs miclum geswenced ær he þanon hwurfe. and þa he hamweard for. þa forðferde his broþor sunu. se wæs haten Odda. and he wæs Leodulfes sunu æþelinges. and se Leodulf wæs þæs ealdan Oddan sunu and Eadweardes cininges dohtor sunu.

983. Her forðferde Ælfhere ealdorman. and feng Ælfric to þam ilcan ealdordom scipe. And Benedictus pp' forþferde.

979. Her wæs Eadward cyng of slagen [2] on æfentide æt Corfes geate on xv k' Apr. and hine man be byrigde æt Wærham butan ælcum cynelicum wurðscipe.

Ne wearð Angelcynne nan wærsa dæd ge don·
þonne þeos wæs·
syððon hi ærest· Brytonland ge sohton.
Men hine of myrðrodon·
ac God hine mærsode.
He wæs on life· eorðlic cing·
he is nu æfter deaðe· heofonlic sanct.
Hine nolden his eorðlican
magas wrecan·
ac hine hafað his heofonlica fæder·
swiðe ge wrecen.
þa eorðlican banan· woldon his ge mynd·
on erðan adilgian·
Ac se uplica Wrecend· hafað his ge mynd·
on heofenum and on eorðan to bræd.
þa þe nolden ær·
to his libbendum lichaman onbugan·
þa nu eadmodlice·
on cneowum abugað· to his dædum banum.
Nu we magon on gytan·
þ manna wisdom·
and smeagunga·
and heore rædas·
syndon nahtlice
on gean Godes ge þeaht.

And her feng Æðelred to rice. and he wæs æfter þam swiðe hrædlice mid mycclum geféan Angel cynnes witon ge halgod to cyninge æt Cyninges tun.

980. Her on þisum geare [3] Ælfere ealdorman ge fette þes halgan cyninges [4] lichaman æt Wærham. and ge ferode hine mid mycclum wurðscipe to Scæftes byrig.

981. Her comon ærest þa vii scipu and ge hergoden Hamtun.

983. Her forðferde Ælfere ealdorman. and feng Ælfric to þam ilcan ealdordome.

2 at Corf geate F. 3 F *has* S. Dunstan and Ælfere.
4 F *has* S. Eadwardes lichama.

984. Her forðferde se wellwillenda bisceop Æðelwold. and seo halgung þæs æfter filgendan bisceopes Ælfheages. seðe oðran naman wæs geciged Godwine. wæs xiiii kl' Nō. and he gesæt þoñ bisceop stol an þara twegra apostola dæge Simonis and Iudæ. ón Wintan ceastre.

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(C) 984. Her forðferde Aþelwold b' on kl' Agustus.

985. Hér wæs Ælfric ealdorman ut adræfed of earde. And on þam ilcan geare wæs Eadwine to abbode gehalgod to þam mynstre æt Abbandune.

986. Hér se cyning fordyde þ b'rice æt Hrofeceastre. Her com ærest se micla yrfcwealm on Angelcyn.

988. Hér wæs Wecedport geheregod. and Goda se Defenisca þegen ofslagen. and mycel wæl mid him. Her gefor Dunstan arcb'. and Æðelgar b' feng æfter him to arcestole. and hé lytle hwile æfter þæm lyfode. butan i gear and iii monþas.

990. Hér Sigeric wæs gehalgod to arceb'. And Eadwine abb' forðferde. and Wulfgar abb' feng to þam rice.

991. Hér wæs Gypeswic gehergod. and æfter þon. swiðe raðe. wæs Brihtnoð ealdorman ofslegen æt Mældune. And on þam geare man gerædde þ man geald ærest gafol Denescum mannum. for ðam miclan brogan þe hi worhton be ðam sæ riman. þ wæs ærest x ðusend p̄. þæne ræd gerædde ærest Syric arceb'.

992. Hér Oswald se haliga arceb' forlet þis lif. and geferde þ heofenlice. and Æþelwine ealdorman gefor on þam ilcan geare. Ða gerædde se cyning and ealle his witan þ man gegadrede ealle ða scipu þe ahtes wæron to Lunden byrig. And se cyning þa betæhte þá fyrde to lædenne Ælfrice ealdorman. and Ðorede eorlle. and Ælfstane b'. and Æscwige b'. and sceoldon cunnian meahton hy þone here ahwær utan betrēpan. Ða sende sē ealdorman Ælfric. and hét warnian ðone here. and þá on ðære nihte þe hy on ðone dæig togædere fon sceoldan. þa sceoc hé on niht fram þære fyrde. him sylfum to myclum bysmore. and se here ða ætbærst butan án scyp þǽr man ofsloh. And þa gemette se here ða scypu of East Englum and of Lundene. and hi ðær ofgeslogan micel wæl. and þ scyp genaman eall gewæpnod and gewædod þ se ealdorman ón wæs. And ða æfter Oswaldes arceb' forðsiþe. feng Ealdulf abb' to Eoferwic stole. and to Wigerna ceastre. and Kenulf to ðam abbud rice æt Buruh.

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F. 992. Her Oswold se ediga arb' forðferde. and Eadulf abbud feng to Euerwic and to Wigorceastre. And her gerædde se cing and ealle his witan þ man gegaderode ealle ða scipa þe ahtes wæran to Lundenbyri. to ðan þ man scolde fandian gif man mihte betræppan þane here ahwar wiþutan. Ac Ælfric ealderman. an of þam þa se cyng hæfde mæst truwe to. het gewarnian ðone here. and on ðare nihte ða hi scolde an morgen togædere cuman. se sylfa Ælfric scoc fram ðare fyrde. and se here ða ætbærst.

984. Her forðferde se halga biscop [5] Aðelwold muneca Of Sc Adhel[ fæder. and her wæs Eadwine to abb' ge halgod to Abbandune.

985. Her Ælfric ealdorman wæs ut adræfed.

986. Her se cyning fordyde þet biscoprice æt Hrofeceastre. And her com ærest se myccla yrfcwalm on Angelcyn.

987. Her Wecedport wes ge hergod [6].

988. Her wæs Goda se Dæ[fe]nisca þægn of slagen and mycel wæl mid him. and her Dunstan se halga arcb' forlet þis lif. and ge ferde þ heofonlice. And Æðelgar b' [7] feng æfter him to arcb' stol and he litle hwile æfter þam leofode. butan an gear and iii monðas.

989. Her Ædwine abb' forðferde. and feng Wulfgar to. and her Siric wæs ge hadod to arceb'.

991. Her wæs G[ypes]wic ge hergod. and æfter þam swiðe raðe wæs Brihtnoð [8] ealdorman of slægen æt Mældune. and on þam geare man ge rædde þ man geald ærest gafol Deniscan mannum. for þam mycclan brogan [9] þe hi worhtan be þam sæ riman. þ wæs ærest x þusend punda. þæne ræd ge rædde Siric arceb'.

992. Her Oswald se eadiga arceb' forlet þis lif. and ge ferde þ heofonlice. and Æðelwine ealdorman ge for on þam ilcan geare. Ða ge rædde se cyng and ealle his witan þ man ge gaderode þa scipu þe ahtes wæron to Lunden byrig. and se cyng þa be tæhte þa fyrde to lædene Ealfrice ealdor man. and Þorode eorl. and Ælfstane b'. and Æscwige b'. and sceoldan cunnian gif hi muhton þone here ahwær utene betræppen. Ða sende se ealdorman Ælfric. and het warnian þone here. and þa on þere nihte ðe hi on ðone dæi to gædere comon sceoldon. ða sceoc he on niht fram þære fyrde him sylfum to mycclum bismore. and se here þa æt bærst. buton an scip þær man of sloh. and þa ge mætte se here ða scipu of East Englum and of Lunden. and hi ðær of slogon mycel wæl. and þ scip ge namon eall ge wæpnod and ge wædod þe se ealdorman on wæs. And ða æfter Oswaldes arcb' forð siðe. feng Ealdulf abb' of Burch § to Eoferwic stole and to Wigera ceastre. and Kenulf to þam abbot rice æt Burch.

5 of Wincestre F. 6 for bærnd F. 7 abbod on Niwe mynstre F.
8 Byrihtnoð D. 9 for ðan wundran þe &c. F. § of Burch *only in* E.

993. Her on ðissum geare com Unlaf mid þrim and hund nigentigon scipum to Stane. and forhergedon þ ón ytan. and for ða ðanon to Sandwîc. and swa ðanon to Gipeswîc. and þ eall ofereode. and swa tó Mældune. And him þær com togeanes Byrhtnoð ealdorman mid his fyrde. and him wið gefeaht. and hy þoñ ealdorman þær ofslogon. and wælstowe ge weald ahtan. And him man nam syððan frið wið. and hine nam se cing syððan to bisceopes handa. ðurh Sirices lare Cantwarebiscpes. and Ælfeages Wincæstre b'.

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(C) 993. Hér on þis geare wæs Bebbanburuh abrocen. and mycel herehyþe ðær genumen. And æfter þam com tó Humbran muþan se here. and ðær mycel yfel worhton. ægþer ge on Lindesige ge on Norð hymbran. Ða gegaderede mân swiðe micle fyrde. and þá hi togædere gân sceoldon. þa onstealdan þa heretogan ærest þone fleam. þ wæs Fræna. and Godwine. and Fryþegyst. On þyssum geare het se cyning ablendan Ælfgar. Ælfrices sunu ealdormannes.

994. Hér on ðissum geare com Anlaf and Swegen to Lunden byrig. on Natiuitas Sc̃æ Mariæ. mid iiii and hund nigontigum scypum. and hi ða on þá buruh fæstlice feohtende wæron. and eac hî mid fyre ontendon woldan. Ac hî þær geferdon maran hearm and yfel þonne hi æfre wendon. þ him ænig buruhwaru gêdon sceolde. Ac seo halige Godes modor. on þam dæge. hire mildheortnesse þære buruhware gêcydde. and hi abredde wið heora feondum. And hí þanone ferdon. and worhton þ mæste yfel ðe æfre æni here gedon meahte on bærnette and heregunge and ón manslyhtum. ægþer ge be ðam sæ̃ riman and on EastSeaxum and on Kentlande and on SuðSeaxum and on Hamtunscire. And æt neaxtan namon him hórs. and rîdon him swá wide swá hi woldan. and unasecgendlice yfel wyrcgende wæron. Đá gerædde se cyning and his witan. þ him man to sende. and him behet gafol and metsunge. wið þon ðe hi þære heregunge geswicon. and hi ða þ underfengon. And com þa eall se here to Hamtune. and ðær winter setl namon. and hî mon þær fedde geond eall WestSeaxena rice. and him mon geald feos xvi ðusend p̃. Đa sende se cyning æfter Anlafe cynge Ælfeah b' and Æðelweard ealdorman. and man gislude þa hwile into þam scipum. and hi ða læddon Anlaf mid miclum wurðscipe to þam cyninge to Andeferan. And se cyning Æþelred his onfeng æt bisceopes handa. and him cynelice gifode. And him þá Anlaf behet. swa he hit eac gelæste. þ he næfre eft to Angelcynne mid unfriðe cuman nolde.

993. Her on ðissum geare wæs Bæbban burh to brocon. and mycel here huðe þær ge numen. and æfter þam com to Humbran muðe se here. and þær mycel yfel ge wrohtan ægðer ge on Lindes ige ge on Norðhymbran. þa ge gaderode man swiðe mycele fyrde. and þa hi to gædere gan sceoldan. þa on stealdon þa heretogan ærest þone fleam. þ wæs Fræna. and Godwine. and Friðegist. On þysum ilcan geare het se cyng ablendan Ælfgar Ælfrices sunu ealdormannes.

994. Her on þisum geare com Anlaf and Swegen to Lunden byrig on Nativitas sce Marie mid iiii and hundnigontigum scipum. and hi ða on ða burh festlice feohtende wæron. and eac hi mid fyre ontendan woldon. ac hi þar ge feordon maran hearm and yfel þonne hi æfre wendon. þ heom ænig burhwaru ge don sceolde. Ac se halige Godes modor on ðam hire mildheortnisse þære burhware ge cyðde. and hi ahredde wið heora feondum. and hi þanon ferdon. and wrohton þ mæste yfel þe æfre ænig here don mihte on bærnette and hergunge and on man slihtum ægðer be ðam sæ riman on East Seaxum and on Cent lande and on Suð Seaxum and on Hamtun scire. and æt nyxtan naman heom hors. and ridon swa wide swa hi woldon. and un asecgendlice yfel wircende wæron. þa ge rædde se cyng and his witan þ him man to sende. and him gafol be hete and metsunge wið þon þe hi þære hergunge ge swicon. and hi þa þet under fengon. and com þa eall se here to Hamtune. and þær winter setle namon. and hi man þær fædde geond eall West Seaxna rice. and him man geald xvi þusend punda. þa sende se cyng æfter Anlafe cyninge. Ælfeach b' and Æðelward ealdorman. and man gislade þa hwile in to þam scipum. and hi þa læddan Anlaf mid mycclum wurðscipe to þam cynge to Andeferan. and se cyng Æðelred his anfeng æt biscopes handa. and him cynelice gifode. and him þa Anlaf behet swa he hit eac gelæste. þ he næfre eft to Angel cynne mid unfriðe cumon nolde.

Hic Ricardus vetus obiit. et Ricardus filius ejus suscepit regnum. et regnavit xxxi añ.

994. Her forðferde Sigeric arcebiscop. and feng Ælfric Wiltunscire bisceop to ðam arcebiscoprice.

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(C) 995. Hér on þissum geare æteowde comêta se steorra. and Sigeric arceb' forðferde.

996. Hér on ðissum geare wæs Ælfric gehalgod to arceb' to Cristescyrican.

997. Her on þissum geare ferde se here abutan Defenan scire into Sæfern muðan. and þær heregodon ægðer ge on Cornwealum and on Norð Wealum and on Defenum. and eodon him þa up æt Wecedport. and þær micel yfel worhton on bærnette and on manslihtum. And æfter þam wendon eft abutan Penwið steort on þa suð healfe. and wendon þa into Tamer muðan. and eodon þâ up oð hi comon to Hlydan forda. and ælc þing bærndon and slogon þe hi gemitton. and Ordulfes mynster æt Tæfingstôc forbærndon. and unasecgendlic herehyðe mid him to scypon brohtôn.

998. Hér wende se here eft eastweard into From muðan. and þær æghwær up eodon swa wide swa hi woldon into Dorsæton. And man oft fyrde ongean hi gaderede. ac sona swa hi togædere gan sceoldan. þoñ wearð þær æfre ðuruh sum þing fleam astiht. and æfre hî æt ende sige ahton. And þoñ oðre hwile lagon him on Wihtlande. and æ̂ton him þa hwile of Hamtunscire and of Suð Seaxum.

999. Hér com se here eft abutan intô Temese. and wendon þa up andlang Medwægan and to Hrofeceastre. And com þa seo Centisce fyrd þar ongean. and hi ða þær fæste togædere fengon. ac wala þ hi toraðe bugon and flugon. And þâ Deniscan ahton wælstowe geweald. and namon þa hors. and ridan swa hwider swa hî sylf woldon. and forneah ealle West Kentingas fordydon and forheregodon. Ða rædde se cyning wið his witan. þ mân sceolde mid scyp fyrde. and eac mid landfyrde. hym ongean faran. Ac þa ða scipu gearwe wæron. þa ylcodan þa deman fram dæge to dæge. and swencte þ earme folc þ on ðam scipon læg. and â swa hit forðwerdre beon sceolde swa wæs hit lætre fram ânre tide tô oðre. and â hî leton heora feonda werod wexan. and â man rymde fram þære sæ̂. and hi foron æfre forð æfter. And þonne æt ðam ende. ne beheold hit nan þing seo scyp fyrding. ne seo landfyrding. buton folcesgeswinc and feos spylling and heora feonda forðbylding.

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F. 996. Her was Wulstan gehadod to b' into Lundenb'i.

997. Her Ælfric arb' ferde to Rome æfter his arcepallium.

995. Her on þissum geare æteowde cometa se steorra. and Siric arcb' forðferde.

996. Her on þissum geare wæs Ælfric ge halgod to arcb'e to Xp̃es cyrcean.

997. Her on þissum geare ferde se here abutan Defnan scire in to Sæfern muðon. and þær ge hergodon ægðer on Cornwealum ge on Norðwalum. and on Defenan. and eodon him þa up æt Wecedport. and þær mycel yfel wrohtan on bærnette. and on manslihtum. and æfter þam wendon eft abutan [8] Penwiht steort on ða suðhealfe. and wendon þa in to Tamer muðan. and eodon þa úp oð þ hi comon to Hlidaforda. and ælcþing bærndon and slogon þ hi ge metton. and Ordulfes mynster æt Tefing stoce forbærndon. and un asecgendlice here huðe mid him to scipa brohtan.

998. Her ge wende se here eft eastweard into Frommuðan. and þær æghwær úp eodon swa wide swa hi woldan into Dorsætan. and man oft fyrde ongean hi ge gaderode. ac sona swa hi to gædere gan sceoldan. þonne wearð þær æfre þurh sum þing fleam ástiht. and æfre hi æt ende sige ahton. and þonne oðre hwile lagen heom on Wihtlande. and eoton heom [9] þa hwile of Hamtun scire. and of Suðseaxum.

999. Her com se here eft abuton in to Temese. and wendon þa up andlang Medewægan to Hrofe ceastre. and com þa sco Centisce fyrde þær ongean. and hi þær fæste to gedere fengon. ác wala [1] þ hi to hraðe bugon. and flugon. for þam þe hi næfdon fultum þe hi habban sceoldan. þa ahton þa Dæniscan wælstowe ge weald. and naman þa hors [2]. and ridan swa wide swa hi woldon sylf. and [3] for næh ealle weast Centingas fordydon. and forhergodan. Ða rædde se cyng wið his witan þ man sceolde mid scip fyrde. and eac mid land fyrde him ongean faran. ac ða þa scipu gearwe wæron. þa elkede man [4] fram dæge to dæge. and swencte þ earme folc þe on ðam scipon lagon. and á swa hit forðwearde beon scolde. swa hit lætre wæs fram anre tyde to oðre. and a hi leton heora feonda wærod wexan. and á man rymde fram þære sæ. and hi ferdon æfre forð æfter. and þonne æt þam ende ne be heold hit nan þing seo scip fyrding. buton folces ge swinc. and feos spilling. and heora feonda forðbylding.

8 Penwæd D. 9 lægon him . . . æton him D. 1 wala wa D.
2 horsan D. 3 wel neah eall West Cent F. 4 ilkede man D.

1001. Her on þysum geare wæs micel ūnfriþ ōn Angel cynnes londe þurh scip here. and wel gehwær hergedon and bærndon. swa ꝥ hy upp asetton on ænne siþ. ꝥ hy coman to Æþelinga dene. and þa com þær to geanes Hamtun scir. and him wiþ gefuhton. and þær wearþ Æþelweard cinges heah gerefa ofslegen. and Leofric æt Hwitciricean. and Leofwine cinges heah gerefa. and Wulfhere bisceopes þegn. and Godwine æt Worþige. Ælfsiges bisceopes sunu. and ealra manna an and hund eahtatig. and þær wearþ þara Denescra micle ma ofslegenra. þeah þe hie wælstowe ge weald ahtan. And foran þa þanon west oþþæt hy coman tō Defenan. and him þær to geanes com Pallig. mid þan scipan þe he gegaderian mihte. forþam þe he asceacen wæs fram Æþelrede cyncge ofer ealle þa ge trywþa þe he him geseald hæfde. and eac se cyng him wel gegifod hæfde ōn hamon. and on golde and seolfre. and for bærndon Tegntun. and eac fela oþra godra hama þe we genemnan ne cunnan. and heom man syþþan þær friþ wiþ nam. And hy foran þa þanon tō Exan muþan. swa ꝥ hy asettan him upp ōn ænne siþ oþ hy coman tō Peon hō. and þær wæs Kola þæs cyninges heah gerefa. and Eadsige þæs cyningcges gerefa. to geanes him mid þære fyrde þe hy ge gaderian mihtan. and hy þær āflymede wurdon. and þær wearþ fela of slegenra. and þa Deniscean ahtan wæl stowe geweald. and þæs ōn mergen for bærndon þone ham æt Peon hō. and æt Glistune. and eac fela godra hāma þe we genemnan na cunnan. and foran þa eft east ongean oþ hy coman tō Wiht. And þæs ōn mergen forbærndon þone ham æt Wealtham. and oþra cotlifa fela.§ *and heom man raþe þæs wiþ þingode. and hy namon friþ.*

§ MS. A. closes here, and has not the latter entries of Ā.

1000. Her on ðissum geare se cyng ferde in to [5]Cumer lande. and hit swiðe neah eall for hergode. and his scipu wendon út abuton Legceastre. and sceoldan cumon ongean hine. ac hi ne mihton. þa ge hergodon hi Mænige.

And seo unfriðflota wæs þæs sumeres ge wend to Ricardes[6] rice.

1001. Her com se here to Exan muðan. and úp ða eodan to ðere byrig. and þær fæstlice feohtende wæron. ac him man swiðe fæstlice wið stod. and heardlice. Ða ge wendon hi geond þ land. and dydon eall swa hi be wuna wæron. slogon and beorndon. þa ge somnode man þær ormæte fyrde of Defenisces folces. and Sumor sætisces. and hi ða to somne comon æt Peonuho. and sona swa hi to gædere fengon. þa beah seo Englisce fyrd. and hi þær mycel wæl of slogon. and ridan þa ofer þ land. and wæs æfre heora æftra syð wyrse þonne se ærra. and mid him þa mycele here huðe to scipon brohton. and þanon wendon in Wiht land. and þær him ferdon on buton swa swa hi sylf woldon. and him nan þing ne wið stod. ne him to ne dorste scip here on sæ. ne land fyrd. ne eodon hi swa feor úp. Wæs hit þa on ælce wisan hefig tyma. forðam þe hi næfre heora yfeles geswicon.

1002. Her on þissum geare se cyng ge rædde and his witan. þ man sceolde gafol gyldon þam flotan. and frið wið hi ge niman wið þon þe hi heora yfeles ge swican sceoldan. Ða sende se cyng to þam flotan Leofsig ealdorman. and he þa þæs cynges worde and his witena grið wið hi ge sætte. and þet hi to metsunge fengon and to gafle. and hi þa þ under fengon. and him man þa geald xxiiii þusend punda. Ða on gemang þysum of sloh Leofsig ealdorman Æfic þæs cynges heah ge refan. and se cyng hine ða ge utode of earde. And þa on þam ilcan lengtene com seo hlæfdige Ricardes dohtor[7] hider to lande. On ðam ilcan sumera Ealdulf arcb' forðferde. and on ðam geare se cyng het of slean ealle ða Deniscan men þe on Angel cynne wæron on [8]Bricius messe dæg. forþon þam cynge wæs ge cydd þ hi woldon hine be syrewian[9] æt his life. and syððan ealle his witan. and habban syþðan his rice[1].

5 Cumber D.
6 Rikerdes D.
7 Ymma Ælfgiua *adds* F.—Emma Saxonice Ælfgiva vocata. (Flor.)
8 S. Britius F.
9 syrwan C. syrewan D. syrwian F.
1 butan ælcre wiðcweðenesse *adds* F.

1005. Her Ælfricus arceb' forðferde.

1006. Her mann halgode Ælfehg to arcebiscope.

## 1017

*is the next year*

*in A.*

F. 1003. Her was Execiester abrocen far anes Frencisces ceorles ðingan Hugo hatte. ðone se hlæfdige hefde geset to gerefan. and se here þa burh mid ealle for dyde. Ða gegaderade man swyþe mycele fyrde and þa scolde Ælfric ealderman lædan þa fyrde. ac he teh forþ his ealdan wrencas. Sona swa hi wæran swa gehende þ ægþer heora on oþer hawede. ða gebræde he hine to spiwenne and cwæd ð he seoc wære. and swa þ folc beswac. Ða Swegen geseah þ hi anræd næron. ða lædde his here into Wiltune. and þone tun for bærndan. and eodan þa to Searbyrig and þanon æft to sæ.

Hic destructa ē Exoniā ppt' quendā Francigenā noē Hugonem, quē regina p'positū fec': et cong'gatus ē magn' exercit' cont' eos, quē videlicet Alfric' dux ducere debebat. Sed dū ventū ē ubi uterque exercit' sese invicē aspiciunt, dux Alfric' fingit se infirmū et sic decep' exercitū. Cum aut' Suan' videret exercitū Anglor' esse inconstantem, duxit usq' Wiltoniā exercitū suū et cōbusserunt eā et sic processer't usq' Selesb'i, indeq' ad naves suas.

1004. Her cō Swegen mid his flotan to Norþwic. and þa burh eall forheregodan and forbærnde. ða gereadde Ulfcytel wið þa witan on East Englū þ man scolde friðian wið ðonne here. farþan hi unwæres coman. na he fyrst næfde þ he his fyrde gegaderian mihte. Ac under ðā griðe bestæl se here up of scipan. and foran to Heortfordan. and Ufcytel gegaderode his here and for æfter and hi þar to gædere fæstlice fengan. ðar was East Engla folces yld mycel ofslagan.

Hic venit Swan' cū navib' suis ad Norðwic et totā civitatē dep'davit igneq' cremavit. Tunc Ulfcytel consiliū cep' cū p'ncipib' Orientalium Anglor' eo quod improvise sup' eos venirent, et exercit' subito cong'gari n' potuit; pacē facere cū Suano. Cū aut' inducie date accepteque essent, furtive hostes exier't de navib', et perrexer't usq' Heortford. Quos insecutus idē Ulfcytel cū exercitu p'venit usq' ad illos; et cōmisit cū eis fortiter. Ibi occisi s't optimi qq' senior' p'ncipū Orientaliū.

1005. Her on þyssū geare wæs se mycla hungar geond Saxonū Angelcynn swylce nan man ær negemunde swa grīne. and se flota þæs geares gewende of ðysū earde to Denmearcan. and sona angean cyrde.

Hic facta ē fames valida in Anglia q'anta nūq' antea facta est in t'ra illa. Eod' anno exercit' Danor' rev'sus est in Denmarcā ab Anglia, et post n' multū tēporis regressus ē.

2 buruh C.

3 And on þam ilcan geare eode se here úp into Wiltunscire *insert* C. D.

4 werd C. D. 5 becyrde C. D.

6 C. D. *insert* þæt hi þær to gædere fōn sceoldon.

7 C. D. *add* þæt hī næfre wyrsan handplegan on Angelcynne ne gemitton. þonne Ulfcytel him to brohte.

8 gearde C.

1003. Her wæs Eaxeceaster abrocen þurh þone Frenciscan ceorl Hugon þe seo hlefdige heafde hire ge sett to ge refan. and se here þa burh[2] mid ealle fordyde. and mycele here huðe þær ge namen. [3] Ða ge gaderode man swiðe mycele fyrde of Wiltun scire and of Hamtun scire. and swiðe anrædlice wið þæs heres weard[4] wæron. Ða sceolde se ealdorman Ælfric lædan þa fyrde. ac he teah forð þa his ealdan wrenceas. Sona swa hi wæron swa ge hende þet ægðer heora on oðer hawede. þa ge bræd he hine seocne. and ongan hine brecan to spiwenne. and cweð þet he ge siclod wære. and swa þ folc beswac[5] þ he lædan sceolde swa hit ge cweðen is. *Ðonn̄ se heretoga wacað þonn̄ bið eall se here swiðe ge hindred.* Ða Swegen ge seah þ hi anræde næron and ealle to hwurfon. þa lædde he his here into Wiltune. and hi ða burh[2] ge hergodon and forbærndon. and eodon þa to Searbyrig. and þanon eft to sæ. ferde þær he wiste his yð hengestas.

1004. Her com Swegen mid his flotan to Norðwic. and þa burh ealle ge hergade. and forbærndon. Þa gerædde Ulfkytel wið þa witan on East Englum. þ him bætere weron þ man wið þone here friðes ceapode. ær hi to mycelne hearm on þam earde ge dydon. forþam þe hi unwares comon. and he fyrst næfde þ he his fyrde ge gadrian mihte. Ða under þam griðe þe heom be tweonan beon sceolde. þa be steal se here úp fram scipon. and wendan heora fore to þeodforda. Ða Ulfcytel þ under geat. þa seonde he þ man sceolde þa scipu to heawan. ac hi abruðon þa ðe he to þohte. and he þa ge gaderode his fyrde diglice swa he swyðost muhte. And se here com þa to þeodforda binnon iii wuca þæs þe hi ær ge hergodon Norðwic. and þær binnon ane niht wæron. and þa burh hergodon and forbærndon. þa on morgen þa hi to scipu woldon. þa com Ulfcytel mid his werode. [6] and hi þær to gædere feastlice fengon. and mycel wæl þær on ægðære hand ge feoll. Ðær wærð East Engla folces seo yld of slagen. ac gif þet full mægen þære wære. ne eodan hi næfre eft to scipon. swa hi sylfe sædon[7].

1005. Her on þyssum geare wæs se mycla hungor geond Angel cynn swilce nan man ær ne ge munde swa grimne. and se flota þæs geares ge wende of þissum carde[8] to Dænemearcon. and litelne fyrst let þet he eft ne com.

1006. Her forðferde Ælfric arceb'. and Ælfeah biscop feng

(A.D. 1006) æfter him to ðam ærce stole. and Brihtwold b' feng to þam rice[3] on Wiltun scire. and Wulfgeate wæs eall his are of ge numen[4]. and Wulfeah and Ufegeat wæron ablende. and Ælfelm ealdor man wearð of slagen. and Kenulf biscop forð-ferde. And þa ofer þone midne sumor com þa se Denisca flota to Sandwic. and dydon eall swa hi ær ge wuna wæron. hergodon and bærndon. and slogon swa swa hi ferdon. þa het se cyng abannan út ealne ðeodscipe of Westseaxum. and of Myrcean. and hi lagon ute þa ealne þone herfest on fyrdinge ongean þone here. ac hit naht ne beheold þe ma þe hit oftor ær dyde. ac for eallum þissum se here ferde swa he sylf wolde. and se fyrdinge dyde þære land leode ælcne hearm. þet him naðor ne dohte ne ínn here[5] ne ut here.

Ða hit winter leohte[6] þa ferde se fyrd ham. and se here com þa ofer Martinus messan to his fryð stole to Wihtlande. and tilode him þær æghwer þæs ðe hi behofdan. and þa to ðam middan wintran eodon heom to heora garwan feorme ut þurh Hamtun scire into Barruc scire to Rædingan. and hi dydon heora ge wuna. atendon heora[7] beacna swa swa hi ferdon. and ferdon þa to Wealinga forda. and þet eall forspeldon[8]. and wændon him þa andlang Æscesdune Cwicchelmes hlæwe ge sohton. þet hi næfre to sæ gán ne sceoldan. wendon þa oðres wæges hamweard. þa wæs þær fyrd ge somnod æt Cynetan. and hi þær to gædere fengon. and sona þet wærod on fleame ge brohtan. and syððan hyra here huðe to sæ færedon. þær mihton ge seon Winceastre leodan rancne here and un earhne. þ hi be hyra gate to sæ eodon. and mæte and madmas ofer L mila him fram sæ fættan.

Þa wæs se cyng ge wend ofer Temese into Scrobbesbyrig scire. and nam þær his feorme in þære midde wintres tide. þa wearð hit swa mycel æge fram þam here. þet man ne mihte ge þeoncean ne asmægian hu man of earde hi ge

3 b'stole F. episcopatnm Serberiensem F. *Lat.*

4 And ón þam ilcan geare wæs Wulfgeate eall his ár ongenumen C. D.

5 inghere C.

6 læhte C. D. leahte F.

7 herebeacen C. herebeacna D.

8 forswældon C. forswælldon D. forbernde F. *The subsequent passage in* C. D. *runs thus:* and wæron him þá áne niht æt Ceolesîge. and wendon him þa iandlang Æsces dune to Cwicelmes hlæwe. and þær onbidedon beotra gylpa. forþon oft man cwæð. gif hi Cwicelmes hlæw gesohton. þæt hi næfre to sæ gán ne scoldon. wendon him þa oðres weges hamwerd.

bringon sceolde. oððe þisne eard wið hi ge healdan. forþan þe hi hæfdon ælce scire on West Sexum stiðe ge marcod mid bryne and mid hergunge. Agan se cyng georne to smeagenne wið his witan hwet heom eallum rædlicost þuhte. þ man þisum earde ge beorgan[9] mihte ær he mid ealle fordon wurðe. Ða ge rædde seo cyng and his witan eallum þeodscipe to þearfe. þeah hit lað wære. þ man nyde moste þam [here] gafol gyldan. Ða sende se cyng to þam here. and him cyþan het þ he wolde þ heom grið be tweonan beon sceolde. and him man gafol and metsunge syllan sceolde. and hi ða ealle þ under fengon. and him man metsod geond Angel cyn.

1007. Her on ðissum geare wæs þet gafol ge læst þam unfriðe here. þ wæs xxx þusend punda. And on ðissum geare eac wæs Ædric ge sett to ealdorman on Myrcena rice[1].

1008. Her be bead se cyng þ man sceolde ofer eall Angel cynn scipu feastlice wircean. þ is þonne [of] þrym hund hidum. and of x hidon ænne sceg ð[2]. and of viii hidum helm and byrnan.

1009. Her on þissum geare ge wurdon þa scipu gearwe þe we ær ymbe spræcon. and heora wæs swa feala swa næfre ær þes ðe us bec secgað on Angel cynne ne ge wurdon on nanes cynges dæg. and hi man þa ealle to gædere ferode to Sandwic. and þær [3] sceoldan licgan. and þisne eard healdan wið ælcne ut here. [4] ac we gyt næfdon þa ge selða. ne þone wurðscipe þ seo scip fyrd nytt wære ðisum earde. þe ma þe heo oftor ær wæs.

Ða ge wearð hit on þisum ilcan timan oððe litle ær þet Brihtric Eadrices broðor ealdor mannes for wregde Wulfnoð cild þone Suðseaxscian [5] to þam cyning. and he þa ut ge wende. and him þa to aspeon þet he heafde xx scipa. and he þa hergode æghwer be ðam suð riman. and ælc yfel wrohton. þa cydde man in to þære scip fyrde. þet [6] hi mann eaðe be faran mihte. gif man ymbe beon wolde[7]. Ða

9 gebeorghan C.

1 D. *adds* Her for Ælfeah bisceop to Rome æfter pallium.

2 scægð D. Cf. Flor. 1008.

3 scoldon þis land werian wið ælcne ut here F.

4 ac hit to nahte gewearð ealswa hit oftor ær gelamp F.

5 F. *inserts* Godwines fæder eorles.

6 hy man æaðe D.

7 gif man embe wære C.

(A.D. 1009) ge nam se Brihtric him to hundeahtatig scipa. and þohte þ he him myceles wordes wircean sceolde. þ he Wulfnoð cuconne oððe deadne begytan sceolde[8]. ac þa hi þyder weard wæron. þa com him swilc wind ongean swilce nan mann ær ne ge munde. and þa scipo ða ealle to beot. and to þræsc. and on land wearp[9]. and com se Wulfnoð sona. and ða scipo forbærnde. [1]Ða þis cuð wæs to ðam oðrum scipon þær se cyng wæs hu ða oðre ge ferdon. wæs þa swilc hit eall rædleas wære. and ferde se cyng him ham. and þa ealdor menn. and þa heah witan. and forleton þa scipo þus leohtlice. and þet folc þa þe on ðam scipe wæron færcodon[2] ða scipo eft to Lundene. and leton ealles ðeodscipes ge swincg þus leohtlice for wurðan. and næs se [3]ege na betera þe eall Angel cynn to hopode.

Þa ðeos scip fyrd ðus ge endod wæs. þa com sona æfter [4]hlammessan se un ge metlica unfrið here [5] to Sandwic. and sona wendon heora fore to Cantwar byrig. and þa burh rače ge eodon. gif hi þe raðor to him friðes to ne girndon[6]. and ealle East Centingas wið þone here frið ge namon. and him ge sealdon iii þusend punda.

[7]And se here þa sona æfter þam gewende abuton oð þet hi comon to Wihtlande. and þær æghwer on Suðseaxum. and on Hamtun scire. and eac on Bearruc scire hergodon and bærndon swa heora ge wuna wæs†. þa het se cyng abannan ut ealne þeodscipe þet mann on ælce healfe wið hi ge healden sceolde. ac þeah hweðere hi ferdon loc§ hu hi woldon. Þa sum siðe heafde se cyng hi fore begán mid ealre fyrde. þa hi to scipan woldon. and eall folc gearu wæs heom on to fonne.

8 Ða wolde Brihtric geearnian him here word. and nam ða LXXX scipa forð mid him. and ðohte ð he wolde Wulnoð gelæccan cucene oððe deadne F. Tunc cogitavit Brihtricus adquirere sibi laudem &c. F. *Lat.*

9 awearp C.

1 Đá þis þus cuð wæs C. Ða ðis gehyrde se cing ðe mid þan oðran scipan beliuen was. þa ferde he ham. and ealle ða ealdermen F.

2 fercodon C. D. F.

3 se sige C. D. and næs . . . hopode *not in* F.

4 lafmæssan C. D.

5 þe we heton Đurkilles here *in* C *only*.

6 and ða buruh rače geeodon. gif hi če hraðor tó him friðes ne gyrndon C.

7 This and the next paragraph not in F.

† swa hiora gêwuna is C. swa heora gewuna is D.

§ loca C. D.

ac hit wæs ða þurh Eadric ealdorman gelet swa hit þa[1] æfre wæs.

Ða æfter sc̃s Martinus mæssan. þa ferdon hi eft ongean to Cent. and namon him wintersettl on Temesan. and lifedon[2] of East Seaxum. and of ðam scirum þe þær nyxt wæron on twam healfe Temese. and oft hi on þa burh Lundene gefuhton. Ac si Gode lof. þet heo gyt gesund stent. and hi þær æfre yfel geferdon.

Ða æfter middan wintra hi namon þa ænne úpgang út þurh Ciltern. and swa to Oxneforda. and þa burh forbærndon. and namon hit þa on twa healfe Temese to scipan weard[3]. þa gewarnode[4] man hi þ þær wæs fyrd æt Lundene on gean. [5]hi gewendon þa ofer æt Stane. and þus ferdon ealne þone winter and ðone lencten wæron him on Cent. and bettan heora scipa.

1010. Her on ðissum geare com se foresprecenda here ofer Eastron to Englum. and wendon up æt Gipeswic. and eodon [6]anreces þær hi ge axodon Ulfcytel mid his fyrde. Ðis wæs on þam dæg prima ascensio Dñi. and þa sona flugon East Engla. þa stod [7]Grantabrycg scir fæstlice on gean. þær wæs of slægen Æðelstan þes cynges aðum. and Oswi and his sunu. and Wulfric Leofwines sunu. and Eadwig Æfices broðor. and feala oðra godra þegna. and folces unge rím. þone fleam ærest astealde Þurcytel Myran heafod. and þa Dæniscan ahton wæl stowe ge weald. and þær wurdon gehorsode. and syððon ahton East Engle geweald. and þone eard iii monþas hergodon and bærndon. ge furðon[8] on þa wildan fennas hi ferdon. and menn and [9]yrfe hi slogon. and bærndon geond þa feonnas. and Þeodford forbærndon. and Grantabrycge. and syððon wendon eft suðweard into Temese. and ridon þa gehorsedan menn ongean þa scipo. and syððon hrædlice wendon west weard on Oxnaford scire. and þanon to Bucingham scire. and swa andlang Usan. oð hi comon to Bedanforda

1 swā hit gyt æfre wæs C. D.
2 lifdon him of East Seaxum C. D.
3 to scype weard C. D. and naman þa to scipan weard F.
4 gehwarnede D.
5 wendon him þa ofer æt C. D. and hi gewendan ouer at F.
6 ánreces C. D. anan þar F.
7 Grante brige ana F.
8 fyrðon C.
9 orf ofslogan eal þ hi to comon F.

and swa forð oð Temesan ford. and a bærndon swa hi ge ferdon. wendon þa eft to scipon mid heora here huðe.

And þone[1] hi to scipon streddon. þonne sceolde fyrd út eft ongean þ hi úp woldon. þonne ferde seo fyrd ham. and þonne hi wæron be easton. þonne heold man fyrde be westan. and þonne hi wæron be suðan. þonne wæs ure fyrd be norðan. Đonne bead man ealle witan to cynge. and man þonne rædan scolde hu man þisne eard werian sceolde. Ac þeah man hwæt þonñ rædde. þ ne stod furðon ænne monað. æt nyxtan næs nan heafod man þ fyrde gaderian wolde. ac ælc fleah swa he mæst myhte. Ne furðon nan scir nolde oðre gelæstan æt nyxtan.

Þa æt foran sc̃s Andreas mæssan. ða com se here to Hamtune. and þone port sona forbærndon. and þær namon abuton swa mycel swa hi woldon sylfe. and þanon wendon ofer Temese in to West Seaxum. and swa wið Caningan mærsces. and þ eall forbærndon. Þa hi swa feor ge gan hæfdon swa hi þa woldon. þa comon hi to ðam middan wintra to scipon.

1011. Her on þissum geare sende se cyng and his witan to ðam here. and georndon friðes. and him gafol and metsunga be hetan. wið þam þe hi heora hergunga ge swicon.

Hi heafdon þa ofergan East Engla i. and East Seaxe ii. and Middel Seaxe iii. and Oxena ford scire iiii. and Grantabrycge scire v. and Heortford scire vi. and Bucingaham scire vii. and Bedanford scire viii. and healfe Huntadun scire x. and be suðan Temese ealle Centingas. and Suð Seaxe. and Hæstingas. and Suðrig. and Bearruc scire. and Hamtun scire. and micel on Wiltun scire.

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C. 1011. Hér on þissum geare sende sé cyning and his witan to ðam here. and gyrndon friðes. and him gafol and metsunge beheton. wið þam ðe hi hiora hergunge geswicon.

Hi hæfdon þa ofergán i East Engle. and ii East Sexe. and iii Middel Sexe. and iv Oxenaford scire. and v Grantabric scire. and vi Heort ford scire. and vii Buccingaham scire. and viii Bede ford scire. and ix healfe Huntadun scire. and x micel on Hamtun scire. and be suþan Temese. ealle Kentingas. and Suð Sexe. and Hæsting. and Suðrige. and Bearroc scire. and Hamtun scire. and micel on Wiltun scire.

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[1] þonne C. D.

Ealle þas ungesælða us gelumpon þurh unrædes. þ mann (A. D. 1011)
nolde him to timan gafol bedan. ac þonn̄ hi mæst to yfele
ge don hæfdon. þonn̄ nam man grið and frið wið hi. and
naðe læs for eallum þisum griðe and friðe and gafole. hi
ferdon æghwider folc mælum. and hergodon. and ure earme
folc ræpton and slogon.

And on þissum geare betwix Natiuit' sc̄e Marie and sc̄e
Michaeles mæssan hi ymbesætan Cantwaraburh. and hi þær
into comon þurh syre wrenceas. forþon Ælmær hi be cyrde
Cantwaraburh[2] þe se arc̄b' Ælfeah ær generede his life. And
hi þær þa ge naman þon̄ arc̄b' Ælfeah. and Ælfword þæs cynges
ge refan. and Leofwine abb'. and Godwine b'. And Ælmær abb'
hi lætan aweg. and hi þær genaman inne ealle þa ge hadode
menn. and weras. and wif. þ wæs un asecgendlic ænigum
menn hu mycel þæs folces wæs. and on þære byrig siððon
wæron swa lange swa hi woldon. and þa hi hæfdon þa burh
ealle asmeade. wendon him þa to scipon. and læddon þon̄
arc̄b' mid him.

" Wæs ða ræpling. se þe ær wæs Angel
" cynnes heafod and Xpēndomes. þær man
" mihte þa ge seon earmðe þær man ær ge

Tunc fuit præda Paganorum, qui paulo ante fuit caput totius Brytanniæ & Xp'ntatis. Potuit tunc maxima miseria videri,

(C) Ealle þas ungesælða ús gelumpon þuruh unrædas. þ man nolde him átiman gafol beodon. oþþe wiþ gefeohtan. ac þon̄ hī mæst to yfele gedon hæfdon. þon̄ nam mon friþ and griþ wiþ hī. And na þe læs for eallum þissum griðe and gafole. hi ferdon æghweder floc mælum. and heregodon ure earme folc. and hī rypton and slogon.

And þa on ðissum geare betweox Natiuitas sc̄æ Mariæ and sc̄e Michaeles mæssan hī ymbsæton Cantwareburuh. and hi intó coman þuruh syruwrencas. forðan Ælmær hī becyrde. þe se arceb' Ælfeah ǽr generede æt his life. And hī þǽr ða genaman þone arceb' Ælfeah. and Ælfweard cynges gerefan. and Leofrune abb't. and Godwine b'. And Ælfmær abb' hī leton áweg. And hī ðær genamon inne ealle þá gehadodan men. and weras. and wif. þ wæs unasecgendlic ænigum men hu micel þæs folces wǽs. And on þære byrig syþþan wæron swā lange swa hi woldon. And þá hi hæfdon þa buruh ealle asmeade. wendon him þā tó scypan. and læddon þone arceb' mid him.

" Wæs ðá ræpling. seðe ǽr wæs heafod Angelkynnes and Cristen-
" domes. Ðær man mihte ðá geseon yrmðe þær man oft ǽr geseah

2 Cantwaraburh *E only*.

" seah blisse on þære ærman byrig. þanon " us com ærest Xpēndom. and blisse for " Gode. and for worulde."

ubi pridie habebatur maximum gaudium, & unde nobis pullulavit fides vera. F.

And hi heafdon þoñ arc̄b' mid him swa lange oð þone timan þe hi hine ge martyredon.

1012. Her on þissum geare com Eadric ealdorman. and ealle þa yldestan witan ge hadode and leawede Angel cynnes. to Lunden byrig to foran þam Eastron. wæs Æster dæg þa on þam datarum ID' APR'. and hi þæra ða swa lange wæron oð þ gafol wæs eall ge læst ofer Eastran. þ wæs viii þusend punda.

Þa on þone Sæternes dæg wearð swiðe ge stired se here on gean þone biscop. forþan þe he nolde heom nan feoh be haten. and forbead þ man nan þing wið him syllan ne moste. wæron hi eac swyðe druncene. forþam þær wæs ge broht win sudan. ge namon þa þone b'. leaddon hine to heora hustinga[1] on þone Sunnan efen octabas Paschæ. and hine þa þær oftorfodon mid banum. and mid hryðera[2] heafdum. and sloh hine þa an heora mid anre æxe yre[3] on þet heafod. þet he mid þam dynte niðer asah. and his halige blod on ða eorðan

(C) " blisse. on þære earman byrig. þanon com ærest Cristendom and " blis for Gode. and for worulde."

And hi hæfdon þone arceb' mid him swa lange oð þæne timan þé hí hine gemartiredon.

1012. Hér on þissum geare com Eadric ealdorman. and ealle þá yldestan witan gé hadode and læwede Angelcynnes. tó Lunden byrig to foran þam Eastron. þá wæs Easter dæg on þam datarū Idus Aprilis. and hi ðær þa swá lange wæron oþ þ gafol eal gélæst wæs ofer ða Eastron. þ wæs ehta and feowertig þusend punda.

Ðá on þæne Sæternes dæg wearð þá se here swyðe astyred angean þone b'. forþam ðe he nolde him nan feoh behaten. ác he forbead þ man nan þing wið him syllan né moste. Wæron hí eac swyþe druncene. forðam þær wæs broht win suðan. Genamon þa ðone b'. læddon hine to hiora hustinge on ðone sunnan æfen. octab' Pasce. þa wæs xiii kl' Maii. and hine þær ða bysmorlice acwylmdon. oftorfedon mid banum. and mid hryþera heafdum. and sloh hine ðá án hiora mid anre æxe yre on þ heafod. þ mid þam dynte hé nyþer asah. and his halige blod on þá eorðan feol. and his haligan sawle

[1] hustinge D. hustingæ F. in concilium suum. F. *Lat.*
[2] hryðeres F. neata heafedum D.
[3] eaxe ere D.

feoll. and his þa haligan sawle to Godes rice ascnde. and þa biscopas Eadnoð and Ælfhun. and seo burhwaru under fengon þone haligan lichaman on mergen and feredon hine to Lundene mid ealre[4] arwurðnisse. and hine be byrigdon on sēs Paulus mynstre. and þær nu God swutelað þæs halgan martires mihta.

Ða þet gafol ge lest wæs. and þa friðaðas ge sworene. þa to ferde se here wide swa he ær ge gaderod wæs. Ða bugon to þam cyninge of þam here xlv scipa. and him be heton þet hi woldon þisne eard healdan. and he hi fedan scolde and scrydan.

1013. On þam æftran geare þe se arcēb' wæs ge martyrod. se cyng ge sætte Lifing b' to Cantwara byrig to ðam arce stole.

And on þam ilcan geare to foran þam monðe August' com Swegen cyning mid his flotan to Sandwic. and wende swyðe raðe abutan East Englum. in to Humbran muðan. and swa úpp weard andlang Trentan þet he com to Gegnes burh. and þa sona abeah Uhtred eorl. and eall Norðhymbra to him. and eall þ folc on Lindesige. and syððan þet folc of Fif burhingan. and raðe þæs eall here be norðan Wætlinga

(C) tó Godes rice asende. And mon þone lichaman ón mergen ferode tó Lundene. and þá bisceopas Eadnoþ and Ælfun. and seo buruhwaru hine underfengon mid ealre arwurðnysse. and hine bebyrigdon on sce Paules mynstre. and þær nu God sutelað þæs halgan martires mihta.

Ða þ gafol gelæst wæs. and friðaþas asworene wæron. þá to ferde se here wide swa he ær gegaderod wæs. Ða bugon tó þam cynge of ðam here fif and feowertig scypa. and him beheton þ hí woldon þysne eard healdan. and hé hi fedan sceolde and scrydon.

1013. On ðam æftran gearc þe sc arceb' wæs gemartyrod. se cyning gesette Lyfinc b' to Cantwara byrig to ðam arcestole.

And on þisum ilcan geare tó foran þam monðe August' com Swegen cyning mid his flotan tó Sandwic. and wende þá swiðe raðe abutan East Englum into Humbra muþan. and swa upweard andlang Trentan oð he com to Genes buruh. And þá sona beah Uhtred eorl and ealle Norðhymbre to him. and eal þ folc on Lindesige. and siððan þ folc intó Fif burhingum. and raðe þæs eall here be norðan

4 mycelre F.

(A.D. 1013) stræte. and him man sealde gislas of ælcere scire. Syððan he undergeat þet eall folc him to ge bogen wæs. þa bead he þ man sceolde his here metian and horsian. and he þa ge wende syððan suðweard mid fulre fyrde. and betæhte his scipa and þa gislas CNUTE[6] his sunu. and syððan he com ofer Wæclinga stræte. hi wrohton þ mæste yfel þe ænig here don mihte. wende þa to Oxna forda.[7] and seo burhwaru sona abeah and gislode. and þanon to Winceastre. and þ ilce dydon. wendon þa þanon eastward to Lundene. and mycel his folces adranc on Temese. forðam hi nanre brycge ne cepton[8]. Ða he to þære byrig com. þa nolde seo burhwaru abugan ac heoldan mid fullan wige ongean. forðan þær wæs inne se cyning Æðelred[9]. and Þurkil mid him. Þa wende Swegen cyning þanon to Wealinga forda. and swa ofer Temese westweard to Baðon. and sæt þær mid his fyrde. and com Æþelmer ealdor man þider. and þa weasternan þægnas mid him. and bugon ealle to Swegene. and gislodon. Þa he eall[1] þus ge faren heafde. wende þa norðweard to his scipon. and eall þeodscipe hine heafde for fullne cyning. and seo burh-

(C) Wæclinga stræte. and him man sealde gislas of ælcere scire. Syððan he undergeat þ eall folc him to gebogen wæs. þá bead he þ man sceolde his here mettian and horsian. and hé ðá wende syþþan suð weard mid fulre fyrde. and betæhte þá scipu and ðá gislas Cnute his suna. And syððan hé com ofer Wætlinga stræte. wórhton þ mæste yfel þ ænig here dón mihte. Wende þá to Oxenaforda. and seo buruhwaru sona beah and gislude. and þanon tó Winceastre. and hí þ ylce dydon. Wende þá þánon eastwerd to Lundene. and mycel his folces adrang on Temese. for ðam þe hi nanre bricge ne cépton. Ðá he to ðære byrig com. þá nolde seo burhwaru bugan. ac heoldan mid fullan wige ongean. forðan þær wæs inge sé cyng Æþelred. and Ðurcyl mid him. Ðá wende Swegen cyng þanon to Wealingaforda. and swa ofer Temese westweard to Baþan. and sæt ðær mid hís fyrde. And com Æþelmær ealdorman þyder. and þá westenan þegenas mid him. and bugon ealle to Swegene. and hi gisludon. Ðá he ðus gefaren hæfde. wende þa norðweard tó his scipum. and eal þeodscype hine hæfde þá for fulne cyng. And séo

6 Cnude F.

7 *and* swa to Winceastre. and ba ða burh abugan and gislodan. And swa he ferde *eastward* &c. F.

8 quia non curabant quærere pontem F. *Lat.* cæpton D.

9 ac mid fullan wige ageon heold. forðan se cing Æðelred was ðar inne F.

1 æl D. *gislodon.* and siððan sona eal ðeod hine fullice underfeng. and heold for fulne cing. and seo burhwaru on Lundene abeah to him and gislode.

waru æfter þam on Lundene beah and gislode. forþam hi (A.D. 1013)
ondreddon þ he hi fordon wolde. bead þa Swegen full gild
and metsunga to his here þone winter. and Þurcyl bead þ
ilce to þam here þe læg on Grena wic. and buton þam hi
hergodan swa oft swa hi woldon. Ða ne duhte naðor þisse
þeoda ne suðan ne norðan. þa wæs se cyng sume hwile mid
þam flotan þe on Temese wæron. and seo hlafdige wende þa
ofer seo to hire broðor Ricarde. and Ælsige abbot of Burh
mid hire. and se cyng sende Ælfun b' mid þam æþelinge
Eadwarde and Ælfrede ofer sé. þ he hi be witan sceolde.
and se cyng ge wende þa fram þam flotan to ðam middan
wintra to Wiht lande. and wæs þær þa tid. and æfter þære
tide ge wende þa ofer sæ to Ricarde. and wæs þær mid him
oððone byre þe Swegen dead wearð.

*And þa hwile þe seo læfdige mid hire broþer wæs begondon
sæ. Ælfsige abb' of Burh þe þær wæs mid hire. for to þone
mynstre þe is gehaten Boneual þær sče Florentines lichama
læg. fand þær ærm stede. ærm abbot and ærme muneces forþan
þe hi forhergode wæron. bohte þa þær æt þone abb' and æt
þe muneces sče Florentines lichaman eall buton þe heafod to
v hundred punda. and þa þe he ongean com þa offrede hit
Crist and sče Peter.

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(C) buruhwaru æfter ðam on Lundene beah and gislude. forðon hī
ōndredon þ hé hī fordon wolde. Ða bead Swegen ful gyld and
metsunge to his here ðóne winter. and Ðurkyl bead þ ylce to ðam
here þé læg æt Grena wic. and for eallon þam hi heregodon swa oft
swa hi woldon. Ðá ne dohte naðer þisse leode né suðan né nórðan.
Ðá wæs se cyning Æþelred sume hwile mid þam flotan þé on
Temese læg. and seo hlæfdige géwende þá ofer sæ to hire breðer
Ricarde. and Ælfsige abb' of Buruh mid hire. And se cyning
sende Ælfun b' mid þam æþelingum Eadwerde and Ælfrede ofer
sæ. þ hé hi bewitan sceolde. And sé cyning géwende þá fram
ðam flotan tó þam middan wintra tó Wihtlande. and wæs ðær þa tid.
and æfter þære tide wende ofer ðá sæ to Ricarde. and wæs ðær mid
him oþ þone byre þ Swegen wearð dead.

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and se cing Ægelred sende his cwene Ælfgiue Ymma to hyre broðer ofer sæ Ricarde. and Ælsige abb' of Burh mid hyre and Ælfun b' mid ðam æðelingum Eadward and Ælfrede ouer sæ. þ he hi bewitan scolde. and se cing sona him sylf ferde æfter. and was þar begeondan eal ð Swegen wearð dead. F.

* This paragraph is peculiar to E, and may reckon as the ninth piece of the domestic Annals of Peterborough Abbey.

1014. Her on þissum geare Swegen geendode his dagas to candel mæssan iii nō Febr'. and se flota eall gecuron Cnut to cyninge.

Ða geræddan þa witan ealle ge hadode ge læwede þ man æfter þam cyninge Æðelrede sende. and cwædon þ him nan leofre hlaford nære þonn̄ heora gecynde[5] hlaford. gif he hi rihtlicor healdan wolde þonne he ær dyde. Ða sende se cyng his sunu Eadward mid his ærendracan hider. and het gretan ealne his leodscipe. and cwæð þæt he heom hold hlaford beon wolde. and ælc þæra þinga betan þe hi ealle ascunedon[6]. and ælc þæra þinga forgifan beon sceolde þe him gedon oððe gecweden wære. wiþ þam þe hi ealle anrædlice buton swicdome to him gecyrdon. and man þa fullne freondscipe gefæstnode mid worde and mid wædde on ægðere healfe. and æfre ælcne Denisce cyning utlagede of Engla lande gecwædon. Ða com Æðelred cyning innan þam lenctene ham to his agenre þeode. and he glædlice fram heom eallum onfangen wæs.

And þa syððon Swegen dead wæs. sætt Cnut mid his

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(C) 1014. Hér on þissum geare Swegen geendode his dagas to Candel mæssan iii ñ Feb'. And se flota þá eal gecuron Cnut tó cyninge.

Đá geræddon þá witan ealle þé on Engla lande wæron gehadode and læwede þ man æfter þam cyninge Æþelrede sende. and cwædon þ him nan hlaford leofra nære þonne hiora gecynda hlaford. gif he hi rihtlicor healdan wolde þoñ he ær dyde. Đá sende sé cyning his sunu Eadweard hider mid his ærenddracum. and hét gretan ealne his leodscype. and cwæð þ hé him hold hlaford beon wolde. and ælc þæra ðinga betan þé hí calle áscunudon. and ælc þara ðinga forgyfen beon sceolde þe him gedon oþþe gecweden wære. wiþ þam ðe hí calle ánrædlice butan swicdome to him gecyrdon. And mán þá fulne freondscipe gefæstnode mid wórde and mid wedde on ægþre healfe. and æfre ælcne Deniscne cyng útlah of Engla lande gecwædon. Đá com Æþelred cyning innon ðam Lengtene hám tó his agenre þeode. and hé glædlice fram him eallum onfangen wæs.

Đá syððan Swegen dead wæs. sæt Cnut mid his here on Genes

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5 cyne hlauord F. 6 ascunodon D. ascunedan F.

here on Gegnesburh[7] oðða Eastron. and gewearð him and þam folce on Lindesige anes. þ hi hine horsian sceoldan. and syððan ealle ætgædere faran and hergian. Ða com se cyning Æðelred mid fulre fyrde þider ær hi gearwe wæron to Lindesige. and mann þa hergode. and bærnde and sloh eall þet man cynn þ man aræcan mihte. Se Cnut gewende him út mid his flotan. and wearð þet earme folc þus beswican þurh hine. and wænde þa suðweard oð þ he com to Sandwíc. and let[8] þær úp þa gislas þe his fæder gesealde wæron. and cearf of heora handa and heora nosa. and buton eallum þisum yfelum se cyning het gyldan þam here þe on Grenewic læg xxi þusend punda.

And on þissum geare on sče Michæles mæsseæfan. com þet mycele sæflod geond wide þisne eard. and ærn[9] swa feor úp swa næfre ær ne dyde. and adrencte feala[1] tuna. and mann cynnes unarimædlice geteall[2].

1015. On þissum geare wæs þ mycele gemot on Oxona forda. and þær Eadric ealdorman beswac Sigeferð and Morcær þa yldestan þægenas into Seofonburgum. bepæhte hi

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(C) buruh oþ þa Eastron. and gewearð him and þam folce on Lindesige anes. þ hí hine horsian woldon. and syþþan ealle ætgædere faran and heregian. Đá com se cyning Æþelred mid fulre fyrde þýder ær hí gearwe wæron to Lindesige. and man þá hergode and bærnde and sloh eal þ man cýnn þ man ræcan mihte. And Cnut gewende him aweig út mid his flotan. and wearð þ earme folc þus beswicen ðuruh hine. and wende þá suðweard oþ he com to Sandwíc. and let dón úp þær ðá gislas þe his fæder gesealde wǽron. and cearf of hiora handa and earan and nosa. And buton eallum þissum yfelum se cyng het gyldan þam here ðe on Grenawic læig xxi þusend p'd.

And on þissum geare on sče Michaeles mæsseæfen. com þ mycle sæflod gynd wide þysne eard. and arn swá feor úp swa næfre ǽr ne dyde. and adrencte feala tuna. and man cynnes unarimedlic getel.

1015. Hér ón þissum geare wæs þ mycle gemot on Oxena forda. and ðǽr Eadric ealdorman beswac Siferð and Morcore þa yldestan þegenas into Seofonburgum. Bepæhte hí into his bure.

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7 Gæignes- D. 8 læt man don up D. 9 earn D.
1 fela D. F. 2 getæll F.

(A.D. 1015) in to his bure. and hi man þær inne ofsloh ungerisenlice[1]. and se cyng þa genam eall heora æhta[2]. and het nimon Sigeferðes[3] lafe and gebringon binnon Mealdelmes byrig. þa[4] æfter litlum fece ferde Eadmund æðeling to. and genam þ wif ofer þes cynges willan[5]. and heafde him to wife. Ða toforan natiuitas sce Mariæ ferde se æðeling wæston[6] norð in to Fif burgum. and gerad sona ealle Sigeferðes are and Morcares. and þ folc eall him to beah.

And þa on ðam ylcan timan com Cnut cyng to[7] Sandwíc. and wende [8]sona abutan Centland in to West Seaxen oð he com to Fromuðan. and hergode þa on Dorsætum and on Wiltun scire[9]. and on Sumærsæton. þa læg se cyng seóc æt Cosham. Ða gaderode Eadric ealdorman fyrde and [10]se æðeling Eadmund be norðan. Ða hi to gædere comon. þa wolde se ealdorman beswicon þone æþeling. and hi to hwurfon þa buton ge feohte forþam. and rimdon heora feondum. and Eadric ealdormann aspeon þa xl scipa fram þam cyning. and

(C) and hí man þær inne ófsloh ungerisenlice. And se cyng þá genam ealle hiora æhta. and het niman Siferðes lafe. and gebringan hí binnan Ealdelmes byrig. Ðá æfter lytlum fæce ferde Eadmund æþelinc tó. and genam þ wif ofer ðæs cynges gewil. and hæfde him tó wife. Ðá toforan natiuitas sce Mariæ ferde se æþeling þanon westan norð intó Fif burgum. and gerad sona ealle Sigeferðes áre and Mocores. and þ folc eal him to beah.

And ðá on þam ilcan timan com Cnut cyng tó Sandwic. and wende þá sona abutan Centland into West Seaxum oð hé com to Frommuðan. and heregode þá on Dorsætum and on Wiltun scire. and on Sumersætum. Ðá læig sé cyng seóc æt Cosham. Ða gadarade Eadric ealdorman fyrde. and sé æþeling Eadmund be norðan. Ðá hí togædere comon. ða wolde se ealdorman beswican þone æþeling. and hi to ferdon þa butan gefeohte forðan. and rymdon heora feondum. And Eadric ealdorman aspeon þá feowerti scipa fram þam cynge. and beah þá to Cnute. And West Sexe

1 ungerysenlice D. ungerisedlice F.
2 eahta F.
3 Siferðæs D.
4 And sona æfter lytlum face F.
5 wil D. þas cynges unþances F.
6 wæstan D.
7 up at F.
8 eal abutan F.
9 Wiltescire F.
10 *and* þohte beswican þone æðeling Eadmund. ac he ne mihte. ac he aspeon xl scipa of ðes cinges scipon and abeah to Cnut. F.

beah þa to Cnute. and West Seaxe bugon and gislodon. and horsodon þone here. and he wæs þær þa oð midne winter.

1016. Her on þissum geare com Cnut cyning mid his here clx scipa. and Eadric ealdormann mid him ofer Temese into Myrcan æt Cræcilade. and wendon þa to Wæringscire innon þære middewintres tide. and hergodon and bærndon and slogon eall þ hi to comon.

Ða ongan se æðeling Eadmund togadrienne fyrde. þa se fyrd gesomnod wæs. þa ne onhagode him buton se cyng þære wære. and hi hæfdon þære burhware[1] fultum of Lundene. geswicon þa þære fyrding. and færde ælc mann him ham.

Ða æfter þære tide þa bead mann eft fyrde be fullum wite. þ ælc mann þe feor wære forð gewende. and mann sende to þam cyninge to Lundene. and bædon hine þ he come ongean þa fyrde mid þam fultume þe he gegaderian mihte. Ða hi ealle tosomne comon. þa ne beheold hit naht þe ma þe hit oftor ær dyde. þa cydde mann þam cyninge þ hine mann beswicon wolde. þa þe him on fultume beon sceolden. Forlet ða þa fyrde. and cyrde him eft to Lundene.

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(C) bugon and gislodon. and horsodon þone here. and hé wæs þær ða oþ midne winter.

1016. Hér on þissum geare com Cnut mid his here. and Eadric ealdorman mid him ofer Temese intó Myrcum æt Cregelade. And wendon þá to Wærincwicscire innan ðære middanwintres tide. and heregodon and bærndon. and slogon eal þ hí to comon.

Đá ongan se æþeling Eadmund to gaderigenne fyrde. Đá seo fyrd gesomnod wæs. ðá né onhagode heom ðarto buton þ wære þ se cyng ðær mid wære. and hí hæfdon þære burhware fultum of Lundene. geswicon ða þære fyrdinge. and ferde him ælc man ham.

Đá æfter ðære tide þá bead man eft fyrde be fullan wite. þ ælc man ðe fere wære forð gewende. and man sende to ðam cynge to Lundene. and bæd hine þ he come ongean þá fyrde mid þam fultume ðe he gegaderian mihte. Đá hí ealle tósomne comon. þá ne beheold hit nán ðinc þe ma ðe hit oftor ær dyde. Đá cydde man þam cynge þ hine man beswican wolde. þá þe him on fultume beon sceoldon. Forlet ðá þa fyrde. and cyrde him eft to Lundene.

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F. 1016. Her com Cnut mid clx scipa. and Eadric ealderman mid him ouer Temese into Myrcan æt Crecalade. and wendan þa to Wæringscire. inne ðare hi bærndan and slogan eal þ hi to coman. And Eadmund

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[1] buruh D.

(A.D. 1016) Ða rád se æþeling Eadmund to Norðhymbran to Vhtrede eorl. and wænde ælc mann þ hi woldon fyrde somnian ongean Cnut cyng. Þa ferdon[4] hi in to Stæfford scire. and into Scrobbes byrig. and to Legeceastre[5]. And hergodon hi on heora healfe and Cnut on his. and wende him þa út þurh Buccinga ham scire into Beadaford scire. and þanon to Huntandun scire. andlang fennes to Stanforda. and ða in to Lincolne scire. þanon to Snotingaham scire. and swa to Norðhymbran to Eoforwíc weard. Ða Uhtred ge axode þis. ða forlet he his hergunga and efeste[6] norðweard. and beah þa for nede. and ealle Norðhymbran mid him. and he gislode. and hine man ðeah hwæðere of sloh. and Þurcytel Nafanan sunu mid him. and þa æfter þam se cyng Cnut ge sætte Yric in to Norðhymbran to eorle. eall swa Uhtred wæs. and syððan wendon him suðweard oðres weges. eall be westan. and
Ap. 1. com þa eall se here to foran þam Eastron to scipon. And se æþeling Ædmund wende to Lundene to his fæder. And þa æfter Eastron wende se cyng Cnut mid eallum his scipum to Lundene weard.

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(C) Ðá rád se æþeling Eadmund to Norðhymbron tó Uhtrede eorle. and wende ælc mon þ hí woldon fyrde somnian ongean Cnut cyng. Ðá fyrdedon hí into Stæfford scíre. and into Scrob sæton. and to Leg ceastre. and hí heregodon on heora healfe. and Cnut on his healfe. Wende him út þuruh Buccinga ham scire intó Bedan ford scire. and ðanon tó Huntadun scire. swá into Hamtun scire. andlang fennes tó Stanforda. and þá intó Lindcolne scire. þanon ðá to Snotingaham scire. and swá tó Norð hymbran to Eoferwic weard. Ðá Uhtred geahsode þis. ðá forlet hé hís hergunge and efste norð weard. and beah ða for nýde. and ealle Norð hymbro mid him. and hé gislode. and hine mon ðeah hwæþere ofsloh. ðuruh Eadrices ræd ealdormannes. and Ðurcytel Nafenan sunu mid him. And þá æfter ðam gesette se cyng Yric into Norð hymbron him to eorle. eal swá Uhtred wæs. and syððan wende him suð werd oþres weges. eal be westan. and come þa eal se here to foran þam Eastron to scypon. And se æþeling Eadmund gewende to Lundene tó his fæder. And ða æfter Eastron wende se cyng Cnut mid eallon his scipon to Lunden werd.

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(F) æðeling wende to Lundene to his fæder. and Cnut ferde mid eallon his scipon to Lundene weard.

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4 fyrdodon D. 5 Læg ceastre D. *Cheshire.* 6 efstte D.

Đa gelamp hit þet se cyng Æðelred forðferde ær ða scipu comon. he geendode his dagas on sċs Georius mæsse dæge æfter mycclum geswince and earfoðnissum his lifes. and þa æfter his ende. ealle þa witan þe on Lundene wæron and se burhwaru gecuron Eadmund to cynge. and his rice he heardlice werode þa hwile þe his tima wæs. (A.D. 1016) Ap. 23.

Þa comon þa scipo to Grenawic to þam gandagum. and binnon lytlum fæce wendon to Lundene. and dulfon þa ane mycele díc on ða suðhealfe and drogon heora scipa on west healfe þære brycge. and be dicodon syððon þa burh uton þ nan mann ne mihte ne ínn ne út. and oft rædlice on ða burh fuhton. ac hi heom heardlice wiðstodon. May 7.

Þa wæs Eadmund cyng ær þam gewend út. and gerád þa West Seaxan. and him beah eall folc to. and rače æfter þam

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(C) Đá gelamp hit þ sê cyning Æþelred forðferde ær þá scypo comon. Hé geendode his dagas on sċe Georgius mæsse dæig. and he geheold his rice mid myclum geswince and earfoðnessum þá hwile ðe his lif wæs. And þá æfter his énde. ealle ða witan þa on Lundene wǽron and seo burh waru gecuron Eadmund to cýninge. and he his rice heardlice werode þá hwile þe his tima wæs.

Đá comon ðá scypo to Grenawíc to þam gang dagum. And hi binnon lytlan fæce gewendon to Lundene. and hi ða dulfon áne mycle díc on suð healfe. and drogon hiora scypo on west healfe þære bricge. and bedicodon þá syððan þá buruh utan þ nán man né mihte né ing né ut. and hi oft rædlice on þa buruh fuhton. ác hi him heardlice wiðstodon.

Đá wæs Eadmund cyng ær ðam gewend út. and gerad þa West Sexon. and him beah eal folc tó. And rače æfter þam he gefeaht

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(F) Ac se cing Ægelred ær forðferde ær þa scipan coman. he forðferde on St. Georgies mæsse dæg æfter miclum geswince and earfoðnissum his liues. and æfter his ende ealle Angelcynnes witan gecuron Eadmund to cinge. and he his rice heardlice werede on his timan.

Þa comon ða scipa to Grenwic to ðam gangdagum. and sona wendan to Lundene. and dulfon ane dic on ða suðhealfe. and drogon heora scipa on westhealfe þare brigge. and bedicodon siððan ða burh utan. þ nan man ne mihte ne in ne ut. and oft on ða burh fuhtan. and hi heom heardlice wiðstodon.

(A. D. 1016) he gefeaht wiþ þone here æt Peonnan wiþ Gillinga. and oðer[7] gefeoht he gefeaht æfter middan sumera æt Sceorstane. and þær mycel wæl feoll on ægðre healfe. and þa heres him sylfe to eodon on ðam gefeohte. and Eadric ealdorman and Ælmær deorlingc wæron þam here on fultume ongean Eadmund cyng. And þa gegaderode he iii siðe fyrde and ferde to Lundene. and þa burhware ahredde. and þone here aflymde to scipon. And þa wæs ymbe twa niht þ se cyning gewende ofer æt Brentforda[8]. and þa wiþ þone here gefeaht and hine aflymde. and þær adranc mycel Ænglisces folces on heora agenre gymeleaste. þa ðe ferdon beforan þære fyrde. and fang woldon fon. And se cyning wende æfter þam to WestSeaxan. and his fyrde gesomnode[9].

Ða gewende se here sona to Lundene. and þa burh utone besæton. and hire stranglice wiþ feaht ge bewætere ge be lande. ac se Ælmihtiga God hi ahredde.

Se here gewende þa æfter þam fram Lundene mid heora

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(C) wiþ þone here æt Peonnan wiþ Gillingaham. And oþer gefeoht he gefeaht æfter middan sumera æt Sceorstane. and þær mycel wæl feoll on ægðre healfe. and ðá heras him sylfe tó eodan. On þam gefeohte wæs Eadric ealdorman and Ælmær dyrling þam here on fultume ongean Eadmund kyning. And þá gegaderede hé þryddan siðe fyrde and ferde to Lundene. eal be norðan Temese. and swá ut þuruh Clæighangran. and þá buruh waru ahredde. and þæne here geflymde to hiora scypon. And þá wæs ymbe twa niht gewende se cyning ofer æt Bregentforda. and þá wiþ þone here gefeaht. and hine geflymde. and þér ádranc mycel wæl Englisces folces. for hiora agenre gymeleaste. þá ðe ferdon beforan þære fyrde and woldan fon feng. And se cyning æfter þam gewende tó WestSeaxum. and his fyrde samnode.

Ðá gewende se here sona to Lundene and ðá buruh utan emb sæt. and hyre stearclice on feaht ægðer ge be wætere ge be lande. Ac se Ælmihtiga God hí áhredde.

Se here gewende þá æfter þam fram Lundene mid hyra scypum

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(F) Se here gewende ða æfter þam fram Lundene mid heora scipum into

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[7] oþær D. [8] Brægent forda D. [9] samnade D.

scípum into Arwan. and þar úp foran. and feordon on (A. D. 1016)
Myrcean. and slogon and bærndon swa hwæt swa hi ofer foron. swa heora gewuna wæs. and heom metes tilodon. and hi drifon ægðer ge scipa ge heora drafa into Medewæge. Ða gesomnode Eadmund cyng iiii siþe ealle Engla þeode. and ferde ofer Temese to Brentforda. and ferde innan Cent[1]. and se here him fleah beforan mid hira horsa into Sceapige. and se cyng ofsloh heora swa feala swa he offaran mihte. and Eadric ealdormann gewende þa ðæne cyng ongean æt Ægeles forda[2]. næs nan mare unræd gered þonne se wæs.

Se here gewende eft úp on East Seaxan. and ferde into Myrcean. and fordydon eall þ he oferferde. Ða se cyng geaxode[3] þ se here uppe wæs. ða gesomnode[4] he v siðe ealle Engla þeode.

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(C) into Arewan. and ðær úp foron. and ferdon on Myrcan. and slogon and bærndon swa hwæt swa hí oforan. swá hira gewuna ís. and him metes tilodon. and hí drifon ægþer ge scipu ge hyra drafa intó Medwæge. Ðá gesamnode Eadmund cyng feorðan siðe ealle his fyrde. and ferde ofer Temese æt Brentforda. and ferde innon Kent. and se here him fleah beforan mid hiora horsum intó Sceapíge. and se cýning ófsloh heora swa fela swá hé offaran mihte. And Eadric ealdorman gewende þa ðone cyning ongean æt Egeles forda. næs nán mara unræd geræd þonne se wæs.

Se here gewende eft úp on East Sexan. and ferde into Myrcum. and fordyde eall þ hé ofor ferde. Ðá se cyning geahsode þ se here uppe wæs. þá gesomnode hé fiftan siðe ealle Engla þeode. and

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(F) Arwan. and ðar up foran on Myrcan. and slogan and bærndon swa heora gewune þas. Ða gegaderode Eadmund cing feorðe siðe eal Engla ðeode. and ferde into Cent. and se here fleg mid horsan into Sceapege. and se cing ofsloh swa fela swa he offaran mihte. And Eadric ealderman gewende þene ongean at Ægelesforda. næs nan mare unræd geræd ðanne se wæs. . . . . Sed cum pervenisset rex ad Ægelesford, dux Eadricus per dolum fecit exercitum Anglorum redire. Non fuit pejus concilium factum in Anglia de tali re.

Se here ferde eft into Myrcan. ð gehyrde se cing. ða gegaderode he fifta

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1 Cænt D.

2 . . . . nisi perfidus dux Edricus Streona suis insidiis et insiliis apud Eaglesford, ne suos persequeretur hostes retineret, eo die plena potiretur victoria. Flor.

3 geahsade D.

4 gesamnade D.

(A.D. 1016) and ferde him æt hindan. and offerde hi innan East Seaxan æt þere dune þe mann hæt Assandun. and þær togædere heardlice fengon. Ða dyde Eadric ealdormann swa he oftor[5] ær dyde. astealde þone fleam ærest[6] mid Magesæton. and swa aswac his cynehlaforde and ealle þeode[7]. þær hæfde CNUT

*vel* þeode

Oct. 18. sige. and ge feaht him eall Engla land. þær wearð of slagen Eadnoð. and Wulsige[8] abb' and Ælfric ealdorman. and Godwine ealdorman. and Ulfcytel of East Englan. and Æðelward Æðelsiges[9] sunu ealdormannes. and eall se dugoð on Angel cinne[1].

Ða æfter þisum ge feohte wende Cnut cing upp mid his here to Gleawe ceastre scire. þær he ge herde secgan[2] þet se cyng wæs Eadmund. Ða gerædde Eadric ealdormann and

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(C) ferde him æt hindan. and offerde hi on East Sexum. at þære dune þe man hæt Assan dun. and þar tógædere heardlice fengon. Đá dyde Eadric ealdormann swa swa hé ær oftor dyde. astéalde þæne fleam ærest mid Magesæton. and aswâc swa his cyne hlaforde and ealre Angel cynnes þeode. Đær ahte Cnut sige. and gefeht him ealle Engla þeode. Đær wearð Eadnoþ b' ofslagen. and Wulsige abb' and Ælfric ealdorman. and Godwine ealdorman on Lindesige. and Ulfcytel on East Englum. and Æþelweard Æþelwines sunu ealdormannes. and eal Angelcynnes duguð þar wearð fordon.

Đá æfter þissum gefeohte gewende Cnut kyningc úp mid his here to Gleau ceastre scire. ðǽr hé ofahsade þ se cyning wǽs Eadmund. Đá gerædde Eadric ealdormann and ðá witan þe ðar wǽron þ þá

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(F) siððan eal Engla ðeode. and ferde æfter ðan here and offerde hine at Assandune. and ðar to gæðere fæstlice fengon. Ða dyde Eadric ealdorman. swa he oft ær dyde. astealde þone fleam ærest mid Magesæton. and swa aswac his cyne hlaforde and ealle þeode. Đær hæfde Cnut sige. and gefeaht him eall Ænglaland. Đer wearð ofslagen Eadnoð and Wulsi abb'. and Ælfric ealdorman. and Ulfcytel of East Englan. and Æþelward Æðelsiges sunu ealdormannes. and eall seo dugað on Angelcynne.

Ða æfter þisum gefeohte gewende Cnut cyng upp mid his here to Gleawe ceastre scire. þær he geherde secgan þ se cyng wæs Eadmund. Ða gerædde Eadric ealdormann and þa witan ðe þær wæron. þ þa cyningas seht namon

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5 ofter D. 6 ærast D. 7 þeodæ D. 8 Wulfsie D. 9 Elfwines D. Æthelwardus dux, filius ducis East Anglorum Æthelwini Dei amici. Flor. Cf. Wendover. Æþelwine was the name: he often signs documents under Æþelred and his predecessors. Cod. Dipl.

1 seo duguð of Angelcynnes þeode D. 2 ofaxade D.

þa witan þa ðær[3] wæron þ þa cyningas seht namon[4] heom (A.D. 1016)
be tweonan. and hi gislas sealdon heom be tweonan. and þa
cyningas comon[5] togædere æt Olanige. and[6] heora freond-
scipe þær ge fæstnodon. ge mid wedde ge mid aðe. and þ
gyld setton wið þone here. and hi to hwurfon þa mid þisum
sehte. and feng Eadmund cing to Weast Seaxan and Cnut to
Myrcean[7].

Se here ge wende þa to scipon mid þam þingum þe hi ge
fangen hæfdon. and Lundene waru griðede wið þone here. and
heom frið ge bohtan. and se here ge brohton heora scipa on
Lundene. and heom winter setle þær inne namon.

Ða to sēs Andreas mæssan forðferde se cyng Eadmund. and Nov. 30.
is byrged mid his ealdan fæder Eadgare on Glæstinga byrig.
And on þam ilcan geare forðferde Wulfgar abb' on Abbandune.
and feng Æðelsige to.

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(C) cynegas seht naman him betwynan. and hī gislas him betwynan
sealdon. And þā cynegas comon togædere æt Olanége. and hira
freondscype þær gefæstnodon. ge mid wedde ge mid āþe. and þ gyld
setton wiȝ þone here. And hī tōhwurfon ðā mid þissum sehte. and
feng Eadmund to West Sexan and Cnut to Myrcan.

And se hére gewende þā to scypon mid þam ðingon þē hī gefangen
hæfdon. And Lunden wāru griðode wiȝ þone here. and him friȝ
gebohton. and se here gebrohton hyra scipu on Lundene. and him
winter setl ðær inne namon.

Ðā to sce Andreas mæssan forðferde se kyning Eadmund. and his
lic liȝ on Glæstingabyrig mid his ealdan fæder Eadgare. And on
ðam ilcan geare forðferde Wulfgar abb' on Abbandune. and Æþelsige
feng to þam abbod rice.

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(F) heom betweonan. and hi gislas sealdon heom betweonan. And þa cyningas
comon togædere æt Olanige. and heora freondscipe þær gefæstnodon ge mid
wedde ge mid aðe. and þ gyld setton wiȝ þone here. and hi to hwurfon þa
mid þisum sehte. And feng Eadmund cyng to West Seaxan. and Cnut to
Myrcean.

Ða to St. Andreas mæssan forðferde se cing Eadmund. and ys bebyrged
mid his ealde fæder Eadgare on Glæstingabyri.

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3 gegaderade *adds* D.
4 geworhtan D.
5 coman begen D.
6 wurdon feolagan and wedbroðra. and þ gefæstnadan D.
7 þam norð dæle D.

## 1017. Her Cnut wearð gecoran to kinge.

(C) 1017. Hér on þissum geare feng Cnut kyning to eallon Angel cynnes ryce. and hit todælde on feower. him sylfan West Sexan. and Đurkylle East Englan. and Eadrice Myrcan. and Irke Norð hymbran.

And on þissum geare wæs Eadric ealdorman ofslagen. and Norðman Leofwines sunu ealdormannes. and Æþelweard Æþelmæres sunu greatan. and Brihtric Ælfehes sunu on Defena scire. And Cnut cyning aflymde ut Eadwig æþeling. and eft hine hêt ôfslean. And þá to fóran kl' Augusti het se cynigc fetian him þæs cyniges lafe Æþelrædes him to wife. Ricardes dohtor.

1018. Hér on þissum geare wæs þ gafol gelæst ofer eal Angel cýn. þ wæs ealles twa and hund seofontig þusend punda. buton ðam þe seo burhwaru on Lunden geald. þ wæs endlyfte healf þusend punda. And se here ða ferde sum to Denemearce. and xl scypa belaf mid þam cynige Cnute. And Dene and Engle wurdon sammæle æt Oxnaforda.

1019. Hér gewende Cnut cyng to Denemearcon. and þær wunode ealne þone winter.

1020. Hér on þissum geare forðferde Lyfing arceb'. And Cnut cyning com eft to Engla lande. And þá on Eastron wæs mycel gemôt æt Cyring ceastre. þá geûtlagode man Æþelweard ealdorman. and Eadwig ceorla cyngc.

And on ðisum geare se cyng fôr tô Assandune. and Wulfstan arceb' and Đurkyl eorl and manega bisceopas mid heom. and gehalgodan þ mynster æt Assandune.

1021. Her on ðissum geare to Martines mæssan Cnut kyning geûtlagode Đurkyl eorl.

1022. Her Cnut kyningc for ut mid his scipon to Wiht. And Æþelnoð arceb' for to Rôme.

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8 Eiric D.

9 on Lundene swyðe rihtlice *inserts* F. justissime occisus est. F. *Lat.*

1 þat was Ælfgiue on Englisc. Ymma on Frencisc. *adds* F.

2 to Eadgares lage *adds* F.

3 mid ix scipum *inserts* F.

4 D *continues*—And her forðferde Ælfstan arceb'. se wæs Lifing genemned. and he wæs swiðe rædfæst man. ægðer for Gode and for worulde.

5 F *inserts*—and let tymbrian þar an mynster of stane and lime for þare manna sawle þe þar ofslagene wæran. and gief hit his anum p'ste. þas nama was Stigand.

6 and æfter mæssan mid þan papan gereordade. and mid þas papan bletsunge gecyrde to his arb' stole. F.

1017. Her on þisum geare feng Cnut cyning to eall Angel cynnes rice. and hit to dæld on fower. him sylfum West Seaxan. and þurcylle East Englan. and Eadrice Myrcean. and Yrice[8] Norðhymbran.

And on þisum geare wæs Eadric ealdormann of slagen[9]. and Norðman Leofwines sunu ealdormannes. and Æðelword Æðelmæres sunu þæs grætan. and Brihtric Ælfgetes sunu on Dæfenan scire. and Cnut cyng aflymde ut Ædwig æðeling. and Eadwig ceorla cyng. And þa to foran kl' Aug' het se cyng feccan him Æðelredes lafe þes oðres cynges him to cwene Ricardes dohtor[1].

1018. On þisum geare wæs þ gafol gelæst ofer eall Angel cynn. þ wæs ealles lxxii þusend punda. buton þam þe seo burhwaru on Lundene guldon xi þusend punda. and se here ferde þa sum to Denmearcon. and xl scipo belaf mid þam cyninge Cnute. And Dene and Engle wurdon sam mæle æt Oxna forda[2]. And her Æðelsige abb' forðferde on Abb'ndune. and feng Æðelwine to.

1019. Her gewende Cnut cyng[3] to Denmearcon. and þær wunode ealne winter[4].

1020. Her com Cnut cyng to Engla lande. and þa on Eastron wæs mycel gemot on Cyrnceastre. þa geút lagode mann Æðelwold ealdorman.

And on þissum geare se cyng for to Assandune[5]. and Liuing arc̃b' forðferde. and Æðelnoð munuc and decanus æt Xp̃es cyrcan wæs þe ilcan geare þarto gehadod to biscop. Nov. 13.

1021. Her on þysum geare Cnut cyng to Martin'mæssan geútlagode þurkil eorl. *

1022. Her Cnut cyng for út mid his scipum to Wiht. And Æðelnoð biscop for to Rome. and wæs underfangen þær fram Benedicte þam papan myd mycclum wurðscipe. and mid his agenum handum him his pallium on sette. and to arc̃b' arwurðlice gehalgode. and he syððan mid þam pallium þær mæssode[6] swa se papa him gewissode. and he hine gereordode æfter þam mid þam papan. and syððon mid fulre bletsunge ham gewende. And Leofwine abb' se wæs unrihtlice of Elig adræfed wæs his gefera. and hine þær ælces þinges geclænsode þe him mann on sæde. swa se papa him tæhte on þes arc̃b'es gewitnesse. and on ealles þæs geferscipes þe him mid wæs.

1031. Her com Cnut agan to Engla lande. Sona swa he be com to Engla lande. he geaf in to Xp̃es cyrican on Cantware byri þa hæfenan on Sandwic. and ealla þa gerihta þe þær of arisaþ of æiðre healfe ðare hæfene. swa ꝑ loc hwenne ꝑ flod byþ ealra hehst and ealra fullost. beo an scip flotigende swa neh þan lande swa hit nyxt mæge. and þar beo an mann stande on þan scipe and habbe ane taper æx on his . . . .

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F. 1028. Her for Cnut cing to Norðwegū of Englalande mid l scipū Engliscra þegena. and adraf Olaf cing of þā lande and geagenede hī ꝑ land. et hic Cnut ivit Noruuegā de Anglia cū l navib' de nobilib' Anglie, et expulit Olauū regē de trâ illa et possedit eā.

1029. Her cō Cnut cing eft to Englalande. And sona swa he com to Engla lande. he geaf in to Cristes cyrican an Cantware beri þa hafene an Sandwic. and ealle ꝑ þar of arist of ægðre healf þare hefne. swa þat loc hwenne ꝑ flot biþ ealra heghst and fullost. þat an scip flotige swa neh ðan lande swa hit nyxt mæge. and an mann stande þar . . . . Hic rev'sus ē Cnut ad Angliā. Et dedit Ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ portum de Sanduuic et omnes exitus ejusdem aquæ ab utraque parte fluminis, ita ut natante nave cum plenum fuerit, quam longius de navi potest securis parvula super terram projici, debet a ministris Ecclesiæ Christi rectitudo navis accipi; nullusque omnino hominum aliquam consuetudinem in eodem portu habet, exceptis monachis Ecclesiæ Christi. Eorum quoque est transfretatio portus et navicula et theoloneum naviculæ et omnium navium quæ ad Sanduuic venerint, a Pipernæsse usque Nortmuthe. Si quid autem in magno mari repertum fuerit delatum Sanduuic, medietatem Ecclesia Christi habebit; reliqua vero pars inventoribus remanebit.

1031. Her ferde Cnut cing to Rome. and þes ylcan geares ða he hā cō he for to Scotlande and Scotta cing hī to beah. and twegen oðre cingas. Mealbæaðe. and Iehmarc. And Rodb't eorl of Normandi ferde to Ierl'm and þar wearð dead. and Will'm ðe was siððan cing on Englalande feng to Normandi ðæh he cild wære.

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(C) 1023. Her Cnut cyning com eft to Englalande. and Ðurcil and he wæran ánræde. and he betæhte Ðurcille Denemearcan and his sunu to healdenne. and se cyning nam Ðurciles sunu mid him to Engla lande. And he let ferian syððan sc̃e Ælfeges reliquias of Lundene to Cantwara byrig.

1028. Hér Cnut cing for to Norwegon. mid l scipum.

1030. Hér wæs Oláf cing ofslagen on Norwegon of his agenum folce. and wæs syððan hálig. And þæs geres ær ðam forférde Hacun. se dohtiga eorl. on sæ̃.

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D. 1023. Her Cnut kyning. binnan Lundene. on sc̃e Paules mynstre. sealde fulle leafe Æðelnoðe arceb'e and Bryhtwine b'e. and eallon þam Godes þeowum þe heom mid wæron. ꝑ hi moston nyman up of þam byrgene þone arceb' sc̃e Ælrheah. and hi þa swa dydon on vi Idus Iunii. and se brema cyng and se arceb' and leod biscopas and eorlas and swiðe manege hadode and eac læwede feredon on

1023. Her forðferde Wulfstan arc̃b' and feng Ælfric to. and þæs ilcan geares Æðelnoð arc̃biscop ferede sc̃e Ælfeges arc̃b' reliquias to Cantwarbyrig of Lundene.

1024. Hic Ricard' scd's ob'. Ricard' fili' ei' regnavit prope uno anno. & post eū regñ Rodb't' fr' ei' viii anñ.

1025. Her for Cnut cyng to Denmearcon mid scipon to þā holme æt ea þære halgan. and þær comon ongean Vlf and Eglaf. and swiðe mycel here ægðer ge land here ge scip here of Swaðeode[7]. and þær wæs swiðe feala manna forfaren[8] on Cnutes cynges healfe. ægðer ge Deniscra manna ge Engliscra. and þa Sweon heafdon weallstowe geweald.

1028. Her for Cnut cyng of Englalande mid fiftig scipum to Norwegum. and adraf Olaf cyning of þam lande. and ge ahnode him þet lande.

1029. Her com Cnut cyng eft ham to Englal'.

1030. Her com Olaf cyng eft into Norwegum. and þet folc gegaderode him to geanes. and him wið gefuhton. and he wearð þær ofslagen.

1031. Her for Cnut cyng to Rome. and þy ilcan geare he for to Scotlande. and Scotta cyng him to beah Mælcolm. and twegen oðre cyningas. Mælbæþe. and Iehmarc.

Rodb'tus comes ob' in peregrinatione. et successit rex Will'mus in puerili ætate.

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(D) scype his þone halgan lichaman ofer Temese to Suðgeweorke. and þær þone halgan martyr þan arcebiscope and his geférum betæhton. and hi þa mid weorðlican weorode. and wynsaman dreame. hine to Hrofesceastre feredan. Ða on þam þryddan dæge cóm Imma seo hlæfdie mid hire cynelican bearne Hearda Cnúte. and hi þa ealle mid mycclan þrymme and blisse and lofsange þone halgan arceb' into Cantwarebyri feredon. and swa wurðlice into Cristes cyrcan brohton. on iii Id' Iuñ. Eft syððan on þam eahteoðan dæge. on xvii kl' Iulii. Æðelnoð arceb' and Ælfsie b' and Bryhtwine b' and ealle þa þe mid heom wæron. gelogodon sc̃e Ælfeages halgan lichaman on norð healfe Cristes weofodes. Gode to lofe. and þam halgan arceb'e to wurðmynte. and eallon þam to ecere hælðe þe his halgan lichoman þær mid estfulre heortan and mid ealre eadmodnysse dæghwamlice seceað. God ælmihtig gemiltsie eallum Cristenum mannum. þurh sc̃e Ælfeges halgan gegearnunga.

1026. Her for Ælfric b' to Rome. and onfeng pallium æt Iohanne papan. on ii Id' Nouemb'.

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7 Sweoðode F. 8 farfarene F.

1032. Her on þissum geare atywde þ wildefyr ðe nan mann æror nan swylc ne gemunde. and gehwær hit derode eac on manegum stowum. And on þam ilcan geare forðferde Ælfsige biscop on Winceastre. and Ælfwine þæs cynges preost feng þærto.

1033. Her on þisum geare forðferde Merehwit b' on Sumersæton. and he is bebyrged on Glæstinga byrig.

1034. Her forðferde Æðeric b'.

1036. Her forðferde Cnut cyng æt Sceaftes byrig. and he is bebyrged on Winceastre on Ealdan mynstre. and he wæs cyng ofer eall Engla land swyðe neh xx wintra. And sona æfter his forsiðe wæs ealra witena gemot on Oxna forda. and Leofric eorl. and mæst ealle þa þegenas benorðan Temese. and þa liðsmen on Lunden. gecuron Harold to healdes ealles Engla landes. him and his broðer Hardacnute þe wæs on

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(C) 1034. Hér gefor Æþeric b'. and he lið on Ramesige. *

1035. Hér forðferde Cnut cing. on ii Id' Nouemb' æt Sceftes byrig. and hine man ferode þánon to Winceastre. and hine þær bebyrigde.

And Ælfgyfu. Imme. seo hlæfdie. sæt þá ðær binnan. And Harold þe sæde þ he Cnutes sunu wære and þære oðre [9]Ælfgyfe. þeh hit na soð nære. he sende to. and let niman of hyre ealle þá betstan gærsuma. ðe heo of healdan ne mihte. þé Cnut cing ahte. and heo sæt þeh forð þær binnan ða hwile þe heo moste.

1036. Hér com Ælfred se unsceððiga æþeling. Æþelrædes sunu cinges. hider inn. and wolde to his meder þe on Wincestre sæt. ac [1]hit him ne geþafode Godwine eorl. ne éc oþre men þe mycel mihton wealdan. forðan hit hleoðrode þa swiðe [2]toward Haraldes. þeh hit unriht wære.

[3]Ac Godwine hine þa gelette·
and hine on hæft sette·
and his geferan he todráf·
and sume mislice ofsloh·
sume hí man wið feo sealde·
sume hreowlice acwealde·
sume hi man bende·
[4]sume hi man blende·
sume hamelode·
sume hættode.

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9 Ælfgyfe þære Hamtunisca D.

1 þ ne geþafodon þa þe micel weoldon on þisan lande D.

2 to Harolde þeah *hit* D.

3 Ða let he hine on hæft settan. and his geferan he eac fordraf. *and sume* D.

4 and eac sume blende and heanlice *hættode* D.

Denemearcon. And Godwine eorl and ealle þa yldestan menn on West Seaxon. lagon ongean swa hi lengost mihton. ac hi ne mihton nan þing ongean wealcan. And man gerædde þa þ Ælfgifu Hardacnutes modor sæte on Win ceastre mid þæs cynges huscarlum hyra suna. and heoldan ealle West Seaxan him to handa. and Godwine eorl wæs heora healdest mann. Sume men sædon be Harolde þ he wære Cnutes sunu cynges and Ælfgiue Ælfelmes dohtor ealdormannes. ac hit þuhte swiðe ungeleaflic manegum mannum. and he wæs þæh full cyng ofer eall Englaland.

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(C)

Ne wearð [5]dreorlicre dæd·
gedon on þison earde·
syþþan Dene comon·
and her frið namon.
Nu is to gelyfenne
to ðan leofan Gode·
þ hí blission·
bliðe mid Xp̃e·
þé wæron butan scylde·
swa earmlice acwealde.
Se æþeling lyfode þa gyt·
ælc yfel man him [6]gehét·
oð þ man gerædde·
þ man hine lædde·
to Eligbyrig·
[7]swa gebundenne.
Sona swa he lende·
on scype man hine blende·
and hine swa blindne·
brohte to ðam munecon.
And he þar wunode·
ða hwile þe he lyfode.
Syððan hine man byrigde·
swa him wel gebyrede·
ful wurðlice·
swa he wyrðe wæs·
æt þam west ende·
þam [8]styple fulgehende·
on þam suð portice·
Seo [9]saul is mid Xp̃e.

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D. 1033. Her forðferde Leofsie b'. and his lichama resteð on Wigra ceastre. and Brihteh wæs on his setl ahafen.

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5 dreorilicre D. 6 behét D. 7 ealswa D. 8 stypele D. 9 sawul D.

1040. Her Eadsige arceb' for to Rome. and Harold king forðferde.

1042. Her forðferde Harðacnut king.

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(C) 1037. Hér man geceas Harald ofer eall to cinge. and forsoc Harða Cnut. forðan he wæs to lange on Denemarcon. and man draf ðá ut his modor. Ælfgyfe ða cwene. butan ælcere mildheortnesse. ongean þone [1] weallendan wint'. and heo cō ðá to [2] Bricge begeondon sæ. and Baldwine eorl hī ðær wel underfeng. and hig þær geheold þa hwile ðe hire neod wæs. And þæs geres ær. gefor Æfic. se æðela decanus on [3] Heofeshāme.

1038. Hér gefor Æþelnoð se góda arceb' and Æþelric b' on Suð Sexum. and Ælfric b' on East Englum. and Byrhteh b' on Wihra cestre scire xiii k' Ian.

1039. Hér com se mycla wind. and Byrhtmær b' gefor on Licetfelda. And Wealas slogon Eadwine. Leofrices broðor eorles. and Ðurcil and Ælfget and swiðe fela godra manna mid heō. And her cō éc Harðacnut to Bricge. þar his modor wæs.

1040. Her swealt Harald cing. Ðá sende man æft' Harðacnute to Bricge. wende þ man wel dyde. And he com ða hider mid lx scipum foran to middan sumera. and astealde þa swiðe strang gyld. þ man hit uneaðe [4] acō. þ wæs viii marc æt hā. and him wæs þá unhold eall þ his ær gyrnde. and hé ne gefremede éc naht cynelices þa hwile ðe he ricxode. Hé let dragan up þæne deadan Harald and hine on fen sceotan.

1041. Hér let Harðacnut hergian eall Wihracest'scire. for his twegra huscarla þingon ðe þ strange gyld budon. þa sloh þ folc hi binnan port. innan ðam mynstre.

And þæs geres sona cō Eadward his broðor on medren. frā begeondan sæ. Æþelrædes sunu cinges. ðe wæs ær for fela gearon of his earde adrifen. and ðeh wæs to cinge gesworen. and he wunode þa swa on his broðor hirede þa hwile ðe he leofode.

And on þison gere éc swâc Harðacnut Eadulf eorl under his griðe. and he wæs þa wedloga.

1042. Hér gefor Harðacnut swa þ he æt his drince stōd. and he færinga feoll to þære eorðan mid egeslicum anginne. and hine gelæhton ðe þar neh wæron. and he syððan nan word ne gecwæð. and he forðferde on vi Id' Iun'. And eall folc underfeng ða Eadward to cinge. swa him gecynde wæs.

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1 wallendan D. 2 Brygce D. 3 Eofesham D. 4 mihte acuman D.

1037. Her man dræfde út Ælfgife Cnutes cynges lafe. seo wæs Hardacnutes cynges modor. and heo gesohte þa Baldwines grið be suðan sæ. and he [5]geaf hire wununge on [6]Bricge. and he hi mundode. and heold þa hwile þe heo þær wæs.

1038. Her forðferde [7]Æðelnoð arceb' on kl' Nouemb'. and [8]þæs ymbe lytel Æðelric b' on Suð Seaxum. and þa to foran Xp̃es mæssan Brihteh b' on Wigra ceaster scire. [9]and raðe þæs Ælfric b' on East Englum. And þa feng Eadsige [1]b' to þam arc̃'rice. and Grymcytel to ðam on Suð Sexum. and Liuing b' to Wigra ceaster scire and to Gleaw cestre scire.

1039. Her forðferde Harold cyng on Oxnaforda on xvi k' Apr'. and he wæs bebyrged æt West mynstre. And he weolde Engla landes iv gear and xvi wucan. and on his dagum man geald xvi scipan æt ælcere hamulan viii marc. eall swa man ær dyde on Cnutes cynges dagum. And on þis ilcan geare com Hardacnut cyng to Sandwic vii nihtum ær middan sumera. And he wæs sona underfangen ge fram Anglum ge fram Denum. þeah þe his rædes menn hit syððon strange forguldon. Ða hi gerædden þet man geald lxii scipon æt ælcere hamelan viii marc. And on þis ilcan geare eode se sæster hwætes to lv penega and eac furðor.

1040. Her wæs þet heregeold gelæst. þ wæron xxi þusend punda and xcix punda. and man geald syððan xxxii scipon xi þusend punda and xlviii punda.

And on ðis ilcan geare com Eadward Æðelredes sunu cinges hider to lande of weallande. se wæs Hardacnutes broðor cynges. hi wæron begen Ælfgiues suna. seo wæs Ricardes dohtor eorles.

1041. Her forðferde Hardacnut cyng æt Lámbhyðe on vi

D. 1038. Hêr forðferde Æðelnoð se gôda arceb' and Æþælric b' on Suð Sexan. se gewilnode to Gode þ he hine ne lete lybban nane hwile æfter his leofan fæder Æðelnoðe. and he eac binnan seofon nihton þæs gewât. and Brihteh b' on Wigra cestre xiii kl' Ian.

D. 1041. And her man hadode Ægelric b' to Eoferwic on iii Id' Ianuarii.

5 gif hyre wununga F.
6 Brigge and wurdlice hi heold F.
7 Ægelnoð F.
8 embe litel fyrst Ægelric b' of Suð Sexan. F.
9 ðas sona F.
1 ðæs cinges p'st F. capellanus regis. F. *Lat.*

## 1043. Her wæs Eduuard gehalgod to kinge. 1050 *next*

(C) 1043. Hér wæs Eadward gehalgod to cinge on Wincestre. on forman Easter dæig. mid myccelum wyrðscype. and ða wæron Eastron iii Non' Apl'· Eadsige arcebisceop hine halgade. and to foran eallum þam folce hine wel lærde. and to his agenre neode and ealles folces wel manude.

And Stigant preost wæs gebletsad to biscp' to East Englum. And raðe þæs se cing let geridan ealle þa land þe his modor ahte him to handa. and nam of hire eall þ heo ahte on golde. and on seolfre. and on unasecgendlicum þingum. forðam heo hit heold ǽr to fæste wið hine. And raðe þǽs. man sette Stigant of his bisceoprice. and nam eal þ he ahte þam cinge to handa. forðam he wæs nehst his modor rǽde. and heo for swá swá he hire rædde. þæs ðe men wendon.

1044. Hér Eadsige arceb' forlet þ bisceop r' for his untrumnysse. and bletsade þǽrto Siward abb' of Abb'dune to bisceope. be ðæs cinges leafe and ræde and Godwines eorles. hit wæs elles feawum mannum cuð ǽr hit gedón wæs. forðam se arceb' wende þ hit sum oðer man abiddan wolde oþþe gebicgan. þe he wyrs truwode and uðe. gyf hit ma manna wiste. And on ðisum gere wæs swyðe mycel hunger ofer eall Englaland. and corn swa dyre swá nán man ǽr ne gemunde. swa þ se sester hwætes eode to lx peñ. and eac furðor.

And þæs ylcan geres se cingc for út to Sandwic. mid xxxv scypon. And Æþelstan cyric wyrd feng to þam abbodrice æt Abbandune. And on þam ylcan gere Eadward cing nam Eadgyþe. Godwines eorles dohtor. him to wife x nihtum ær Candel mæssan.

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D. 1043. Her wæs Eadward gehalgod to cynge æt Wincestre. on forman Easter dæg.

And þæs geres xiiii nihton ær Andreas mæssan. man gerædde þan cynge þ he rád of Gleawcestre. and Leofric eorl and Godwine eorl and Sigwarð eorl mid heora genge to Wincestre. on únwær on þa hlæfdian. and bereafedan hi æt eallon þan gærsaman þe heo ahte. þa wæron unatellendlice. forþan þe heo wæs æror þam cynge hire suna swiðe heard. þ heo him læsse dyde þoñ he wolde ær þā þe he cyng wære. and eac syððan. and leton hi þær siððan binnan sittan.

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2 wel lerde to his agenre neode. and to ealles folces freme F. Edsinus . . . docuit eum . . . ea quæ sibi facienda erant ad honorem suum, et ad utilitatem sibi subjecti populi. F. *Lat.*

3 quatinus nimis tenaciter ea contra illum tenuit. F. *Lat.*

id' Iun. and he wæs cyng ofer eall Engla land twa gear buton x nihtum. and he is bebyrged on Ealdan mynstre on Winceastre mid Cnute cynge his fæder. And ear þan þe he bebyrged wære. eall folc geceas Eadward to cynge on Lundene. healde þa hwile þe him God unne. And eall þ gear wæs swiðe hefig time on manegum þingum and mislicum. ge on unwæderum ge on eorðwæstmum. and swa mycel orfes wæs þæs geares forfaren. swa nán man ær ne gemunde. ægðer ge þurh mistlice coða ge þurh ungewyderu. And on þis ilcan tyme forðferde Ælf.* abbot of Burh. and man ceas þa Arnwi munec to abb'. forþan þe he wæs swiðe god man and swiðe bilehwit. * Ælfsine

1042. Her wæs Æðward gehalgod to cyng on Winceastre on Æster dæg mid mycclum wurðscipe. and þa wæron Eastron on iii non' Apr'. Eadsige arcb' hine halgode. and foran eallum folce hine well lærde. and to his agenre neode and ealles folces well monude[2].

And Stigand preost wæs gebletsod to biscope to East Englum. And raðe þæs se cing let geridan ealle þa land þe his modor ahte him to handa. and nam of hire eall þ heo ahte on golde and on seolfre. and on unasecgendlicum þingum. forþan heo hit heold to feste wið hine[3].

1043. Her Eadsige arcb' forlet þet biscoprice for his untrumnisse. and bletsode þærto Siward abbot of Abbandune to biscope be þæs cynges læfe and ræda and Godwines eorles. hit wæs elles feawum mannum cuð ær hit gedon wæs. forþan se arcbiscop wende þ hit sū oðer mann abiddan wolde oððe gebicgean. þe he his wyrs truwude and uðe. gif hit ma manna wiste. And on þisum wæs swyðe mycel hungor ofer Engla land. and corn swa dyre swa nan mann ær ne gemunde. swa þ se sester hwætes eode to lx penega. and eac furðor.

And þæs ylcan geares se cyng for út to Sandwic mid xxxv scipon. And Æðelstan cyrice weard feng to ðam abbotrice æt Abb'ndune. And Stigand feng to his biscoprice.

1043. Her nam Ædward cyng Godwines dohtor eorles him to cwene. And on þis ilcan geare forðferde Brihtwold b'. and he heold þæs biscoprices xxxviii wintra. and Hereman þes cynges preost feng to þam biscoprice. And on þysum geare man halgode Wulfric to abb' æt Sce Augustine to Xpes

mæssan on Stephanes mæssedæg. be þes cynges gelæfan and Ælfstanes abbotes for his mycelre untrumnysse.

1044. Her forðferde Liuing b' on Defenascire. and Leofric feng þær to se wæs þæs cynges preost. And on þisum ilcan geare forðferde Ælfstan abbot æt Sce Augustine iii non' Iulii. And on þis ilcan geare wearð aflemed ut Osgot Clapa.

1045. Her forðferde Grymkytel b' on SuðSexum. and feng Heca ðes cynges preost þær to. And on þysum geare forð ferde Ælfwine biscop on Winceastre. on iiii k' Septemb'. and feng Stigand b' benorðan þær to. And on ðam ilcan geare ferde Swegen eorl ut to Baldewines lande to Brycge. and wunode þær ealne winter. and wende þa to sumere út.

Bellum apud Vallium Dunas.

1046. Her forðferde Æþelstan abbot on Abbandune. and feng Spearhafoc munuc to of Sce Eadmundes byrig. And on þis ilcan geare forðferde Siward biscop. and feng Eadsige arcb' eft to eallum þā b'rice.

And on þis ilcan geare comon to Sandwíc. Loðen and

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(C) 1045. Her on þysum geare forðferde Bryhtwold b' on x kl' Mai. and Eadward cyng geaf Heramanne his preoste þ bisceoprice.

And on þan ylcan sumera for Eadward cyng út mid his scypan to Sandwic. and þar wæs swa mycel here gegæderod. swa nan man ne geseh scyphere nænne maran on þysan lande. And on þis ylcan geare forðferde Lyuync b'. on xiii kl' Apr'. and se cyng geaf Leofrice his preoste þ biscoprice.

1046. Her on þysum geare for Swegn eorl into Wealan. and Griffin se norþerna cyng forð mid him. and him man gislode. Ða he hamwerdes wæs. þa het he feccan him to þa abbedessan on Leomynstre. and hæfde hi þa while þe him geliste. and let hí syþþan faran hám. And on þis ylcan geare man geútlagode Osgod Clapan. foran to middan wintre.

And on þis ylcan geare. æfter Candelmæssan. cóm se stranga winter. mid forste and mid snawe and mid eallon ungewederon. þ næs nan man þa on liue þ mihte gemunan swa strāgne winter swa se wæs. ge þurh mancwealm ge þurh orfcwealm. ge fugelas and fixas þurh þone micelan cyle and hunger forwurdan.

1047. Her on þysum geare forðferde Grimcytel bisceop. he wæs on SuðSexan b'. and he lið on Cristes cyrican on Cantwara byrig. and Eadward cyncg geaf Hecan. his preoste. þ b'rice. And on þis

Yrling mid xxv scipon. and namon þær unasecgendlice here huðe. on mannum and on golde and on seolfre. þet nan man nyste hwæt þæs ealles wes. and wendon þa on buton Tenet. and woldon þær þet ilce don. ac þet land folc hardlice wiþ stodon. and forwerndon heom ægðer ge up ganges ge wæteres. and aflymdon hi þanon mid ealle. and hi wendon heom þanon to East Seaxan. and hergodon þær and namon menn and swa hwæt swa hi findan mihtan. and gewendon him þa east to Baldewines land. and sealdon þær þet hi gehergod hæfdon. and ferdon heō syððon east þanon þe hi ær comon.

1046. Her on þisum geare wæs se myccla synoð æt Sc̄e
[1050 D] Remei. Dær wæs on Leo se papa. and se arc̄b' of Burgundia. and se arceb' of Bysincun. and se arceb' of Treueris. and se arceb' of Remis. and manig mann þærto. ge hadode ge læwede. and Edward cyng sende þider Dudocc b'. and Wlfric abb' of

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(D) 1045.§ Her gefor Ælfward b' on Lundene. on viii kl' Ag'. He wæs abb' on Eofeshamme ærest. and þ mynst' wel geforðode þa hwile þe he þær wæs. gewende þa to Ramesege. and þær his lif alæt. And Manni wæs to abbode gecoren and gehádod. on iiii id' Ag'. And þæs geres man draf Gunnilde út. þ æðele wif. Cnutes cynges mágan. and heo syððan sæt æt Brygee lange hwile. and for to Denmarcon siððan.

1046. Her gefor Brihtwold b'. on Wiltune scire. and man sette Hereman on his setle. On þā geare gegaderade Eadward cyng mycele scypferde on Sandwic. þurh Magnus þreatunge on Norwegon. ac his gewinn and Swegenes. on Denmarcon. geletton þ he her ne com.

1047. Her forðferde Lyfing se wordsnotera b' x kl' Apr'. and he hæfde iii b'rice. and on Defenascire. and on Cornwalon. and on Wigracestre. Þa feng Leofric to Defenascire and to Cornwalon. and Aldred b' to Wygracestre. And her man utlagode Osgod stallere. And Magn' g'wann Denmarcon.

1048. Her wæs se stiþa wint'. and þæs geres forðferde Ælfwine b' on Wincestre. and Stigand b' wæs on his setl ahafen. And ær þā. on þan ilcan gere. forðferde Grimcytel b' on Suð Sexum. and Heca preost feng to þam b'rice. And Swegen eac sende hider. bæd him fylstes ongean Magnus Norwega cyng. þ man sceolde sendan L

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§ This should be 1044 &c. (so Flor.), but D has omitted that figure. He rights it at length by putting 1052 twice. M. H. B.

(A.D. 1046) Sce Augustine. and Elfwine abb'. þ hi sceolden þam cynge cyðan hwæt þær to Xpendome gecoren wære.

And on þis ylcan geare ferde Eadward cyng út to Sandwic mid mycclan sciphere.

And com Swegn eorl in mid vii scipon to Bosenham. and griðode wið þone cyng. and behet man him þ he

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(C) ylcan geare forðferde Ælfwine b'. on iiii kl' Sept. and Eadward cyncg geaf Stigande b'. þ bisceoprice. And Æþelstan abb' on Abbandune forðferde on þan ylcan geare on iiii kl' Aprl'. þa wæs Ester dæig iii non' Aprl'. And wæs ofer eall Engla land swyþe mycel mancwelm on þan ylcan geare.

1048. Her on þisum geare wæs mycel eorð styrung wide on Engla lande. And on þā ylcan geare man gehergode Sandwic. and Wiht. and ofslohan þa betsta men þe þar wæron. And Eadward cining and þa eorlas foran æfter þā út mid heora scypun. And on þā ylcan geare Siward b' forlet þ bisceoprice for his untrūnysse. and for to Abbandune. and Eadsige arceb' feng eft to þā bisceoprice. and he forðferde þæs binnan viii wucan. on x kl' Nouembris.

1049. Her on þisum geare se casere gaderode unarimedlice fyrde ongean Baldewine of Brycge. þurh þ þ he bræc þæne palant æt Neomágan. and eac fela oðra unþanca þe he him dyde. seo fyrd wæs unatellendlic þe he gegaderod hæfde. Đær wæs Leo se papa of Rôme. and fela mærra manna of manegan þeodscipan. He sende eac to Eadwerde cingce and bæd hine scip fultumes. þ he ne geþafode þ he him on wætere ne æt burste. And he fór ða to Sandwic. and þær læg mid myclan scyphere forð. þ se casere hæfde of Baldwine eall þ he wolde.

Đar com eft ongean Swegen eorl to Eadwerde cinge. and gyrnde to him landes. þ he mihte hine on afedan. Ac Harold his broðor wiðcwæð. and Beorn eorl. þ hig noldon hī agyfan nan þingc þæs þe se cing heom gegyfen hæfde. He com hider mid hiwunge. cwæð þ he wolde his man beon. and bæd Beorn eorl þ he him on fultume wære. ac se cingc him ælces þinges forwyrnde. Đa gewende Swegen to his scypon to Bosanham. and for Godwine eorl frā Sandwic mid xlii scypon to Pefenasæ. and Beorn eorl forð mid him. and þa se cing lyfde eallon Myrceon ham. and hig swa dydon. Đa cydde man þam cinge þ Osgod lage on Ulpe mid xxix scypon. þa sende se cing æfter þam scypon. þe he ofsendan mihte. þe innan Norð muþan lagon. Ac Osgod sette his wif on Brige. and wende eft ongean mid vi scypon. and þa oðre fóron on East Seaxon to Eadolfes næsse. and þær hearm dydon. and wendon eft to scypon.

moste wurðe [beon] ælc þæra þinga þe he ær ahte. Ða (A.D. 1046)
wiðlæg Harold eorl his broðor and Beorn eorl. þ he ne moste beon nan þæra þinga wurðe þe se cyng him geunnen hæfde. ac sette man him iv nihta grið to his scipon. Ða wearð hit under þam þet þam cynge com word. þ únnfrið

(D) scypa him to fultume. Ac hit þuhte unræd eallum folce. and hit wearð þa gelet þurh þ þe Magn' hæfde micelne scyp cræft. And he þa aytte þa Swegen út. and mid mycclan man slihte þ land gewann. and Dena him mycel feoh guldon. and hine to cynge underfengon. And þi ylcan geare Magn' forðferde.

1049. Her com eft Swein to Denamarcon. and Harold for to Norwegum. Magn' fædera. syððan Magn' dead wæs. and Normen hine underfengon. and he sende ymb fryð hider to lande. And Swegen eac sende of Denmarcon. and bæd Eadward cyng scyp fultumes. Ðæt sceolde beon æt læstan L scypa. ac eall folc wiðcwæð.

And her wæs eac eorðstyrung on kl' Mai on manegum stowum on Wygracestre. and on Wic. and on Deorby. and elles gehwær. and eac wæs swiðe mycel man cwealm and orf cwealm. and eac þ wilde fyr on Deorby scire micel yfel dyde. and gehwær elles.

1050. On þisan geare se casere gegaderode un arimedlice fyrde ongean Baldwine of Brygce. þurh þ he bræc þa palentan æt Neomagon and eac fela oþra unþanca þe he him dyde. seo fyrd wæs un arimedlic þe he gegaderad hæfde. þær wæs se papa on and se patriarcha. and fela oðra mærra manna of gehwilcū leod scypum. he sende eac to Eadwarde cynge. and bæd hine scyp fultumes þ he ne geþafode þ he ne æt burste on wætere. and he for þa to Sandwic. and læg þær mid myclū scyphere forð þ se casere hæfde of Baldawine eall þ he wolde.

Ðær com eac Swegen eorl. þe for ær of þisan lande to Denmarcon. and þær forworhte hine wið Denum. He com hider mid hiwunge. cwæð þ he wolde eft bugan to þam cynge. And Beorn eorl him gehet þ he him on fylste beon wolde. Ða syððan þæs caseres seht wæs and Baldwines. fóron fela scypa hám. and se kyng belaf bæftan æt Sandwic mid feawū scypū. and Godwine eorl eac fór mid xlii scypum fram Sandwic to Peuenesēá. and Beorn eorl him for mid. Ða cyðde man þam cynge þ Osgod láge ón Ulpe mid xxxix scypon. and se cyng þa sende æfter þam scypum þe he ofsendan mihte. þe ær ham wendon. And Osgod sette his wif on Brygce. and wendon eft ongean mid vi scypum. And þa oðre fóron on Suð Sexe to Eadulfes næsse. and þær hearm dydon. and wendon eft to scypon.

(A.D. 1046) scipa lægen be westan and hergodon. Đa ge[wende] Godwine eorl west onbuton mid þes cynges ii scipum. þam anan steorde Harold eorl and þam oðran Tostig his broðor. and landes manna scipa xlii. Đa scyfte man Harold eorl úp þæs cynges scipe þe Harold eorl ær steorde. þa gewendon hi west to Peuenesea. and lægen þær weder feste. Đa þes binnon ii dagum. þa com Swegen eorl þider. and spec wið his feder and wið Beorn eorl. and bed Beorn þ he sceolde faran mid him to ðam cynge to Sandwic. and fylstan him to þæs cynges freondscipe. and he þæs tiðode. gewendon heom þa swylce hi woldon to ðam cynge. Đa amang þam þe hi ridon. þa bæd Swegen hine þet he sceolde faran mid him to his scipon. tealde þ his sciperes woldon wændon fram him. buton he þe raðor come. Hi gewendon þa begen þær his scipu lægen. þa hi þyder comon. þa bæd Swegen eorl hine þ he sceolde gewendon mid him to scipe. he forweornde swiðe. swa lange oð his sciperes gefengon hine and wurpon hine on þone bat. and bundon hine and reowan to scipe and dydon hine þær ón. tugon þa up heora segel. and urnon west to Axa muðan. and hæfdon hine mid heom oð þet hi

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(C 1049) Đa læg Godwine eorl. and Beorn eorl. on Pefenasæ. mid heora scypon. Đa cō Swegen eorl mid facne. and bæd Beorn eorl þ he his gefera wære to þā cinge to Sandwic. cwæð þ he hī aþas swerigan wolde. and him hold beon. Đa wende Beorn. for þære sibbe þ he him swican nolde. nam ða iii geferan mid him. and ridon þa to Bosanham. eall swa hi sceoldon to Sandwic. þær Swegenes scypa lagon. And hine man sona geband. and to scype lædde. and ferdon þa to Dærenta muðan. and hine þar let ofslean. and deope bedelfan. Ac hine Harold his mæg þær fette. and to Wincestre lædde. and þær bebyride wiþ Cnut cing his eam. And se cing þa and eall here cwædon Swegen for niðing. viii scypa he hæfde ær he Beorn amyrðrode. syððan hine forleton ealle butan ii. And he gewende þa to Bricge. and þar wunode mid Baldwine.

And on þysum geare forðferde Eadnoð. se goda b' on Oxnafordscire. and Oswig abb' on Đornige. and Wulfnoð abb' on Westmynstre. and Eadwerd cing geaf Ulfe his preoste þ b'rice. and hit yfele beteah.

And on þyson ylcan geare Eadwerd cing scylode ix scypa of male. and hi foron mid scypon. mid eallon. anweg. and belifon v scypa bæftan. and se cing heom behet xii monaþ gyld.

ofslogon hine. and namon þone lichaman and bebyrgedon[9] innan anre cyrican. And comon þa his freond and litsmen of Lundene. and namon hine up and feredon[1] hine to Win ceastre to Ealdan mynstre. and he is þær byrged wiþ Cnut cyng his eam. And Swegen gewende þa east to Baldewines lande. and sæt þær ealne winter on Brycge mid his fullan griþe.

And on þam ylcan geare forðferde Eadnoð b' benorðan. and sette man Ulf to biscop.

1047. Her on þisum geare wæs mycel gemot on Lundene to midfestene. and man sette ut ix litsmanna scipa. and fif belifan wiðæftan.

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and heom com þa strang wind tó. swa þ hi wæron ealle forfarene (D 1050) buton feower. þa man ofsloh begeondan sæ. On þam þe Godwine eorl and Beorn eorl lagon on Peuenesea. þa cóm Swein eorl. and bæd Beorn eorl. mid facne. þe wæs his éames sunu. þ he his gefera wære to þam cynge to Sandwic. and his wisa wiþ hine gebette. He wende þa. for þære sibbe. mid þreom geferum. mid him. and he hine lædde þa toward Bosanham. þær his scypu lagon. and hine man þa geband. and to scypa lædde. Wende þa þanon mid him to Dertamuðan. and hine þær het slean. and deope bedelfan. Hine man funde eft. and ferede hine to Wincestre. and byrigde wiþ Cnut cyng his eam. Lytle ær þan. þa men of Hæstingaceastre and þærabutan. gewunnon his twa scypa mid heora scypan. and þa men ealle ofslogon. and þa scypa brohton to Sandwic to þan cynge. Ehta scypu he hæfde ær he Beorn beswice. syððan hine forleton ealle buton twam.

On þam ilcan geare comon upp on Wylisce Axa. of Yrlande. xxxvi scypa. and þær abutan hearmas dydon. mid Gryfines fultume. þæs Wæliscan cynges. Man gegaderade þa folc togénes. þær wæs eac Ealdred b' mid. ac hi hæfdon to lytelne fultum. and hi comon unwær on heom. on ealne ærne mergen. and fela godra manna þær ofslogon. and þa oþre ætburston forð mid þā b'e. þis wæs gedon on iiii kl' Aug'.

Ðæs geres forðferde . . on Oxnafordscire. Oswi abb' on Ðornege. and Wulfnoð abb' on Westmynstre. And Ulf pr' wæs geset þam b'rice to hyrde þe Eadnoð hæfde. ac he wæs syððan of adryfon. forþan þe he ne gefremede naht biscoplices þæron. swa þ us sceamað hit nu mare to tellanne. And Sigward b' gefór. se ligeð on Abbandune.

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9 bebyrigendan F. 1 ferendon F.

**1050.** Her forðferde Eadsige arceb'. and Rodbert feng to arceb'rice. 1053 *next*

(C) And on þam ylcan geare ferde Hereman b' and Ealdred b' to Rome. to ðä papan. on þæs cinges ærende.

**1050.** Her on þysum gere comon þa bisceopas ham fram Rome. and man geinlagode Swegen eorl. And on þys ylcan geare forð-ferde Eadsige arceb' on iiii kl' Nouembris. and eac on þys ylcan geare Ælfric arceb' on Eoferwic cestre. on xi kl' Feb'. and his lic lið on Burh. Ða hæfde Eadwerd cing witena gemot on Lunden to mid lencten. and sette Hrodberd to arceb' to Cantware byrig. and Sperhafoc abb' to Lunden. and geaf Roðulfe b' his mæge þ abbud rice on Abb'dune. And þæs ylcan geares he sette ealle þa litsmen of male.

**1051.** Her on þysum geare com Rodbeard arceb' hider ofer sæ mid his palliũ. And on þys ylcan geare man flymde Godwine eorl. and ealle his suna. of Englalande. And he gewende to Bricge. and his wif and his iii suna. Swegen. and Tostig. and Gyrð. and Harold and Leofwine wendon to Irlande. and þær wunedon þæne winter. And on þys ylcan geare forðferde seo ealde hlæfdige. Eadwerdes cinges moder and Harðacnutes. Imme hatte. ii id' Mart. and hyre lic lið on Ealdan mynstre wið Cnut cing.

(D) And hér man halgode þ miccle mynst' æt Rémys. Dær wæs se [1046 E] papa Leo. and se casere. and mycelne sinoð þær hæfdon embe Godes þeowdom. Done sinoð foresæt scs Leo papa. hit is earfoð to witane þara biscopa þe þær to comon. and huru abbuda. and heonon of lande wæron twegen g'sende. of sce Agustine and of Rammesege.

**1051.** On þisan geare gefor Eadsie arceb' on Cantware byri. and se cyng sealde Rotbearde. þan Freoncyscan þe ær wæs b' on Lundene. þ arce rice. And Spearhafoc abb' of Abbandune feng to þan b'rice on Lundene. and hit wæs eft of him genumen ær he gehadod wære. And Hereman b' and Ealdred b' foron to Rome.

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2 sed fere perdidit ibi baculum suum, quia nescivit ministerium suum. F. *Lat.*

3 stæf F.

4 gerihta F.

5 1050 F. Hic Eaduardus rex dedit Rodberto, qui fuit abbas Gemeticensis, archiepiscopatum Cantuariæ. F. *Lat.*

6 Abbaddune F.

7 þa he hæfde gespæcen þat he wolde. þa cyrde he agen F.

8 þa wolde his an man herebeorgian at anes mannes his unðances. swa þ he wundode þone hus bunda. and se hus bunda of sloh þone man. Ða wæs Eustatius swyðe wrað. and wearð upon his horse. and his men. and ferdon to and of slogon þone ylcan hus bandan. and eac to eacan him ma þonne xx men. F.

And on þysum ilcan geare com Swegen eorl into Engla lande.

And on þysum ilcan geare wæs se mycele sinoð on Rome. and Eadward cyng sende þider Hereman b' and Ealdred b'. and hi comon þyder on Easteræfen. And eft se papa hæfde sinoð on Uercel. and Vlf b' com þærto. and[2] forneah man sceolde to brecan his stef[3]. gif he ne sealde þe mare gersuman. forðan he ne cuðe don his ge rihte[4] swa wel swa he sceolde. And on þisum geare forðferde Eadsige arceb' iiii kl' Nouemb'.

1048. [5]Her on þisum geare Eadward cyng ge sette Rodbyrd on Lundene to arceb' to Cantwara byrig. on Lengtene. And þæs sylfan Lentenes he for to Rome æfter his pallium. and se cyng geaf þet biscop rice on Lundene Sparhafoc abbot of [6]Abbandune. and se cyng geaf [þ] abbot rice Roðulfe b' his mæge. Ða com se arceb' fram Rome ane dæge ær sc̃s Petr' June 28 mæsse æfene. and ge sæt his arceb' stol æt Xp̃escyrcean on sc̃s Petr' mæsse dæg. and sona þæs to þam cyng ge wænde. Ða com Sparhafoc abb' beweg[e] to him mid þæs cynges ge write and insegle. to þan þet he hine hadian sceolde to b' into Lundene. þa wið cweð se arceb'. and cwæð þet se papa hit him forboden hæfde. þa ge wende se abb' ongean þone arceb' eft to ðam. and þær þes biscophades gernde. and se arceb' him anrædlice forwernde. and cwæð þet se papa hit him forboden hæfde. Ða ge wende se abb' to Lundene. and sæt on þam biscop rice þe se cyng him ær ge unnan hæfde be his fulre leafe. ealne þone sumor and þone hærfest.

And com þa Eustatius fram geondan sæ sona æfter þam biscop. and ge wende to ðam cynge. and spæc wið hine [7]þ þ he þa wolde. and ge wende þa hamweard. Þa he com to Cantwarbyrig east þa snædde he þær and his menn. and to Dofran ge wende. Ða he wæs sume mila oððe mare beheonan Dofran. þa dyde he on his byrnan. and his ge feran ealle. and foran to Dofran. Þa hi þider comon. þa woldon hi innian hi þær heom sylfan gelicode. [8]þa com an his manna. and wolde wician æt anes bundan huse his unðances. and ge wundode þone husbundon. and se husbunda ofsloh þone oðerne. Ða wearð Eustati' uppon his horse. and his ge feoran uppon heora. and ferdon to þā husbundon. and ofslogon hine binnan his agenan heorðæ. and wendon him þa

(A.D. 1048) up to þære burgeweard. and ofslogon ægðer ge wiðinnan ge wiðutan. ma þanne xx manna. And þa burhmen ofslogon xix menn on oðre healfe. and gewundoden þ hi nystan hú fela. And Eustatius ætbærst mid feawum mannum. and gewende ongean to þam cynge. and [6]cydde be dæle hu hi gefaren hæfdon. and wearð se cyng swiþe [7]gram wið þa burhware. and [8]ofsænde se cyng Godwine eorl. and bæd hine faran into Cent mid unfriða to Dofran. forþan Eustatius hæfde gecydd þam cynge þet hit sceolde beon mare gylt þære burhwaru þonne his. ac hit næs na swa. and se eorl nolde na geðwærian þære infare. forþan him wæs lað to [9]amyrrene his agenne folgað.

Ða sende se cyng æfter eallon his witan. and bead heom cuman to Gleaweceastre neh þære æftre sca Maria mæssan. Þa hæfdon þa welisce menn gewroht ænne castel on Herefordscire on Swegenes eorles folgoðe. and wrohten ælc þæra harme and bismere þæs cynges mannan þær abutan þe hi mihton. Ða com Godwine eorl and Swegen eorl and Harold eorl togædere æt Byferesstane. and manig mann mid heom. to ðon þ hi woldon faran to heora cynehlaforde. and to þam witan eallon þe mid him gegaderode wæron. þ hi þæs cynges ræd hæfdon and his fultum and ealra witena. hu hi mihton þæs cynges bismer awrecan and ealles þeodscipes. Ða wæron þa wælisce men [1]tæt foran mid þam cynge. and forwregdon ða eorlas. þet hi ne moston cuman [2]on his eagon gesihðe. Forðan hi sædon þ hi woldon cuman þider for þes cynges swicdome. Wæs þær cuman Siward eorl and Leofric eorl. and mycel folc mid heom norþan to þam cynge. and wæs þam eorle Godwine and his sunan gecydd þ se cyng and þa menn þe mid him wæron. woldon rædon on hi. and hi trymedon hi fæstlice ongean. þæh him lað wære þ hi ongean heora cynehlaford standan sceoldan. Ða gerædden þa witan on ægðer halfe þ man ða ælces yfeles geswác. and [3]geaf se cyng Godes grið. and his fulne freondscipe on ægðre healfe.

6 sæde ðā cinge wyrs ðonne hit wære F.

7 wrað F.

8 præcepit . . . ut congregaret exercitum et intraret Cantiam, omnia devastando, et maxime Dofras. Sed Godwinus nolens destruere comitatum suum, dissimulavit ire illuc. F. *Lat.*

9 amyrrende F.

1 æror F.

2 neh ðan cinge F.

3 se cing gif ðā eorlan his fullan freondscipe F.

Đa [4]gerædde se cyning and his witan þ man sceolde oðre (A.D. 1048)
syðan habban ealra gewitena[5] gemot on Lundene to hær-

(D) 1052. Her forðferde Ælfric arceb'. on Eoferwic. swiðe arwyrðe wer and wis. And on þan ylcan geare alǽde Eadward cyng þ heregyld þ Æþelred cyng ær astealde. þ wæs on þam nigon and þrittigoðan geare þæs þe he hit ongunnon hæfde. Đæt gyld gedrehte ealle Engla þeode on swa langum fyrste. swa hit bufan her awriten is. þ wæs æfre ætforan oðrum gyldum þe man myslice geald. and men mid monigfealdlice drehte.

On þam ylcan geare com Eustatius up æt Doferan. se hæfde Eadwardes cynges sweostor to wife. Đa ferdon his men dyslice æft' inne. and sumne man ofslogon of þam porte. and oðer man of þā porte heora geferan. swa þ þær lagon vii his geferana. And micel hearm þær gedón wæs on ægðre healfe. mid horse and eac mid wæpnum. oð þ folc gegaderede. and hi þa ætflugon þ hi comon to þam cynge to Gleawcestre. and he heom gryð sealde. Đa undernam Godwine eorl swyðe þ on his eorldome sceolde swilc geweorðan. ongan þa gadrian folc ofer eall his eorldóm. and Swein eorl his sunu ofer his. and Harold his oðer sunu ofer his eorldom. and hi gegaderedan ealle on Gleawcesterscire. æt Langatreo. mycel fyrd and unarimedlic. ealle gearwe to wige ongean þone cyng. buton man ageafe Eustatsius and his men heō to hand sceofe. and eac þa Frencyscan þe on þan castelle wæron. Đis wæs gedon vii nihton ær þære lateran sc̃a Maria Sep. 2
mæssan. Đa wæs Eadward cyng on Gleawcestre sittende. Sende þa æfter Leofrice eorle. and norð æfter Siwarde eorle. and bǽd heora gencges. And hi him þa to comon ærest mid medemum fultume. ac siððan hy wiston hu hit þær be suðan wæs. þa sendon hi norð ofer ealne heora eorldom. and leton beodan mycele fyrde. heora hlaforde to helpe. and Raulf eac ofer his eorldom. and comon ða ealle to Gleaweceastre þam cynge to helpe. þeah hit læt wære. Wurdan þa ealle swa anræde mid þam cynge. þ hy woldon Godwines fyrde gesecan. gif se cyng þ wolde. Đa leton hy sume. þ þ mycel unræd wære. þ hy togedere comon. forþam þær wæs mæst þ rotoste þ wæs on Englalande on þam twam gefylcū. and leton þ hi urum feondum rymdon to lande. and betwyx us sylfum to mycclum forwyrde. Gerǽddon þa þ man sealde gislas betweonan. and setton stefna ut to Lundene. and man bead þa folce þider ut ofer ealne þisne norðende on Siwardes eorldome. and on Leofrices. and eac elles gehwær. and sceolde Godwine eorl and his suna þær cuman

[4] gehet F. [5] gewitena F *too.*

(A.D. 1048) Sep. 21 festes emnihte. and het se cyning bannan út here. ægðer ge be suðan Temesc ge be norðan eall þ æfre betst wæs. Ða cwæð man Swegen eorl ut lah. and stefnode[6] man Godwine eorle and Harolde eorle to þon ge mote swa raðe swa hi hit ge faran mihton. Þa hi þider ut comon. þa stefnede heom man to ge mote. þa gyrnde he griðes and gisla. þet he moste unswican into ge mote cuman. and út of ge mote. Ða gyrnde se cyng ealra þæra þegna þe þa eorlas ær hæfdon. and hi letan hi ealle him to handa. Þa sende se cyng eft to heom. and bead heom þ hi comon mid xii mannum [7]into þæs cynges ræde. Þa geornde se eorl eft griðes and gisla. þ he moste hine betellan æt ælc þæra þinga þe him man[8] on lede. [9]Þa wyrnde him mann ðera gisla. and sceawede him mann v nihta grið út of lande to farenne. And gewende þa Godwine eorl and Swegen eorl to Bosenham. and scufon út heora scipu. and ge wendon heom begeondan sæ. and ge sohton Baldewines grið. and wunodon þær ealne þone winter. And Harold eorl ge wende west to Yrlande. and wæs þær ealne þone winter on þes cynges griðe. And sona þæs þe þis wæs. þa forlet se cyng þa hlæfdian. seo wæs ge halgod him to cwene. and let niman of hire eall þ heo ahte. on lande and on golde and on seolfre and on eallon þingon. and be tæhte hy his swyster to [1]Hwerwillon.

And [2]Sparhafoc abb' wearð ðá adrifen út of þā biscoprice on Lundene. and wes Will'm þæs cynges preost ge hadod þærto. And man sette þa Oddan to eorle ofer Defena scire. and ofer Sumer sæton. and ofer Dor seton. and ofer Wealas. And mann sette Ælfgar Leofrices sunu eorles ðane eorldom on handa þe Harold ær ahte.

6 bead F.

7 to ðā cinge F.

8 me F.

9 þa wyrnde men him and bead him ut binnan v nihtan. and he ferde ofer sæ to Baldwin lande. F.

1 Hwere wylle F.

2 Spearhauoc F.

§ E misses 1049, 1050, 1051, and agrees with C and D upon 1052, where harmony is restored between C and D by the repetition of 1052 in D. The death of Emma is put by C under 1051 (p. 176), his year ending at Easter. M. H. B.

1052.§ Her on ðisum geare forðferde Ælfgiue Ymma Eadwardes cynges modor and Hardacnutes cynges.

(D) to wiþermale. Ða comon hy to Suþ geweorce. and micel mænegeo mid heom of WestSæxum. ac his wered wanode æfre þe leng þe swiðor. And man borhfæste þam kyninge ealle þa þægnas þe wæron Haroldes eorles his suna. and man utlagode þa Swægn eorl his oðerne sunu. Ða ne onhagode him to cumenne to wiðermale ongean þone cyng. and agean þone here þe him mid wæs. Fór ða on niht awæg. and se cyng hæfde þæs on morgen witena gemot. and cwæð hine utlage. and eall here. hine and ealle his suna. And he wende suð to Ðornege. and his wif. and Swegen his suna. and Tostig and his wif. Baldwines mage æt Brycge. and Gerð his suna. And Harold eorl and Leofwine foran to Brycgstowe. on þ scip þe Swegen eorl hæfde him silfum ær gegearcod and gemetsod. And se cining sende Ealdred b' of Lundene mid genge. and sceoldon hine of ridan ær he to scipe come. ac hi ne mihton. oððe hi noldon. And he wende þa ut of Afene muðan. and feng swa stið weder þ he uneaðe awæig cóm. and him þær micel forferde. Wende þa forð to Irlande. ða him weder com. and Godwine and þa þe mid him wæron wendan of Ðornege to Brycge. to Baldwines lande. on anum scipe. mid swa miclum gærsuman swa hi mihton þæron mæst gelogian to ælcum mannum. Ðæt wolde ðyncan wundorlic ælcum men þe on Engla lande wæs. gif ænig man ær þam sæde þ hit swa gewurþan sceolde. forðam þe he wæs ær to þam swyðe upahafen. swylce he weolde þæs cynges and ealles Engla landes. and his sunan wæron eorlas. and þæs cynges dyrlingas. and his dohtor þæm cynge bewéddod and beæwnod. þa man gebrohte to Hwærwellan. and hy þære abedissan betæhton.

Ða sone com Willelm eorl fram geondan sæ mid mycclum werode Frencisra manna. and se cyning hine underfeng. and swa feola his geferan swa him to onhagode. and let hine eft ongean. Ðæs ilcan geres man sealde Wyllelme preoste þ b'rice on Lundene. þe wæs ær Spærhafoce geseald.

1052. Her forþferde Ælfgyfu seo hlefdige. Æðelredes láf cynges and Cnutes cynges on ii non' Mar.

On þam ilcan gere hergode Griffin. se Wylisca cing. on Hereford scire þ he com swyþe neah to Leomynstre. and men gadorodon ongean. ægðer ge landes men ge Frencisce men of ðam castele. and man þær ofsloh swyþe feola Engliscra godra manna. and eac of þam Frenciscum. þ wæs þæs ylcan dæges. on ðreottene geara. þe man ær Eadwine ofsloh mid his geferum.

(A. D. 1052) And on þam sylfan geare gerædde se cyng and his witan þ mann sceolde forðian ut to Sandwic scipu. and setton Raulf eorl and Oddan eorl to heafodmannum þærto. Ða gewende Godwine eorl út fram Brycge mid his scypum to Yseran. and let ut ane dæge ær midsumeres mæsse æfene þ he com to Næsse. þe is besuðan Rumenea. Þa com hit to witenne þā eorlum ut to Sandwic. and hi þa gewendon ut æfter

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F 1051 . . [E 1052] . . And Godwine eorl ferde ut of Brige mid his scipan to Yseran. and swa to Englalande. and com up at Næsse be suðan Rumenea. and ferde swa to Wiht. and nā ðar ealle ða scipan ða to ahte mihtan and gislas. and cyrde hī swa eastward. And Harold was cumen mid ix scipon up at Portlocan. and ofsloh ðar mycel folc. and nā orf. and menn. and eahta. and gewende hī eastward to his fæder. and hi begen ferdan to Rumonea. to Hiðe. to Folcstane. to Doferan. to Sandwic. and æfre naman ealle ða scipan ðe hi fundan ða to ahte mihte. and gislas. eal swa ferdan and gewendon ða to Lundene. Ða hi to Lundene comon. ða læg se cing and ealle his eorlas þar ongean mid L scipon. Ða sendan ða eorlas to ðā cinge. and georndan þ hi moston beon heora þinga and are wurðe ðe heom mid unrihte benumen was. Ða wiðleg se cing sume hwile. ac Stigand. þe was þes cinges rædgifa and his hand preost. and ða oðre wise men geræddan. þ man getrymde gislas on ægðræ healfe. and swa scolde se freondscipe beon gefæstnod. Ða Rodbert arb' ð geaxode. ða nam he his hors. and ferde him to Eadulfesnæsse. and wearð him on anum unwræcum scipe. and ferde him on an ofer sæ. and forlet his pallium. Ða cwæð man mycel gemot wiðuton Lundene. and on þā gemote wæran ða betstan men þe wæran on ðysen lande. Ðar bær Godwine up his mal. and betealde hine wið Eadward cing be eallum ðā ðingan ðe him was on geled. and his bearnum. And man cwæð Rodbert arb' utlaga. and ealla ða Frencisce men. forþan hi wæran intinga þare wræðe ðe was betwyx him and ðan cinge. And Stigand b' feng to ðan arb'rice on Cantuareb'i.

(C) 1052. Her com Harold eorl of Irlande mid scipum on Sæfern muðan. neh Sumersætan gemæran and Defenescire. and þær mycel gehergode. and þ landfolc him ongean gaderodan. ægðer ge of Sumersæton ge of Defenescire. and he hig aflymde. and þær ofsloh má þonne xxx godera þegena. butan oðrum folce. and sona æft' þan for abutan Penwiðsteort. And þa let Eadward cyng scypian xl snacca. Ða lagan æt Sandwic manega wucan. þa sceoldon sætnian Godwines eorles þe on Brycge wæs þæne winter. and he þeh com hider to lande ærest. swa hig hit nysten. And on ðam fyrste þe he her on lande wæs. he gespeon him to ealle Kentingas. and ealle þa butsecarlas of Hæstingan and þær æghwar be þære særiman. and eallne þæne Eastende. and SuðSexan. and Suðrigan. and mycel elles to eacan þan. Ða cwædon ealle þ hi mid him woldon licgan and lybban. Ða geaxedon þ liðþ on Sandwic læg embe Godwines

þam oðrum scipum. and bead man land fyrde ut ongean þa (A. D. 1052)
scipu. Þa amang þison þa wearð Godwine eorl gewarnod. and gewende him þa into Pefenesea. and wearð þ wæder swiðe strang. þ þa eorlas ne mihton gewitan hwet Godwine eorl gefaren hæfde. And gewende þa Godwine eorl ut agean þ he com eft to Brycge. and ða oðra scipu gewenden heom eft ongean to Sandwíc. And gerædde man þa þ þa scipu gewendan eft ongean to Lundene. and sceolde man setton oðre eorlas and oðre hasæton to þā scipum. Ða lengde hit man swa lange þ seo scip fyrd eall belaf. and gewendon ealle heom ham. Ða geaxode Godwine eorl þet. and teah þa úp his segl and his lið. and gewendon heom þa west on án to Wiht. and eodon þær úp. and hergodon swa lange þær þ þ folc geald heom swa mycel swa hi heom on legden. And gewendon heom þa westweard oð þet hi comon to Portlande. and eodon þær úp and dydon to hearme swa hwet swa hi dón mihton.

Þa wes Harold gewend út of Yrlande mid nigon scipon. and com þa úp æt Portlocan. and wes þær mycel folc gegaderod ongean. ac he ne wandode na him metes to tylienne. eode úp and ofsloh þær mycelne ende þes folces. and nam him on orfe. and on mannum. and on æhtum. swa him gewearð. and gewende him þa eastweard to his feder. And gewendon heom þa begen eastweard þ hi comon to Wiht. and namon þær þ him ær wið æftan wæs. and gewendon heom þa þanon to Pefenesea. And begeat forð mid him swa fela scipu swa þær fera wæron. and swa forð þ he com to

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And sona com Harold eorl of Irlande mid his scipum to (D 1052)
Sæfern muðan neh Sumer sæton gemære and Dafenascire and þær mycel gehergode. and þ landfolc him ongean gaderode. ægþær ge of Sumor sæton ge of Defnascire. and he hyg aflimgde. and þær ofsloh maþoñ xxx godra ðegna buton oðre folce. and sona æft' ðam for abuton Penwiðsteort. And þa læt Eadward cyng scypian xl snacca þa lagon æt Sandwic. þa sceoldon cepan Godwines eorles ðe on Brycge wæs þone wint'. and he ðeah cō hider tolande ærest swa hy hit nystan. and on þā þe he her on lande wæs. he gespeon ealle Centingas. and ealle þa butse karlas of Hæstingū and þær æghwar abuton be þære sæ riman. and ealne East Sexan. and Suþerege. and mycel elles to cacan þam. þa cwædon ealle þ hi woldon mid him libban and licgean. Þa geaxedon þ lið þ on Sandwic læg cnbc

(A. D. 1052) Næsse. and begeat ealle þa scipu þe wæron on Rumen ea. and on Hyþe. and on Folces stane. And gewendon þa east to Dofran. and eodon þær úp. and namon him þær scipu. and gislas. swa fela swa hi woldon. and ferdon swa to Sandwíc. and dydon hand þ sylfa. and heom man geaf æghwer gislas and metsunga. þær þær hi gyrndon. And gewendon heom

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(C 1052) fare. setton þa æfter. And he heom ætbærst. and him sylfan gebearh þær þær he þa mihte. and þ liþ wende agen to Sandwic. and swa hamwerd to Lunden byrig. Đa þa Godwine geaxode þ þ liþ þe on Sandwic læg wæs ham gewend. þa for he eft ongean to Wiht. and þær abutan be þā sæ riman swa lange læg þ hig comon togædere. Harold eorl his sunu and he. And hi na mycelne hearm ne dydon syþþan hig togædere comon. buton þ heo metsunge namon. ac speonnon heom eall þ land folc to be ðā sæ riman. and eac up on lande. and hig foron towerd Sandwic. and læson æfre forð mid heom ealle þa butse carlas þe heo gemetton. and comon þa to Sandwic mid geotendan here. Đa Eadwerd cyng þ geaxode. þa sende he up æft' maran fultume. ac hi comon swyðe late. And Godwine sah him æfre towerd Lundenes mid his liðe. þ he com to Suð geweorce. and þær on bad sume hwile oð þ flod up eode. On þā fyrste he eac gefadode wið þa burhware. þ hi woldon mæst ealle þ þ he wolde. Đa he hæfde ealle his fare gerecenod. þa com se flod. and hig brudon up ða sona heora ancran. and heoldon þurh þa brycge be ðā syð lande. and seo land fyrd com ufenon and trymedon hig be þā strande. and hi hwemdon þa mid þā scypon wið þæs norð landes. swylce hig woldon þæs cynges scipa abutan betrymman. Sé cyng hæfde eac mycele land fyrde on his healfe to eacan his scyp mannum. ac hit wæs heom mæst eallon lað þ hig sceoldon fohtan wiþ heora agenes cynnes mannum. forþan þar wæs lyt elles þe aht mycel myhton buton Englisce men. on ægðer healfe. and eac hig noldon þ utlendiscum þeodum wære þes eard þurh þ þe swiðor gerymed þe hi heom sylfe ælc oðerne forfóre. Gerædden þa þ man sende wise men betweonan. and setton grið on ægðre healfe. And Godwine for upp. and Harold his sunu. and heora liþ swa mycel swa heom þa geþuhte. And wæs þa witena gemót. and man sealde Godwine clæne his eorldom. swa full and swa forð swa he fyrmest ahte. and his sunum eall swa eall þ hi ær ahten. and his wife and his dehter. swa ful and swa forð swa hi ær ahton. And hi gefæstnodon heom þa fulne freondscipe betweonan. and eallum folce góde lage behéton. And geutlageden þa ealle Frencisce men þe ær

þa to Norð muðan. and swa to Lundene wearð. and sume þa (A. D. 1052)
scipu gewendon binnon Scep ige. and dydon þær mycelne hearm. and gewendon heom to Middeltune þæs cynges. and forbearndon ꝑ eall. and wæron heom to Lundene weard æft' þā eorlan. Ða hi to Lundene comon. þa læg se cyng and þa eorlas ealle þær ongean mid L scipum. Þa sendon þa eorlas to þā cynge. and gerndon to him ꝑ hi moston beon wurðe ælc þæra þinga þe heom mid unrihte ofgenumen wæs.

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Godwines fare. setton þa eft'. and he heom æt bærst. and ꝑ lið (D 1052)
wende ongean to Sandwic and swa hamweard to Lunden byrig. Þa þa Godwine geaxede ꝑ ꝑ lið þe on Sandwic læig wæs ham gewend. þa for he æft ongean to Wiht. and þær abutan be þā sæ riman swa lange ꝑ hi comon togædere Harold eorl his suna. and hi noldon no mycelne hearm don syððon. buton ꝑ hyg metsunge namon. Ac speonnan heom þa eall ꝑ landfolc to. be þam sæ riman. and eac uppon lande. and hy foran to weard Sandwic and læson æfre forð mid heom ealle þa butse carlas þe hy gemetton and coman þa to Sandwic mid geotendan here. Þa Eadward ꝑ geaxode þa sende he upp æft' maran fulltume. ac hy coman swiþe læte. and Godwine sæh him æfre toward Lundenne mid his liþe ꝑ he com to Suþ weorce. and þær abad sume hwile. oð ꝑ ꝑ flod upp eode. on þam fyrste and æc ær he ge fadode wiþ ða burh waru. ꝑ hi mæst ealle woldon ðæt he wolde. Þa þa he hæfde ealle his fare gereconod. þa com ꝑ flod and hy brudon sona upp heora ancras and heoldan þurh þa brycge áá bi þæm suþ lande. and seo land fyrde coman ofenan and trymedon hy be þæm strande. and hy hwemdan ða mid þam scipū swylce hy woldon ðes cynges scypu abuton betrȳman. Se cyning hæfde eac micle land fyrde on his halfe to eacan his scip mannū. Ac hit wes mæst eallan lað to feohtanne wið heora agenes cynnes mannū. forðam þær wæs lytel elles þe aht mycel myhton butan Englisce on ægðre healfe. and eac hi noldon ꝑ ut lendiscū mannū wære þes eard þurh ꝑ ðe swiðor gerymed þe hi him sylfe ælc oþerne forfore. Geræddan þa ꝑ man sende wyse men be tweonan and setton grið on ægðre halfe. and Godwine for upp and Harold and heora lið swa micel swa heom þa geþuhte. and wæs þa witene gemot and man sealde Godwine clæne his eorldom swa full and swa forð swa he fyrmest ahte. and his sunū eallū eall ꝑ hy ær ahton. and his wife and his dohtor swa full and swa forð swa hi ahton and hi fæstnedon þa fulne freondscipe heom betweonan. and allū folce fulle lagu be heton. and ge utlagedon ealle þa Frenciscean þe ær

## 1053. Her Goduuine eorl forðferde. 1066 next

(C) unlage rærdon· and undom demdon· and únræd ræddon· into ðissum earde. buton swa feala swa hig gerædden þ þam cynge gelicode mid him to hæbbenne. þe him getreowe wæron and eallum his folce. And Rodbeard bisceop. and Willelm b'. and Ulf b'. uneaðe æt burstan. mid þā Frenciscum mannum þe heom mid wæron. and swa ofer sæ becomon. And Godwine eorl. and Harold. and seo cwen sæton on heora áre. Swegen for æror to Hierusalē of Bricge. and wearð hamweard dead æt Constantinopolim to Michaheles mæsse. Dæt wæs on þone Monandæg æft' sča Marian mæsse þ Godwine mid his scipum to Suð geweorce becom. and þæs on merigen. on þone Tiwesdæg. hī gewurdon sehte. swa hit her beforan stent. Godwine þa gesiclode hraðe þæs þe he up com. and eft gewyrpte. ac he dyde ealles to lytle dædbote of þære Godes are þe he hæfde of manegum halgum stowum. On þam ylcan geare com se stranga wind on Thomes mæsse niht. and gehwær mycelne hearm dyde. Eac man sloh Hris þæs Welscan cynges broþer.

1053. On þysum geare wæs se cyning on Winceastre on Eastran. and Godwine eorl mid him. and Harold eorl his sunu. and Tostig. Ða on oðran Easter dæge sæt he mid ðam cyningce æt gereorde. þa færinga sah he niðer wið þæs fotsetles. spræce benumen. and ealre his mihte. and hine man ða bræd into ðæs kinges bure. and ðohtan þ hit ofergán sceolde. ac hit næs na swa. ac þurh wunode swa unspecende and mihteleas forð oð þone Ðunresdæg. and ða his lif alēt. and he lið þær binnan Ealdan mynstre. And his sunu Harald feng to his eorldome. and let of ðan þe he ær hæfde. and Ælfgar fengc ðærto.

Ðæs ylcan geares gefor Wulfsie b' on Licedfelda. and Leofwine

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(D) unlagon rærdon· and undom demdon· and unræd ræddan· into ðissū eardū. buton swa fela swa hi gerædden þ þam cynge gelicode mid hī to habbenne þe him getreowe wæron and eallū his folce. And Rodbeard arceb'. and Willelm b'. and Ulf b'. uneaðe æt burstan mid þā Frenciscean mannū þe hī mid wæron. and swa ofer sæ comon.

1053. Her wæs se micla wind on Ðomes mæsse niht. and eac eall þa mide winter wæs mycel wind. And man rædde þ man sloh Hris. þæs Wyliscean cynges broþer. forðy he hearmas dyde. and man brohte his heafod to Gleacestre on twelftan æfen. And þæs ylcan geres. foran to alra halgena mæssan. forðferde Wulfsyg b' æt Licetfelda. and Godwine abb' on Wincelcumbe. and Ægelward abb' on

Đa wiđ læg se cyng sume hwile þeah. swa lange oð þet folc þe mid þā eorle wes. wearð swiðe astyred ongean þone cyng. and ongean his folc. swa þ se eorl sylf earfoðlice gestylde þ folc. þa ferde Stigand biscop to mid Godes fultume. and þa wise menn. ægðær ge binnan burh ge buton. and gerædden þ man tremede gislas on ægðer healfe. and man swa dyde. Đa geaxode Rotberd arc̄b' and þa Francisce menn þ. genamon heora hors. and gewendon sume west to Pentecostes castele. sume norð to Rodb'tes castele. And Rodberd arc̄b' and Ulf b' gewendon út æt Æst geate. and heora geferan. and ofslogon and elles amyrdon manige iunge men. and gewendon heom on án to Ealdulfesnæse. and wearð him þær on anon unwræste scipe. and ferde him ón án ofer sæ. and forlet his pallium and Xp̄endom ealne her on lande. swa swa hit God wolde. þa he ær begeat þone wurðscipe swa swa hit God nolde. Đa cwæð mann mycel gemot wiðutan Lundene. and ealle þa eorlas and þa betstan menn þe wæron on þison lande wæron on þā gemote. þær bær Godwine eorl úp his mal. and betealde hine þær wið Eadward cyng his hlaford and wið ealle landleodan. þet he wæs unscyldig þæs þe him geled wæs. and on Harold his sunu. and ealle his bearn. And se cyng forgeaf þā eorle and his bearnum his fulne freondscype and fulne eorldom and eall þet he ær ahte. and eallon þam mannon þe him mide wæron. and se cyng geaf þære hlæfdian eall þ heo ær ahte. And cweð man útlaga Rotberd arc̄b' fullice. and ealle þa Francisce menn. forðan þe hi macodon mæst þet unseht betweonan Godwine eorle and þā cynge. And Stigand b' feng to þā arc̄b'rice on Cantwarabyrig. And on þis ilcan tyme forlet Arnwi abb' of Burh abbotrice. be his halre life. and geaf hit Leofric munec be þes cynges leafe and be þære munece. and se abbot Arnwi lifode syððon viii wintre. And se abbot Leofri[c go]dede þa þ mynstre swa þ man hit cleopede þa Gildene búrh. þa wæx hit swiðe on land and on gold and on seolfer. De Burgo Gylden|

1053. Her on þisum geare forðferde Godwine eorl[6] on xvii k' Mai. and he is bebyrged on Winceastre. on Ealdamynstre. and feng Harold eorl his sunu to ðam eorldome.

[6] Her was Godwine eorl dead. F.

and to eallum þam þe his fæder ahte. and feng Ælfgar eorl to ðam eorldoñ þe Harold ær ahte.

1054. Bellum apud mare mortuum. Her on þisum geare forðferde Leo se halga papa on Rome. And on þisum geare wæs swa mycel orfcwealm. swa man ne gemunde fela wintrum ær. And Uictor wæs gecoren tó papan.

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(C) abb' on Cofantreo feng to ðā bisceoprice. and Ægelward abbud on Glæstingabyrig gefór. and Godwine abb' on Wincelcumbe.

Eac Wylsce menn geslogan mycelne dæl Englisces folces ðæra weardmanna. wið Wæstbyrig.

On ðisson geare næs nán arcebisceop on ðissan lande. butan Stigand b' heold ꝑ bisceoprice on Cantwarabyrig on Cristescyrcean. and Kynsige on Eoforwīc. and Leofwine and Wulfwi foran ofer sæ. and leton hig hadian þær to bisceopum. se Wulfwi feng to ðam biscoprice þe Ulf hæfde. be him libbendum. and ofadræfdum.

1054. Her for Siward eorl mid mycclum here into Scotlande. and mycel wæl of Scottum gesloh. and hig aflymde. and se cing æt bærst. Eac feoll mycel on his healfe. ægðer ge Densce ge Englisce. and eac his agen sunu. Ðæs ylcan geares man halgode ꝑ mynster on Eofeshāme. on vi id' Octobris. On ðā ylcan geare ferde Ealdred biscp suð. ofer sæ. into Sexlande. and wearð þær mid mycelre arwurðnesse underfangen. Ðy ylcan geare swealt Osgod Clapa. færinga swa swa he on his reste læg.

1055. On þysum geare forðferde Siward eorl. on Eoforwic. and his lic lið binnan þā mynstre æt Galmanhó. þe he sylf ær getimbrade. Gode to lofe. and eallum his halgum. Ða ðær æft' binnan lyttlan fyrste. wæs witenagemót on Lundene. and man geutlagode þa Ælfgar eorl. Leofrices sunu eorles. butan ælcan gylte. and he gewende ða to Yrlande. and begeat him ðær lið. ꝑ wæs xviii scipa. butan his ægenan. and wendan ða to Brytlande. to Griffine cinge. mid þam werede. and he hine underfeng on his griðe. And hig gegaderadan ða mycle fyrde mid ðā Yriscan mannan and mid Walkynne. and Rawulf eorl gaderade mycele fyrde agean to Hereford port. And hi sohtan hi ðær. ac ær þær wære ænig spere gescoten. ær fleah ðæt Englisce folc. forðan þe hig wæran on horsan. and man sloh ðær mycel wæl. abutan feower hund manna. oððe fife. and hig nænne agean. And hig gewendan ða to ðā porte. and ðæt forbærndan. and ꝑ mære mynster ðe Æþelstan. se arwurða biscop. ær let getimbrian. ꝑ hig beryptan and bercafodan. æt haligdome. and æt hreaue. and æt eallon ðingan. and ꝑ folc

1055. Her on þisum geare forðferde Siward eorl. and þa bead man ealre witena gémót vii nihton ær mid lenctene. and útlagode mann Ælfgar eorl. forðon him man wearp ón. þ he wæs þes cynges swica. and ealra landleoda. and he þæs [7]geanwyrde wes. ætforan eallum þā mannum þe þær gegaderode wæron. þeah him þ word ofscute his unnþances.

(D) Glestingabyrig. ealle binnan anum monþe. and Leofwine feng to þam b'rice æt Licetfelde. and Aldret b' feng to þam abb'rice on Wincelcūbe. and Ægelnað feng to þā abb'rice on Glestincgabyrig. And þæs ylcan geres forðferde Ælfric. Oddan broðer. on Deorhyrste. and his lichama resteð on Perscóre. And þæs ylcan geres forðferde Godwine eorl. and him geyfelode þær he mid þā cynge sæt on Wincestre. And Harold his sunu feng to þā eorldome þe his fæder ær hæfde. and Ælfgar eorl feng to þam eorldome þe Harold ær hæfde.

1054. Her ferde Siward eorl mid miclum here on Scotlande. ægðer ge mid scyp here and mid landfyrde. and feaht wiþ Scottas. and aflymde þone kyng Macbeoðen. and ofsloh eall þ þær betst wæs on þā lande. and lædde þonan micele herehuþe. swilce nan man ær ne begeat. Ac his sunu Osbarn. and his sweostor sunu Sihward. and of his huscarl'. and eac þæs cynges. wurdon þær ofslægene. on þone dæg Septem Dormientiū. Ðæs ilcan geres for Aldred b' to Colne. ofer sæ. þæs kynges ærende. and wearð þær underfangen mid mycclan weorðscipe frā þam casere. and þær he wunode wel neh an gér. and him geaf ægðer þeneste ge se b' on Colone. and se casere. And he lofode Leofwine b'e. to halgianne þ mynst' æt Eofeshamme. on vi id' Octb'. And on þisan geare swalt Osgod. færinga on his bedde. And her forðferde sćs Leo papa. and Uictor wæs to papa gecoren on his stede.

1055. On þisan gere forðferde Syhward eorl. on Eoferwic. and he ligeð æt Galmahó. on þā mynstre þe he sylf let timbrian. and halgian on Godes and Olafes naman. And Tosti feng to þan eorldome þe he hæfde. And Kynsie arceb' fette his pallium æt Uictore papan. And þær æft' sona man utlagode Ælfgar eorl. Leofrices sunu eorl'. forneh butan gylte. Ac he gewende to Hirlande. and Brytlande. and begeat him þær micel genge. and ferde swa to Hereforda. ac him com þær togenes Raulf eorl mid mycclan here. and mid lytlan gewinne hi on fleam gebrohte. and micel folc on þan fleame

7 and he was þas gewyrde F. Et Algarus comes exul factus est propterea quod debuit esse delator patriæ, quod ipse ante cognovit ita esse, licet verbum illud improviso exprimerit. F. *Lat.*

And se cyng geaf þone eorldom Tostige Godwines sunu eorles. ðe Siward eorl ær ahte.

And Ælfgar eorl gesohte Griffines g'heald on NorðWealan. And on þisum geare Griffin and Ælfgar forbærndon sče Æðelbryhtes mynster. and ealle þa burh Hereford.

1056. Hic Henricus Romanorum imperator obiit; cui successit filius ejus Henricus.

1057. Her on þisum geare com Ædward æðeling Eadmundes sunu cynges hider to lande. and sona þæs gefor. and

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(C) slogan. and sume onweg læddan. Ða gaderade man fyrde geond eall Engla land swyðe neah. and hig coman to Gleaweceastre. and wendan swa únfeorr út on Wealas. and þær lagon sume hwile. and Harald eorl let dician ða dîc abutan þ port þa hwile. Ða on ðä. þa spæc man to friðe. and Harald eorl and ða ðe mid him wæron coman to Bylgeslege. and ðær frið and freondscipe heom betweonan gefæstnodan. And man geinlagode þa Ælfgar eorl. and man ageaf him eall þ him wæs ær ofgenumen. and þ sciplið gewende to Legeceastre. and ðær abiden heora males þe Ælfgar heom behêt. Se mannslyht wæs on ix kl' Noub'. On ðam ylcan geare forðferde Tremerig se Wylsca biscop sona æfter ðære hergunge. se wæs Æþelstanes biscopes gespelia syððan he unfere wæs.

1056. Her gefor Æþelstan se arwurða b'. on iiii id' Fébrii. and his lic lið on Hereford port. and man sette Leofgar to biscupe. se wæs Haroldes eorles mæsse preost. Se werede his kenepas on his preosthade oððæt he wæs biscop. Se forlet his crisman. and his hrode. his gastlican wæpna. and feng to his spere and to his sweorde. æft' his biscuphade. and swa for to fyrde ongean Griffin þone Wyliscan cing. and hine man ðar ofsloh and his preostas mid him. and Ælfnoð scir gerefa. and manega gode menn mid heom. and ða oðre ætflugon. Ðis wæs viii nihton ær middan sumera. Earfoðlic is to atellanne seo gedrecednes. and seo fare eall. and seo fyrdung. and þ geswinc and manna fyll. and eac horsa. þe eall Engla here dreah. oððæt Leofric eorl cóm wiþ. and Harald eorl. and Ealdred b'. and macedan seht þær betweonan. swa þ Griffin swor aðas þ he wolde beon Eadwarde kinge hold under kingc. and unswicigende. And Ealdred b' feng to ðam biscuprice þe Leofgar hæfde ær xi wucan and iiii dagas. On ðam ylcan geare gefór Cóna se casere. Ðæs geres gefór Odda eorl. and his lic lið on Perscoran. and he wæs to munece gehadod ær is ende. he gefor on ii kl' Septb'. 1065 *next*

his lic is bebyrged innon sċs Paulus mynstre on Lundene. (A.D. 1057)
And Uictor papa forðferde. and wæs Stephan' gecoren to
papan. se wæs abbot on Monte Cassino. And Leofric eorl

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(D) ofsloh. and gewendon þa into Hereford porte. and forhergode þ. and forbærnde þ mære mynst' þe Æþelstan b' getimbrode. and ofsloh þa preostas innan þan mynstre. and manege þær to eacan. and namon þærinne ealle þa maðmas. and mid heom aweg læddon. And þa þa hi hæfdon mæst to yfele gedon. man gerædde þone ræd þ man Ælfgar eorl geinnlagode. and ageaf him his eorldom. and eall þ him ofgenumen wæs. Ðeos hergung wæs geworden on non' kl' Nouemb'. On þam ilcan geare forðferde Tremerin se Wylisca b'. sona æfter þære hergunge. and he wæs Æþelstanes b' gespelia siððan he unfere wæs.

1056. Her forlet Ægelric bisceop his bisceoprice æt Dunholm. and ferde to Burh to sċe Petres mynstre. and his broðor Ægelwine feng ðærto.

And eac her forðferde Æðelstan biscop. on iiii id' Féb. and his lic lið on Hereforda. and man sette Lefegar to b'. se wæs Haroldes eorles mæsse p'. and on his preosthade he hæfde his kenepas oð þ he b' wæs. Se forlet his crisman and his rode and his gastlican wæpnu. and feng to his spere and to his swurde. and swa for to ferde ongean Griffin þone Wyliscan cining. and he wearð þær ofslagen and his preostes mid him. and Ælfnoð scir gerefa. and manega oðre gode men. Ðis wæs ehtan nihte ær middan sumere. And Ealdred bisceop feng to ðā b' rice þe Leofegar hæfde xi wucan and iiii dagas. Ðæs geares forðferde Odda eorl. and he lið on Perscora. se wæs to muneca gehadod ær his ende. god man and clæne and swiðe æðele. And he gewat on ii kl' Sept'. And Cona se casere forðferde.

1057. Her com Eadward æþeling
to Engla lande·
se wæs Eadwerdes
broðor sunu kynges
Eadmund cing·
Iren sid wæs geclypod
for his snell scipe.
Ðisne æþeling Cnút cyng
hæfde forsend
on Ungerland
to beswicane.

forðferde. and feng Ælfgar his sunu to þā eorldome þe se fæder ær hæfde.

1058. Her on þisum geare forðferde Stephanus papa. and wæs Benedict' gehalgod to papan. se ylca sænde Stigande

(D) Ac he þær geþeh
to godan men·
swa him God uðe
and him wel gebyrede·
swa þ he begeat
þæs caseres mâga to wife·
and bi þære fægerne
bearn team gestrynde·
seo wæs Agathes gehaten.
Ne wiston we
for hwylcan intingan
þ gedôn wearð·
þ he ne moste
his mæges Eadwardes
cynges geséon.
Wâla þ wæs hreowlic sið
and hearmlic
eallre þissere þeode·
þ he swa raðe
his lif geendade·
þæs þe he to Englalande cóm·
for ungesælhðe
þissere earman þeode.

On þan ilcan gere forðferde Leofric eorl. on ii kl' Otb'. se wæs swiðe wis for Gode and eac for worulde. þ fremode eallre þisre ðeode. he lĭð æt Cofentreo. and his sunu Ælfgar feng to his rice. And on þam geare forðferde Raulf eorl. on xii kl' Ian'. and lĭð on Burh. Eac gefor Héca b' on Suð Sexum. and Ægelric wæs on his setl ahafen. And her Uictor papa forðferde. and Stephan' wæs to papa gecoren.

1058. Her man ytte ut Ælfgar eorl. ac he cóm sona inn ongean mid strece. þurh Gryffines fultum. And her com scyphere of Nor-

F M ... Her forðferde Stephan' p'pa. and Benedict' was gebletsed þarto. se ylca sende Stigande ar'b'..... to lande. and Heca b' forðferde and Stigand ar'b' hadode Agelric on Xpēs cirican to b' to Suð Sexū. and Siward abb' to b' to Rof. §

§ Here ends MS. F; much worn and effaced.

arcb' pallium hider to lande. And on þisum geare forðferde Heaca b' on Suð Seaxan. and Stigand arcebiscop hadode Ægelric m̃ æt Xp̃escyrcean to b' to Suð Seaxum. and Siward abbot to biscop to Hrofeceastre.

1059. Her on þisum geare wæs Nicolaus to papan gecoren. se wæs biscop æt Florentie þære burh. and wæs Benedict' utadrifen se wæs ær papa.

1060. Hic Henricus rex Francorum obiit; cui successit Phylippus filius ejus. On þissum geare forðferde Kynsige arcb' on Eoforwic on xi kl' Ianr. and feng Ealdred b' þær to. and Walter feng to þam b'rice on Hereforda.

1061. Her on þisum geare forðferde Duduc b' on Sumer sæton. and feng Gisa to. And on þam ilcan geare forðferde Godwine b' æt sc̃e Martine on vii Id' Mr'. And on þam sylfan geare forðferde Wulfric abb' æt sc̃e Augustine innon þære Easter wucan on xiiii k' Mai. Ða com þam cynge

(D) wegan. hit is langsum to atellanne eall hu hit gefaren wæs. On þā ilcan gere Ealdred b' halgode þ mynst' on Gleawcestre þe he sylf geforðode. Gode to lofe and sc̃e Petre. and swa ferde to Hierusalē. mid swilcan weorðscipe swa nan oðer ne dyde ætforan him. and hine sylfne þær Gode betæhte. and wurðlic lac eac geoffrode to ures Drihtenes byrgene. þ wæs an gylden calic on fif marcon. swiðe wundorlices geworces. On þam ilcan gere forðferde Stefan' papa. and Benedict' wæs to papan geset. se sende pallium Stigande b'e. and Ægelric wæs to b'e gehadod to Suð Sexum. and Sihward abb' to bp̃e to Hrofecestre.

1059. Her on þisan gere wæs Nicolaus gecoren to papan. se wæs b' ær æt Florentia þære burh. and Benedict' wæs utadryfen þe þær wæs ær papa. And on þisan gere wæs se stypel gehalgad æt Burh on xvi kl' Noub'.

1060. On þisan gere wæs micel eorðdyne. on translatione sc̃i Martini. and Heinric se cyng forðferde on Francrice. And Kynsic arceb' on Eoferwic gewat on xi kl' Ianr. and he ligeð on Burh. and Ealdred b' feng to þam rice. And Waltere feng to þam b'rice on Herefordscire. and Duduc b' eac forðferde. se wæs b' on Sumersætan. and man sette Gisa preost on his stede.

1061. Her for Ealdred b' to Rome æft' his pallium. and he hine underfeng æt þam papan Nicolæ. And se eorl Tostig. and his wif eac foron to Rome. and se bisceop and se eorl gebidan mycele carfoðnysse þa hi hamward foran. And her forðferde Godwine b' æt sc̃e Martine. and Wulfric abb' æt sc̃e Agustine. on iiiix kl' April.

word þ se abb' Wulfric forð gefaren wæs. þa geceas he Æðelsige munuc þær to of Ealdon mynstre. folgode þa Stigande arcb'. and wearð gehalgod to abb' æt Windles oran. on scs Augustin' mæssedæg.

1062. Hoc anno subjugata est Cynomannia comiti Normannie Will'mo.

1063. Her for Harold eorl and his broðor Tostig eorl. ægðer ge mid landfyrde ge mid sciphere into Brytlande. and þet land geeodon. and þ folc heom gislodon and to bugon. and foron syððan to and ofslogon heora cyng Griffin. and brohton Harolde his heafod. and he sette oþerne cyng þær to.

1064. Her on þisum geare foron Norð hymbra togædere. and utlagodon heora eorl Tostig. and ofslogon his hired menn ealle þa hi mihton to cuman ægðer ge Englisce ge Dænisce and namon ealle his wepna on Eoferwíc. and gol and seolfor. and ealle his sceattas þe hi mihton ahwar þær geaxian. and senden æfter Morkere Ælfgares sune eorles. and gecuron hine heom to eorle. and he for suð mid eallre þære scire. and mid Snotinghamscire. and Deorbiscire. and Lincolnascire. oð he com to Hamtune. and his broðor Eadwine him com togeanes mid þam mannum þe on his eorldome wæron. and eac fela Bryttas comon mid him. Đær com Harold eorl heom togeanes. and hig lægdon ærende on hine to þam cynge Eadwarde. and eac ærendracan mid him sendon. and bædon þ hi moston habban Morkere heom [to] eorle. And se cyng þæs geuðe and sende eft Harolde heom

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(C) 1065. Her on þissū geare foran to hlafmæssan het Harold eorl bytlian on Brytlande æt Portascihð þa þa he hyt gegan hæfde. and þar mycel god gegaderode and þohte þone kingc Eadward þar to habbenne fo huntnoþes þingon. and þa hyt eall mæst gegaderod wæs. þa for Cradoc. Griffines sunu to mid eallū þā þe he begytan mihte. and þ folc mæst eall ofsloh þe þar tinbrode. and þ god genā þe þar gegaderod wæs. And se mannsliht wæs on scē Barþolomeus mæsse dæig. And þa æft' Michaheles mæssan. fóran þa þegnas ealle on Eoferwicscire to Eoferwic. and Tostiges eorles hus karlas þar ofslogon ealle þa þe hig geaxian mihton. and hys gærsuman namon. And Tostig wæs þa æt Brytfordan mid þam kingc. And þa wel raðe þar æft' wæs mycel gemot æt Norðhamtune. and swa on Oxenaforda. on þon dæig Simonis and Iudc. And wæs Harold

to to Hamtune. on sce Simones and Iudan mæsse æfen. and (A.D. 1064)

(D) And Nicolaus papa forðferde. and Alexander wæs to papan gecoron. se wæs b' æt Lucan.

1063. On þissum geare for Harold eorl. æft' middan wintre. of Gleaweceastre to Rudelan. þe Griffines wæs. and þone ham forbærnde. and his scipa and alle þa gewæda þe þærto gebyrede. and hine on fleame gebrohte. And þa. to þam gongdagan. for Harold mid scipum of Brycgstowe abutan Brytland. and þ folc griþede and gisledon. and Tostig fôr mid landferde ongean. and þ land geeodon. Ac her. on ðissan ilcan geare. on herfeste. wearþ Griffin kync ofslangen. on nonas Agũsti. fram his agenum mannum. þurh þ gẽwin þe he won wiþ Harold eorl. Se wæs kyning ofer eall Wealcyn. and man brohte his eafod to Harolde eorle. and Harold hit þam kynge brohte. and his scipes heafod. and þa bone þer mid. And se kyng Eadward betæhte þ land his twam gebroþran. Bleþgente and Rigwatlan. and hig aþas sworon and gislas saldan þæm cynge and þæm eorle. þ heo him on allum þingum unswicende beon woldon. and eighwar him gearwe. on wætere and on lande. and swylc of þam lande gelæstan swylc man dyde to foran ær oþrum kynge.

1065. Her on þissum geare. foran to hlafmæssan. hêt Harold eorl bytlian on Brytlande æt Portascihð. þa þa he hit gegân hæfde. and þær mycel gôd to gegaderode. and þohte þonne cyng Eadward þær to habbane for huntoðes þingon. Ac þa hit eall wæs gearo. þa for Cradoc to. Gryffines sunu. mid eallon þam genge þe he begotan mihte. and þ folc eall mæst ofsloh þe þær timbrode. and þ gôd þe þær gegearcod wæs nâmon. Ne wisten we hwa þone unræd ærest gerædde. Ðis wæs gedon on sce Bartholomeus mæsse dæg. And sona æft' þisan gegaderedon þa þegenas hi ealle on Eoforwic scire and on Norð hymbra lande togædere. and geutlagedan heora eorl Tosti. and ofslogon his hired menn ealle þe hig mihten to cumen ægþer ge Englisce ge Denisce. and naman ealle his wæpna on Eaforwic. and gold and seolfer. and ealle his sceattas þe hig mihton ahwær þær geacsian. and sendon æfter Morkere Ælfgares sunu eorles. and gecuron hine heom to eorle. and he for suð mid ealre þære scire. and mid Snotinghamscire. and Deorbyscire. and Lincolnascire. oð he com to Hamtune. and his broþor Eadwine him com togeanes mid þam mannum þe on his eorldome weron. and eac fela Brettas comon mid him. Ðer com Harold eorl heom togeanes. and hig lægdon ærende on hine to þam cyninge Eadwarde. and eac ærendracan mid him sendon. and bædon þ hi moston habban Morkere heom to eorle. And se cyning þæs geuðæ and sende æfter Harald heom. to Hamtune. on sce Symones and Iuda mæsse

(A.D. 1064) kydde heom þ ilce. and heom þet on hand sealdon. and he niwade þær Cnutes lage. And þa norðerne men dydan mycelne hearme abutan Hamtune. þa hwile þe he for on heora ærende. ægðer þ hi ofslogon men. and bærndon hús and cornn. and namon eall þet orf þe hi mihton tocuman. þ wæs fela þusend. and fela hund manna hi namon. and læddon norð mid heom. swa þet seo scyre and þa oðra scyre

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(C 1065) eorl þar. and wolde heora seht wyrcan gif he mihte. ac he na mihte. ac eall hys eorldom hyne anrædlice forsóc. and geutlagode and ealle þa mid hym þe unlage rærdon. forþam þe rypte God ærost. and ealle þa bestrypte þe he ofer mihte æt life and æt lande. And hig namon heom þa Morkere to eorle. and Tostig for þa ofer sæ. and hys wif mid him. to Baldwines lande. and wint'setl namon æt sce Audomare. And Eadward kingc com to West mynstre to þam middan wintre. and þ mynster þar lêt halgian þe he sylf getimbrode. Gode to lofe and sce Petre. and eallum Godes halgum. and seo circ halgung wæs on Cilda mæsse dæig. And he forðferde on twelftan æfen. and hyne man bebyrigde on twelftan dæig on þam ylcan mynstre. swa hyt heræfter seigð.

Her Eadward kingc· Engla hlaford·
sende soþfæste· sawle to Criste·
on Godes wæra· gast haligne.
He on worulda her· wunode þrage·
on kyneþrymme· cræftig ræda.
xxiiii· freolic wealdend·
wintra gerimes· weolm brytnodon.
And healfe tíd· hæleða wealdend·
weold wel geþungen· Walum and Scottum·
and Bryttum eac· byre Æðelredes·
Englum and Sexum· oret mægcum·
Swa ymbclyppað· ceald brymmas·
þ eall Eadwarde· æðelum kinge·
hyrdon holdlice· hagestealde menn.
Wæs á bliðe mod· bealuleas kyng·
þeah he lang ær· lande bereafod·
wunode wræclastum· wide geond eorðan·
syððan Cnut ofercóm· kynn Æðelredes·
and Dena weoldon· deore rice·
Engla landes· xxviii·
wintra gerimes· welan brynodan.

þe þær neh sindon. wurdon fela wintra þe wyrsan. And (A.D. 1065)
Tostig eorl. and his wif and ealle þa þe woldon þ he wolde. foron suð ofer sæ mid him to Baldwine eorle. and he hig ealle underfeng. and hi wæron ealne þone winter þær.

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æfen. and kyðde heom þ ilce. and heom þ ahand sealde. and he (D 1065)
nywade þær Cnutes lage. And þa Ryðrenan dydan mycelne hearm abutan Hamtune. þa hwile þe he fór heora ærende. ægþær þ hi ofslogon menn. and bærndon hús and corn. and namon eall þæt orf þe hig mihton tocuman. þæt wæs feola þusend. and fela hund manna hi naman. and læddan norð mid heom. swa þ seo scir. and þa oðra scira þæ ðær neah sindon. wurdan fela wintra ðe wyrsan. And Tostig eorl. and his wif and ealle þa ðe woldon þæt he wolde. faran súð ofer sæ. mid him. to Baldwine eorle. and he hi ealle underfenge. and hig wæron ealne þone winter þær. And Eadward cyng com to West mynstre to þam middan wintre. and þet mynster þær lét halgian þe he silf getimbrode. Gode to lofe and sce Petre. and eallum Godes halgum. and seo cyric halgung wæs on Cilda mæssæ deig. And he forðferde on twelftan æfen. and hine man bebyrigde on twelftan dæg on þam illcan minstre. swa hit her æfter sægð.

Her Eadward cing· Englene hlaford·
sende soðfeste· saule to Kriste·
on Godes wera· gast haligne.
He on weorolda her· wunodæ þragæ·
on kine þrymme· creftig ræda.
xxiiii· freolic wealdand·
wintra rimes· weolan britnode.
And he hælo tíd· hæleða wealdend·
weold wel geðungæn· Walum and Scottum·
and Bryttum eac· byre Æðelredes·
Englum and Sæxum· oret mægcum.
Swa ymb clyppaþ· cealda brymmas·
ðæt eall Eadwardæ· æþelum kinge·
hyrdan holdelice· hagestalde menn.
Wæs á bliðe mod· bealeleas king·
ðáh he langa ær· landes bereafod·
wunodæ wreclastum· wide geond eorðan·
seoðþan Knut ofercóm· cynn Æðelredes·
and deona weoldon· deore rice·
Engla landes· xxviii·
wintra gerimes· weolan brytnodon.

1066. Her forðferde Eaduuard king. and Harold eorl feng to ðam rice. and heold hit xl wucena and

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(C) Syððan forð becóm freolice in geatwum·
kyningc kystum gód· clæne and milde·
Eadward se æðela· eðel bewerode·
land and leode. oð þ lunger bêcom·
deað se bitera· and swa deore genam.
Æþelne of eorðan· englas feredon·
soþfæste sawle· innan swegles leoht.
And se froda swa þeah· befæste þ rice·
heahðungenū menn· Harolde sylfum·
æþelum eorle· se in ealle tíd·
hyrde holdlice· hærran sinum·
wordum and dædum· wihte ne agælde·
þæs þe þearf wæs· þæs þeodkyninges.

And her wearð Harold eac to kynge gehalgod. and he lytle stillnesse þar on gebâd. þa hwile þe he rices weold.

1066. On þisū geare cō Harold kyng of Eoforwic to Westmynstre. to þā Eastran þe wæron æft' þā middan wintran þe se kyng forðferde. and þa Eastran on þone dæig xvi kl' Mai. Ða wearð geond eall Englaland swylc tacen on heofenū gesewen swylce nan mann ær ne geseh. Sume menn cwædon þ hyt cométa se steorra wære. þone sume menn hatað þone fexedon steorran. and he æteowde ærest on þone æfen Letania Maior. þ ys viii kl' Mai. and Swa scean ealle þa vii niht. And Sona þar æft' cō Tostig eorl frā begeondan sæ into Wiht. mid swa miclū liðe swa he begytan mihte. and hī man geald þar æigðer ge feoh ge metsunge. And fór þa þano. and hearmas dyde ægwar be þā sæ riman þar he tó mihte. oð þ he becō to Sandwic. Ða cydde man Harolde kynge þe on Lundene wæs. þ Tostig his broðor wæs cumen to Sandwic. þa gegadorade he swa mycele scip fyrde and eac land fyrde swa nan cingc ær her on lande ne gegaderade. for ðā þe hī wæs to soðan gesæd þ Willelm eorll frā Normandige. Eadwardes cingces mæg. wolde hider cuman and þis land gegan. eall swa hit syððan á eode. Ða Tostig þ geaxode þ Harold cing wæs toward Sandwic. þa for he of Sandwic. and nā of þā butse karlon sume mid hī. sume þances sume unþances. and gewende þa norð into [*Humbran*]. and þær hergode on Lindesege. and þær manega gode men ofsloh. Ða Eadwine eorl and Morkere eorl þ undergeaton. þa coman hi þyder. and hine of þæ lande adrifon. and he for ða to Scotlande. and Scotta cynning

1066. On þissum geare man halgode þet mynster æt West mynstre on Cilda mæsse dæg. And se cyng Eadward forðferde on twelfta mæsse æfen. and hine mann bebyrgede on twelftan mæsse dæg. innan þære niwa halgodre circean on

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(D) Siððan forð becóm freolic in geatwum·
kinigc cystum gód· clæne and milde·
Eadward se æðele· eðel bewarede·
land and leodan. oððæt lunger bécom·
deað se bytera· and swa deore genam.
Æðelne of eorðan· englas feredon·
soðfeste sawle· inne swegles leoht.
And se froda swa ðeah· befæste þæt rice·
heahðungena menn· Harolde sylfum·
æðelum eorle· se in ealne tíd·
herdæ holdelice· herran synum·
wordum and dædum· wihte ne agælde·
þæs þe ðearfe wæs· ðæs þeodkyngces.

And her wearð Harold eorl eac to cynge gehalgod. and he lytle stilnesse þær on gebád. þa hwile þe he rices weold.

1066. On þissum geare com Harold cyng of Eoferwic to Westmynstre. to þam Eastran þe wæron æfter þam middan wintre þe se cyng forðferde. and wæron þa Eastran on þone dæg xvi kl' Mai. Ða wearð geond eall Engla land swylc tacen on heofenum gesewen swylce nan man ær ne geseah. Sume men cwedon þ hit cométa se steorra wære. þone sume men hatað þone fæxedon steorran. and he æteowde ærest on þone æfen Letania Maior. viii kl' Mai. and Swa scan ealle þa seofon niht. And Sona þer æfter com Tostig eorl in fram begeonde sæ into Wiht. mid swa miclum liðe swa he begitan mihte. and him man geald þær ægþær ge feoh ge metsunge. And Harold cyng. his broþor. gegædrade swa micelne scip here. and eac land here. swa nan cyng her on lande ær ne dyde. for þam þe him wæs gecyðd þæt Wyllelm bastard wolde hider and ðis land gewinnen. eall swa hit syððan aéode. And þa wile com Tostig eorl into Humbran mid sixtigum scipum. and Eadwine eorl com mid lan ferde and adraf hine út. And þa butsa carlas hine forsocan. and he for to Scotlande mid xii snaccum. And hine gemette þær Harold cyng of Norwegon mid þreō hund scypū. and Tostig him tobeah. and his man wearð. And hi foron þa begen into Humbran. oð þ hi comon to Eoforwic. and heō þær wiþ fuhton Eadwine eorl. and Morkere eorl. his broðor. ac þa Normen ahton sige. Man

(A.D. 1066) ænne dæg. and her com Willelm and gewann Ængla

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(C 1066) hine griðede. and hī to metsunge fylste. and þær ealne sumor wunode. Đa cō Harold ciningc to Sandwic. and þær his liðes abad. for þā þe hit wæs lang ær hit man gegaderian mihte. and þa his lið gegaderad wæs. þa for he into Wiht. and þær læg ealne þone sumor and þone hærfest. and man hæfde land fyrde æghwar be sæ. þeh hit æt þā ende naht ne forstode. Đa hit wæs to Natiuitas scæ Mariæ. þa wæs manna metsung agān. and hig nan man þar na leng gehealdan ne mihte. Đa lyfde man mannū ham. and se cyngc rad up. and man draf þa scypu to Lunde[ne]. and manega forwurdon ær hi þyder comon. Đa ða scypu hā coman. þa com Harold cyning of Norwegan norð into Tinan on unwaran. mid swyðe miclū scip here. and nā lytlan. þ mihte beon [*mid ðreō hund scypum*] oððe ma. And Tostig eorl hī cō to mid eallū þā þe he begiten hæfde. eall swa hy ær gesprecen hæfdon. and foran þa begen mid eallū ðā liðe. andlang Usan up to Eoferwic ward. Đa cydde man Harolde cynge be suðan þa he of scipe cumen wæs. þ Harold cyng on Norwegan and Tostig eorl wæron up cumene neh Eoferwic. Đa for he norðweard. dæges and nihtes. swa hraðe swa he his fyrde gegaderian mihte. Đa ær þā þe se cynning Harold þyder cuman mihte. þa gegaderode Eadwine eorl and Morkere eorll of heora eorldome swa mycel werod swa hi begitan mihton. and wið þone here gefuhton. and mycel wæl geslogon. and þær wæs þæs Engliscan folces mycel ofslagen. and adrenct. and on fleam bedrifen. and Normen ahton wælstowe gewald. And þis gefeoht wæs on VIGILIA MATHEI APLI'. and wæs Wodnesdæg. And þa æft' þā gefeohte for Harold cyningc of Norwegan and Tostig eorl into Eoferwic. mid swa miclū folce swa heō þa geþuhte. And hi mon gislade of þære burh. and eac to metsunge fylste. and swa þanon to scipe foran. and to fullan friðe gesprecon. þ hig ealle mid hī suð faran woldon. and þis land gegan. Đá ámang þissan cō Harald Engla cyningc. mid ealre his fyrde. on ðone Sunnan dæg. to Táda. and þær his lið fylcade. and for þa on Monandæg þurh ut Eoferwic. and Harold cyningc of Norwegan. and Tostig eorl. and heora gefylce wæron afaren of scipe begeondan Eoferwic to Stanford brycge. for þā þe hī wæron behaten to gewissan. þ hī man þær of ealre þære scire ongean hy gislas bringan wolde. Đa cō Harold Engla cyning heom ongean. on unwaran. begeondan þære brycge. and hi þær togædere fengon. and swyðe heardlice lange on dæg feohtende wæron. and þær wæs Harold cyning of Norwegan and Tostig eorl ofslagen.

Westmynstre. And Harold eorl feng to Engla landes cyne (A.D. 1066)
rice. swa swa se cyng hit him ge uðe. and eac men hine þær
tó gecuron. and wæs gebletsod to cynge on twelftan mæsse
dæg. And þy ilcan geare þe he cyng wæs. he for út mid
scip here to geanes Will'me. and þá hwile com Tostig eorl
into Humbran mid lx scipum. Eadwine eorl com land fyrde.
and draf hine út. and þa butse carlas hine for socan. And he
for to Scotlande mid xii snaccum. and hine gemette Harold
se Norrena cyng mid ccc scipum. and Tostig him to beah.
and hi bægen foran into Humbran. oð þet hi coman to
Eoferwíc. And heom wið feaht Morkere eorl. and Eadwine
eorl. and se Norrena cyng ahte siges geweald. And man
cydde Harolde cyng hu hit wæs þær gedón and geworden.
and he com mid mycclum here Engliscra manna. and ge-

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and ungerim folces mid heõ. ægðer ge Normana ge Englisca. and (C 1066)
þa Normen flugon þa Englisca.

*Ða wes þer an of Norwegan þe wiðstod þet Englisce folc. þet hi ne micte þa brigge oferstigan. ne sige gerechen. Ða seite an Englisce mid anre flar. ac hit nactes ne wiðstod. ænd þa cō an oþer under þere brigge. end hine þurustang en under þere brunie. þa com Harold Engla chinge ofer þere brigge and hys furde forð mid hine. and þere michel wel geslogon. ge Norweis ge Flæming. and þes cyninges sui Hetmundus let Harold faran ham to Norweie mid alle þá scípe.* §

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cyðde þa Harolde Engla cynge þ þis wæs þus gefaren. and þis (D 1066)
gefeoht wæs on uigilia sĉi Mathæi. Ða com Harold ure cyng on
unwær on þa Normenn. and hytte hi begeondan Eoforwic. æt
Stemford brygge. mid micclan here Englisces folces. and þær wearð
on dæg swiðe stranglic gefeoht on bá halfe. Ðar wearð ofslægen
Harold Harfagera and Tosti eorl. and þa Normen þe þær to lafe
wæron wurdon on fleame. and þa Engliscan hi hîndan hetelice
slógon. oð þ hig sume to scype coman. sume adruncen. and sume
eac forbærnde. and swa mislice forfarene. þ þær wæs lyt to lafe. and
Engle ahton wælstowe geweald. Se kyng þa geaf gryð Olafe. þæs
Norna cynges suna. and heora b'pe. and þan eorle of Orcanége. and
eallon þan þe on þā scypū to lafe wæron. and hi foron þa upp to uran
kyninge. and swôron áðas. þ hi æfre woldon fryð and freondscype in
to þisan lande haldan. and se cyng hi lét hám faran mid xxiiii scypū.
Ðas twa folcgefeoht wæron gefremmede binnan fif nihtan.

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§ End of MS. C. The last paragraph is in later English, and it is printed in Italics to shew distinct.

(A.D. 1066) land. and her on ðison geare barn Xp̃es cyrc. and her atiwede com̃eta xiiii kl' Mai. 1070 next

(D 1066) Ða com Wyllelm eorl of Normandîge into Pefneséa. on sc̃e Michaeles mæsse æfen. and sona þæs hi fêre wæron. worhton castel æt Hæstinga port. Ðis wearð þa Harolde cynge gecydd. and he gaderade þa mycelne here. and com him tôgenes æt þære háran apuldran. and Wyllelm hī com ongean on unwær ær his folc gefylced wære. Ac se kyng þeah him swiðe heardlice wið feaht mid þā mannū þe him gelæstan woldon. and þær wearð mīcel wæl geslægen on ægðre healfe. Ðær wearð ofslægen Harold kyng. and Leofwine eorl his broðor. and Gyrð eorl his broðor. and fela godra manna. and þa Frencyscan ahton wælstowe geweald. eall swa heom God uðe for folces synnon. Aldred arceb' and seo burhwaru on Lundene woldon habban þa Eadgar cild to kynge. eall swa him wel gecynde wæs. and Eadwine and Morkere hī beheton ꝑ hi mid him feohtan woldon. Ac swa hit æfre forðlicor beon sceolde. swa wearð hit frā dæge to dæge lætre and wyrre. eallswa hit æt þā ende eall geferde. Ðis gefeoht wæs gedon on þone dæg Calesti pape. And Wyllelm eorl for eft ongean to Hæstingan. and geanbidode þær hwæðer man him to bugan wolde. Ac þa he ongeat ꝑ man him to cuman nolde. he fôr upp mid eallon his here þe him to lafe wæs. and hī syððan frā ofer sæ̂ côm. and hergade ealne þone ende þe he oferferde. oð ꝑ he com to Beorhhamstede. And þær hī com ongean Ealdred arceb'. and Eadgar cild. and Eadwine eorl. and Morkere eorl. and ealle þa betstan men of Lundene. and bugon þa for neode. þa mæst wæs to hearme gedôn. and ꝑ wæs micel unræd ꝑ man æror swa ne dyde. þa hit God betan nolde for urum synnū. and gysledan. and sworon him aðas. and he heom behet ꝑ he wolde heom hold hlaford beon. and þeah onmang þisan hi hergedan eall ꝑ hi ofer foron. Ða on midwintres dæg hine halgode to kynge Ealdred arceb' on Westmynstre. and he sealde hī on hand mid Xp̃es bec. and eac swor. ær þan þe he wolde þa corona him on heafode settan. ꝑ he wolde þisne þeodscype swa wel haldan swa ænig kyngc ætforan hī betst dyde. gif hi him holde beon woldon. Swa þeah leide gyld on mannū swiðe stîð. and fôr þa on þam lengtene ofer sæ̂ to Normandîge. and nam mid hī Stigand arceb'. and Ægelnað abb' on Gl'br [*Glæstingabiri*]. and Eadgar cild. and Eadwine eorl. and Morkere eorl. and Wælþeof eorl. and manege oðre gode men of Englalande. And Óda b' and Wyllelm eorl belifen her æfter. and worhton castelas· wide geond þas þeode· and earm folc swencte· and á syððan· hit yflade swiðe. Wurðe gôd se ende· þonne God wylle.

mette hine æt Stængfordesbrycge. and hine ofsloh and þone (A.D. 1066)
eorl Tostig. and eallne þone here ahtlice ofercom.

And þa hwile com Will'm eorl úpp æt Hestingan on sce Michaeles mæsse dæg. and Harold com norðan and him wið feaht éar þan þe his here come eall. and þær he feoll. and his twægen gebroðra Gyrð and Leofwine. and Willelm þis land ge eode.

And com to Westmynstre. and Ealdred arceb' hine to cynge ge halgode. and menn guldon him gyld. and gislas sealdon. and syððan heora land bohtan.

And þa wæs Leofric abbot of Burh æt þ ilca feord. and *Leofric* Abbas
sæclode þær and com ham. and wæs dæd sone þær æfter on ælre halgan mæsseniht. God are his saule. On his dæg wæs ealle blisse and ealle gode on Burh. and he wæs leaf eall folc. swa þ se cyng geaf sce Peter and him þ abbotrice on Byrtune. and se of Couentre þ se eorl Leofric þe wæs his eam ær heafde macod. and se of Crulande. and se of Þorneie. And he dyde swa mycel to gode into þ mynstre of Burh on golde and on seolfre and on scrud and on lande. swa nefre ☜
nan oðre ne dyde toforen him ne nan æfter him. Þa wearð gildene burh to wrecce burh. Đa cusen þa munecas to abbot Brand þuost. forðan þ he wæs swiðe god man and swiðe wis. and senden him þa to Ædgar æðeling. forðan þet þe landfolc wendon þ he sceolde cyng wurðen. and se æðeling hit him geatte þa bliþolice. Þa þe cyng Willelm ge herde þ secgen. þa wearð he swiðe wrað. and sæde þ se abbot him heafde forsegon. Þa eodon gode men heom betwenen and saht-loden heom forðan þ se abbot wæs goddera manne. Geaf þa þone cyng xl marc goldes to sahtnysse. and þa lifede he litle hwile þær æfter buton þry gear. Syððon comen ealle dræuednysse and ealle ifele to þone mynstre. God hit gemyltse.

1067. Her for se cyng ofer sæ. and hæfde mid hī gislas and sceattas. and cō þæs oðres geares on sce Nicolaes mæsse dæg. and þæs dæges forbearn Xpes cyrce on Cantwara byrig. co'bustio
and he geaf ælces mannes land þa he ongean cō. And þæs ecc'le
Cantuar'

(D) 1067. Her com se kyng eft ongean to Englalande. on sce Nicolaes mæsse dæge. and þæs dæges forbarn Cristes cyrce on Cantware byri. and Wulfwi b' forðferde and is bebyrged æt his b'stole on Dorka cestre. And Eadric cild and þa Bryttas wurdon unsehte and

(A.D. 1067) sumeres for Eadgar cild út. and Mærleswegen. and fela manna mid heom. and foran to Scotlande. and se cyng Melcolm hi ealle underfeng. and genā þes cildes swuster to wife Margaretan.

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(D 1067) wunnon heō wiþ þa castelmenn on Hereforda. and fela hearmas heō dydon. And her se kyng sette micel gyld on earm folc. and þeah hwæðre let æfre hergian eall ꝥ hi ofer foron. And þa he ferde to Defena scire. and besæt þa burh Exancester xviii dagas. and þær wearð micel his heres forfaren. ac he heom wel behet. and yfele gelæste. and hig him þa burh ageafon for þan þa þegenas heom geswicon hæfdon.

And þæs sumeres Eadgar cild for út. mid his modor Agatha and his twam sweostran. Margareta and Xpīna. and Mærlaswegen. and fela godra manna mid heō. and comon to Scotlande on Malcholomes cyninges gryð. and he hi ealle underfeng. Ða begann se cyngc Ml' gyrnan his sweostor him to wife Margaretan. ac he and his menn ealle lange wiðcwædon. and eac heo sylf wiðsóc.

And cwæð ꝥ heo hine ne nanne habban wolde·
gyf hire seo uplice arfæstnys geunnan wolde·
ꝥ heo on mægðhade mihtigan drihtne·
liere
mid lichoman heortan· on þisan life sceortan·
on clænre forhæfednysse cwêman mihte.

Se kyng befealh georne hire breðer oð ꝥ he cwæð ja wiþ. and eac he elles ne dorste. forþan þe hi on his anwald becumene wæron. Hit wearð þa swa geworden swa God fore sceawode on ǽr. and elles hit beon ne mihte. eall swa He sylf on His godspelle sæið. ꝥ *furðon an spearwa on gryn ne mæg befeallan forutan his foresceawunge.* Se forewitola scyppend wiste on ǽr hwæt he of hyre gedón habban wolde. forþan þe heo sceolde on þan lande Godeslof geeacnian[1] and þone kyng gerihtan of þam dweliandan pæðe. and gebêgean hine to beteran wege and his leode samod. and alegcean þa unþeawas þe seo þeod ær beeode eallswa heo syððan dyde. Se kyng hi þa under feng þeah hit hire unþances wære. and hī gelicade hire þeawas and þancode God þe hī swylce gemæccean mihtiglice forgeaf. and wislice hine beþohte swa he fullwitter wæs. and awende hine sylfne to Gode. and ælce unsiuernysse oferhogode. Be þam þe apostol Paulus ealra þeoda lareow cwæð. *Salvabit' vir infidelis ꝟ mulierē fidelē. Sic et mulier infidel' ꝟ virū fidelē.* et rl'. ꝥ is on uran geþeode. *ful oft se ungeleaffulla wer bið ge halgad and gehæled þurh ꝥ riht wise*[2]

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[1] Over eacnian is written ycean. [2] Over rihtwise is written leaffulle.

1068. Her on þissū geare Will'm cyng geaf Rodberde eorle þone eorl dom on Norð hymbra land. Ða comon þa landes menn togeanes hī. and hine of slogon. and ix hund manna

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*wif. and swa gelice þ wif þurh geleaffulne wer.* Ðeos foresprecene cwēn seoððan on þā lande manege nyt wyrðe dæda gefremede Gode to lofe. and eac on þa kyne wisan wel ge þéh eallswa hire ge cýnde wæs. Of geleaffullan and æðelan cynne heo wæs asprungon. hire fæder wæs Eadward æþeling Eadmundes sunu kynges. Eadmund Æþelreding. Æþelred Eadgaring. Eadgar Eadreding. and swa forð on þ cyne cynn. and hire modor cynn gæð to Heinrice casere þe hæfde anwald ofer Rome. (D 1067)

And her ferde Gyða út Haroldes modor. and manegra godra manna wif mid hyre into Bradan Reolice. and þær wunode sume hwile. and swa fór þanon ofer sæ to sc̄e Audomare.

On þisan Eastron com se kyng to Wincestre. and þa wæron Eastra on x kl' Apr'l. and sona æft' þam cóm Mathild seo hlæfdie hider to lande. and Ealdred arceb' hig gehalgode to cwene on Westmynstre on Hwitan Sunnan dæg. þa kyðde man þan kyninge þ þ folc be norðan hæfdon heō gegaderad togædere and woldon him ongean standan gif he come. he for þa to Snotingaham and worhte þær castel. and for swa to Eoferwic and þær worhte twegen castelas. and on Lincolna. and ge hwar on þan ende. and Gospatric eorl and þa betstan menn foron into Scotlande.

And amang þisan com an Haroldes suna of Yrlande mid scyphere into Afenan muðan un wær. and hergode sona ofer eall þone ende. foron þa to Brygc stowe and þa burh abrecan woldon. ac seo burh-waru heō heardlice wið feaht. and þa hi ne mihton of þære burh naht gewinnan. hi foron þa to scypan mid þan þe hi gehergod hæfdon. and swa hi fóron on Sumer sæton. and þær upp eodon. and Eadnoð stallere heom wið gefeaht. and wearð þær ofslægen. and manege góde menn on ægðre healfe. and þanon aweig foron þe þær to láfe wæron.

1068. Her on þissū geare Willelm cyngc geaf Rod bearde eorle. þone ealdor dóm ofer Norð hymbra land. ac þa landes menn hine be fóron innan þære burh æt Dúnholme. and hine ofslógon and ix.c manna mid him. and sona þær æft' Eadgar æðeling cóm mid eallum Norðhymbrū to Eoforwic. and þa burh menn wið hine gryðedon. And Wyllelm kyng cóm suðan on unwær on heō mid geotendan here. and hi aflymde. and þa ofsloh þa þe æt fleon ne mihton. þ wæron fela hund manna. and þa burh forhergode. and sc̄e Petres mynst' to bysmere macede. and ealle þa oðre eac for hergode. and for hynde. and se æðeling fór eft ongean to Scotlande.

1070. Her Landfranc se þe wæs abb' on Kadum com to Ængla lande. se efter feawum dagum wearð arceb' on Kantwareberig. He wæs gehaded iv kl' Septembris. on his agenum biscȳpsetle fram eahte biscopum his under ðioddum. ða oþre ðe þær næron. þurh ærend rakean and þurh ge write atiwdon hwi hi ðær beon ne mihton. On þam geare Thomas se

(D 1068) Æft' þisū coman Haroldes sunas of Yrlande to þā middan sumera mid lxiiii scypū into Táw muðan. and þær un wærlice up eodon. and Breon eorl com on ún wær heō to geines mid un lytlan weorode. and wiðgefeaht. and ofsloh þær ealle þa betstan menn þe on þā lyðe wæron. and þa oðre lytlan werode to scypū æt flugon. and Haroldes sunas foron eft to Yrlande ongean.

Her forðferde Aldred arceb' on Eoferwic. and is þær bebyrged æt his b'stole. and he ge wat on þone dæg. Proti and Jacinthi. and he heold þone arcestol mid mycclan weorð mynte x gear buton xv wucan wanan. Sona þær æft' coman of Denmarcon þreo Swegenes suna kyninges mid cc scypū and xl and Esbeorn eorl. and Þurkyl eorl. into Humbran. and heom com þær togenes Eadgar cild. and Waldþeof eorl. and Mærleswegen. and Gospatric eorl mid Norð hymbrū and ealle þa land leoden. ridende and gangende mid un mætan here swiðe fægengende. and swa ealle anrædlice to Eoferwic foron. and þone castel to brǽcon and to wurpan. and unarimendlice gærsuman þærinne gewunnan. and fela hund manna Frenciscra þær ofslogon and fela mid heō to scypan læddan. and ær þan þe þa scypmenn þider comon hæfdon þa Frenciscan þa burh forbærned. and eac þ halie mynst' sc̄s Petrus eall for hergod and forbærned. Þa se kyng þis ge axode. þa for he norðward mid ealre his fyrde þe he ge gaderian mihte. and þa scipe mid ealle for hergode and aweste. and þ lið lægig ealne wint' innan Humbre. þær se kyng heō to cuman ne mihte. And se kyng wæs þone mid wintres dæig on Eoferwic. and swa ealne þone wint' on þā lande. and cōm to Wincestre on þa ilcan Eastron. and Ægelric b' wæs forwreged þe wæs on Burh. and hine man lædde to Westmynstre. and utlagode his broðor Ægelwine b'.

1070, 1071. Her se eorl Wælþeof gryðode wið þone cynge. and þæs on lengten se kyngc let hergian ealle þa mynstra þe on Engla lande wæron. And þæs geres wæs micel hunger. and man hergade þ mynst' æt Burh. þ wæron þa menn þe se b' Ægelric ær amansum-

mid hī. And Eadgar æðeling cō þa mid eallū Norðhymbram to Eoferwíc. and þa portmen wið hine griðedon. And se cyng Will'm cō suðan mid eallan his fyrde. and þa burh forhergode. and fela hund manna ofsloh. and se æðeling for eft to Scotlande.

1069. Her man wrægde þone biscop Ægelric on Burh. and sende hine to Westmynstre. and útlagode his broðer Ægelwine b'. Þa betwyx þā twam sc̄a Marian mæssan. comon easton of Dænmarcun mid ccc scipū. þ wæron Swægnes sunan cynges. and his broðer Osbearn eorl. And þa ferde se eorl Walðeaf út. and cō he and Eadgar æðeling. and fela hund manna mid heō. and gemetton þet lið innan Humbran. and ferdon to Eoferwíc. and úppeodan and þa castelas gewunnan. and ofslogon fela hund manna. and to scipe læddon sceattas fela. and þa heafodmen hæfdon on beandon. and lagon betwyx Vsan and Trentan ealne þone winter. And se cyng Will'm for into þære scire. and hi eall for[dy]de. And on þisū ilcan geare. forðferde Brand abb' of Burh. on v kl' Decembr'. De Burgo Brando Abbas

1070. Her se eorl Walþeof griðede wið þone cyng. And þæs on lengten se cyng let hergian ealle þa mynstra þe on Engla lande wæron. Þa on þā ilcan geare com Swegn cyng of Denmarcan into Humbran. and þ landfolc comen him ongean and griðedon wið hine. wændon þ he sceolde þet land ofergan. Þa comen into Elíg Xp̄istien þa Densce b' and Osbearn eorl and þa Densca huscarles mid heō. and þet Englisce folc of eall þa feonlandes comen to heō. wendon þ hi sceoldon winnon eall þ land. Þa herdon þa munecas of Burh sægen þ heora agene menn wolden hergon þone mynstre. þ wæs Hereward and his genge. þ wæs forðan þet hi herdon sægcgen þet se cyng heafde gifen þ abbotrice an Frencisce abbot Turolde wæs gehaten. and þ he wæs swiðe styrne man. and wæs cumen þa into Stanforde mid ealle hise Frencisce menn. Þa wæs þære an cyrce weard Yware wæs gehaten. nā þa be nihte eall þet he mihte. þet wæron Xp̄es bec and mæssehakeles and cantelcapas and reafes and swilce litles hwat. swa hwat swa he mihte. and ferde sona ær dæg to þoñ abbot Turolde and sægde hī þ he sohte his griðe. and cydde hī hu þa útlages sceolden cumen to Burh. þ he dyde eall be þære munece ræde. Þa sona on morgen comen ealle þa utlaga mid fela scipe. and woldon into þam mynstre. and *Hereward* De Abb'e Turo|

(A.D. 1070) wæs gecoran biscp to Eferwic. com to Cantwareberig þ man hine ðær gehadede efter þan ealdan gewunan. Đa ða Landfranc crafede fæstnunge his gehersumnesse mid aðswerunge. þa forsoc he. and sæde þ he hit nahte to donne. þa gewraðede hine se arceb' Landfranc. and bebead þam biscopan ðe þar cumene wæran be ðas arceb' L. hæse þa serfise to donde. and eallan þan munecan. þ hi scoldan hi unscrydan. and hi be his hæse swa didan. Swa Thomas to þam timan agean ferde buton bletsunga. þa sona æfter þysan belamp þ se arceb' Landfranc ferde to Rome and Thomas forð mid. þa þa hi þyder comon and umbe oþer þing gesprecon hæfdon umbe þ hi sprecan woldon. þa angan Thomas his spæce hu he com to Cantuuarebyri. and hu se arceb' axode hyrsumnesse mid aþswerunge at him. and he hit forsoc. þa agann se arceb' L. atywian mid openum gesceade. þ he mid rihte crafede þas þa he crafede. and mid strangan cwydan þ ylce gefæstnode to foran þam papan Alexandre. and to foran eallan þam concilium þe þar gegadered was. and swa ham foran. Æfter þysan com Thomas to Cantwarebyri and eal þ se arceb' æt him crafede eadmedlice gefylde. and syþþan þa bletsungan underfeng. §

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(D 1070, 1071) ade. for þon þe hi namon þær eall þ he ahte. And þæs ilcan sumeres com þ lið into Temese. and lagon þær twa niht. and heoldon syððan to Dénmarcon. and Baldawine eorl forðferde. and Arnulf his sunu feng to þan rice. and Francena kyning and Wyllelm eorl sceoldon beon his geheald. ac þær com Rodbeart. and ofsloh Arnulf his mæig and þone eorl Wyllelm. and þone kyngc aflymde. and ofsloh his manna fela þusenda.

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§ Here ends the Englisc text of MS. A. A later hand has continued the history of Lanfranc in Latin, and closes with the consecration of his successor Anselm. This piece will be given in the Appendix.

þa munecas wiðstoden þ hi na mihton in cumen. þa lægdon (A.D. 1070)
hi fyr on. and for bærndon ealle þa munece huses and eall þa
tun buton ane huse. þa comen hi þurh fyre in æt Bolhiðe Bolh|
geate. and þa munecas comen heō to geanes. beaden heō
grið ac hí ná rohten na þing. geodon into þe mynstre.
☞ clumben úpp to þe halge rode. namen þa þe kynehelm of
ure Drihtnes heafod eall of smeate golde. namen þa þet fot
spure þe wæs undernæðen his fote. þ wæs eall of read golde.
Clumben úpp to þe stepel. brohton dune þ hæcce þe þær
wæs behid. hit wæs eall of gold and of seolfre. hi namen
þære twa gildene scrines and ix seolferne. and hi namen
fiftene mycele roden. ge of golde ge of seolfre. hi namen þære
swa mycele gold and seolfre and swa manega gersumas on
sceat and on scrud and on bokes swa nan man ne mæi oðer
tællen. sægdon þ hí hit dyden for ðes mynstres holdscipe.
Syððon geden heō to scipe. ferden heom to Elig. betæhtan
þær þa ealla þa gærsume. þa Denescæ menn wændon þ hi
sceoldon ofer cumen þa Frencisca men. þa to drefodon ealle
þa munekes. beleaf þær nan butan án munec he wæs gehaten
Leofwine lange. he læi seoc in þa secræ man in. Ða cō
Turold abbot and æhte siþe twenti Frencisce men mid hī
and ealle full wepnode. þa he þider cō þa fand he for bærnd
wiðinnan and wiðutan. eall butan þa cyrece ane. þa wæron
þa ut lagas ealle on flote. wistan þ he scolde þider cumen.
Þis wæs don þæs dæges iv non' Junii. þa twegen kyngas
Will'm and Swægn wurðon sæhtlod. þa ferdon þa Dænesca
menn út of Elig mid ealle þa foren sprǽcena gærsume and
læddon mid heō. þa hi comen on middewarde þe sæ. þa cō
an mycel storm and to dræfede ealle þa scipe þær þa ger-
sumes wæron inne. sume ferdon tó Norwæge. sume to
Yrlande. sume to Dæn marce. and eall þ þider cō þ wæs
þone hæcce and sume scrine and sume roden and fela of þa
oðre gærsume. and brohten hit to an cynges tún ..... hatte.
and dyden hit eall þa in þone cyrce. Ða syððon þurh heora
gemelest and þurh heora druncen hed on án niht for bærnde
þa cyrce. and eall þet þær innæ wæs. Đus wæs se mynstre *combustio ecc'lie*
of Burch for bærnd and for hærgod. æl mihtig God hit ge-
miltse þurh his mycele mild hertnesse. And þus se abbot
Turold cō to Burh. and þa munecas comen þa ongean. and
dydan Xp̄es þeudom in þære cyrce. þ ær hæfde standen fulle

seofeniht for utan ælces cynnes riht. Đa herde Ægelric biscop þet gesecgon. þa amansumede he ealle þa men þa þ yfel dæde hæfden don. Đa wæs mycel hunger þæs geares. and þa þæs sumeres cō þet liđ norđan of Humbran into Tæmese. and lagon þær twa niht. and heoldan syđđon to Dæn mercan. And Baldewine eorl forđ ferde. and his sunu Arnulf feng to rice. and Will'm eorl sceolde ben his geheald. and Franca cyng eac. and cō þa Rodbriht eorl and of sloh his mæg Arnulf. and þone eorl. and þone cyng aflymda. and his menn of sloh fela þusenda.

1071. Her Ædwine eorl and Morkere eorl ut hlupon and mislic ferdon on wudu and on felda. Đa gewende Morkere eorl to Elig on scipe. and Eadwine eorl wearđ of slagen arhlice frā his agenū mannū. and cō se b' Egelwine. and Siward Bearn. and fela hund manna mid heō into Elig. And þa þe se cyng Will'm þ geaxode. þa bead he út scip fyrde and land fyrde. and þet land abutan sæt. and brycge gewrohte. and inn fór. and seo scip fyrde on þa sæ healfe. And þa ut lagan þa ealle on hand eodan. þ wæs Egelwine b'. and Morkere eorl. and ealle þa þe mid heō wæron buton Herewarde ane and ealle þa þe mid hī woldon. and he hi ahtlice út lædde. And se cyng genā scipa and wæpna and sceattas manega. and þa men he ateah swa swa he wolde. and þone b' Egelwine he sende to Abban dune. and he þær forđ ferde sona þæs wintres.

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(D) 1072. Her Eadwine eorl and Morkere eorl hlupon út. and mislice ferdon on wuda. and on feldon. oð þ Eadwine wearð ofslægen fram his agenum mannum. and Morkere mid scype gewende to Hélig. and þær com Ægelwine b'. and Sigwarð Barn. and fela hund manna mid heom. Ac þa se kyngc Wyllelm þis geahsade. þa bead he ut scyp fyrde. and land fyrde. and þ land eall utan embsette. and brygce worhte and scypfyrde on þa sæhealfe. and hi ealle þa eodon þan kyninge on hand. þ wæs Ægelwine b'. and Morkere eorl. and ealle þa þe mid heom wæron. buton Herewerde anum. and ealle þa þe mid him æt fleon mihton. and he hi ahtlice ut alædde. and se kyng nam heora scypa and wæpna. and manega sceattas. and þa

1072. Her Willelm cyng lædde scip fyrde and landfyrde to Scotlande. and þ land on þa sæhealfe mid scipū ymbe læg. and his landfyrde æt þā Gewæde inlædde. and he þær naht ne funde þæs þe him þe bet wære. And se cyng Melcolm cō and griðede wið þone cyng Willelm and gislas sealde. and his man wæs. and se cyng hā gewende mid ealre his fyrde. And se b' Egelric forð ferde. he wæs to biscop hadod to Eoferwíc. ac hit wæs mid unriht him of genumon. and man geaf him þ b'rice on Dunholme. and he heafde hit þa hwile þe he wolde. and forlet hit syððan. and ferde to Burch to sce Petres mynstre. and þær drohtnode xii gear. Ða æft' þā þe Willelm cyng gewan Engla lande. þa nā he hine of Burch and sende hine to Westmynstre. and he forð ferde on id' Octob'. and he is bebyrged þær innan þā mynstre. innon scs Nicolaus portice.

1073. On þisum geare Willelm cyng lædde Engliscne here and Frencisce ofer sæ. and gewan þ land Mans. and hit Englisce men swyðe amyrdon. wíngearðas hi fordydon· and burga forbærndon. and swiðe þet land amyrdon. and hit eall

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(D) menn ealle he toc. and dyde of heom þ he wolde. and Ægelwine b' he sende to Abbandúne. and he þær forðferde.

1073. Her Wyllelm kyng lædde scypferde and landfyrde to Scot lande. and þ land on þa sæhealfe mid scypum ymblæig. and him sylf mid his landfyrde ferde inn ofer þ Wæð. and he þær naht ne funde þæs þe heom þe betere wære. and Malcolm cyngc cóm and gryðode wið Wyll'm cyngc and wæs his mann. and hī gyslas salde. and he syððan ham gewende mid ealre his fyrde. and se b' Ægelric forð ferde. he wæs to b'pe gehadod to Eoforwic. ac hit wæs mid unrihte hī of genumen. and geaf him þ b'rice æt Dúnholme. and he hit hæfde þa hwile þe he wolde. and forlet hit syððan and ferde to Burh. to sce Petres mynstre. and þær drohtnode xii gear. þa æft' þam þe Wyllelm gewann Engla land. he lét hine nyman of Burh. and sende hine to Westmynstre. and he þær forðferde. on id' Oct'b. and is þær bebyrged innan sce Nicolaes portice.

1074. On þisan gere Willelm cyngc lædde Englisce fyrde and Frencisce ofer sæ. and gewann þ land Mans. and hit Englisce menn swiðe amærdon. win geardas hi fordydon. and burga forbærndan.

abegdon· Willelme to handa. and hi syððon hā gewendon· to Engla lande.

1074. On þisū geare for Willelm cyng ofer sæ to Normandig. and Eadgar cild com of Scotland to Normandige. and se cyng hine geinlagode and ealle his men. and he wæs on þes cynges hyrede. and nā swilce gerihta swa se cyng him geuðe.

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(D) and þ land swiðe amyrdon. and eall þ land ge begdan þan kyninge to handan. and hig seoððan ham gewendan.

1075. On þissū gere Wyllelm cyngc fór ofer sæ to Normandige. And Eadgar cild cóm of Flemingalande into Scotlande. on sc̄e Grim baldes mæsse dæg. and se kyngc Malcholom and his sweostor Margareta hine underfengon mid mycclan weorðscype. On þære ilcan tide sende se kyng of Francrice Filipp' gewrit to him. and bead hī þ he to hī cóme. and he wolde geofan him þone castel æt Mustræl. þ he mihte syððan dæghwamlice his únwinan únþancas dón. Hwæt þa se cyngc Malcolm. and his sweoster Margareta. geafon hī myccla geofa. and manega gærsama. and eallon his mannan. on scynnan mid pælle betogen and on merðerne pyleceon. and gráschynnene. and hearma scynnene. and on pællon. and on gyldenan faton and on seolfrenan. and hine and ealle his scyperan mid mycclan weorðscipe of his gryðe alædde. Ac on þære fare heom yfele gelamp. þa hi ut on sǣ wæron. þ heom on becom swiðe hreoh weder. and seo wóde sǣ. and se stranga wind hi on þ land awearp þ ealle heora scypa to burston. and hi sylfe earfoðlice to lande coman. and heora gærsama for neh eall losade. and his men eac wurdon sume gelæhtæ of Frencyscan mannan. ac he sylf and his ferestan menn ferdon eft ongean to Scotlande sume hreowlice on fotan gangende. and sume earmlice ridende. Ða ge rædde se kyngc Malcholom him þ he sende to Wyllelme cynge ofer sæ. and bæde his gryðes. and he eac swa dyde. and se cyngc him þæs ge tiðade. and æft' him sende. and se kyngc eft Malcolm and his sweostor. him and eallon his mannan unarimede gærsama geafon. and swiðe weorðlice hine eft of heora gryðe sendon. and se scirgerefa of Eoferwic com him to geanes æt Dúnholme. and ferde ealne weig mid him. and let hī findan mete and foddor. æt ælcan castelle þær hi to comon. oð þ hig ofer sæ to þam kynige coman. and se kyngc Wyllelm mid micclan weorðscype þa hine underfengc. and he wæs þær þa on his hirede and toc swilce gerihta swa he him gelagade.

1075. On þisū geare Will'm cyng geaf Raulfe eorle Will'mes dohtor Osbearnes sunu. and se ylca Raulf wæs Bryttisc on his moder healfe. and his fæder wæs Englisc Raulf hatte. and wæs geboren on Norð folce. þa geaf se cyng his sunu þoñ eorl dom on Norð folc and Suð folc. þa lædde he þ wif to Norð wic.

þær wes þ bryd eala
mannū to beala.

Đær wæs Roger eorl. and Walþeof eorl. and biscopas and abbotes. and ræddon þær swa þ hi woldon þone cyng gesettan út of Engla landes cynedome. And hit wearð sona gecydd þā cynge to Normandige hu hit wæs geræd. þ wæs Roger eorl. and Raulf eorl. þe wæron yldast to ðam unreode. and hi speonan þa Bryttas heō to. and sendon east to Den mearcan æft' scip here heō to fultume. And Roger ferde west to his eorl dome. and gegaderode his folc to þæs cynges unþearfe. ac he wearð gelet. And Raulf eac on his eorl dome wolde forð gan mid his folce. ac þa castel men þe wæron on Engla lande and eac þ land folc hī to geanes comen. and gemacodon þ he naht ne dyde. ac for to scipe

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(D) 1076. On þissan geare Wyllelm cyngc geaf Raulfe eorl Wyllelmes dohtor Osbarnes sunu. and se ylca Raulf wæs Bryttisc on his modor healfe. and Rawulf his fæder wæs Englisc. and wæs geboren on Norð folce. and se kyngc geaf forþi his suna þær þone eorldóm. and Suðfolc eac. He þa lædde þ wif to Norð wic.

þær wæs þ bryd ealo·
þ wæs manegra manna bealo.

Đær wæs Rogcer eorl and Walþeof eorl. and biscopas. and abbodas. and ræddon þær þ hi woldon heora kyne hlaford of his cyne rice adrifan. and þis wæs þam kyninge sona to Normandie gecyðed. Rawulf eorl and Rogcer eorl wæron hofdingas æt þisan unræde. and hi speonon heom to þa Bryttas. and sendon eac to Denemarcon æft' scyphere and Rogcer ferde west to his eorldome. and gaderad his folc þan cyngce to unþearfe he þohte. ac hit wearð heom seolfan to mycclan hearme. Rawulf eac wolde mid his eorldome forð gan. Ac þa castel menn þe wæron on Engla lande. and eac þ land folc heom togenes comon. and hi ealle geletton. þ hi naht ne dydon. ac wæs fægen þ he to scypum æt fleah.

(A.D. 1075) æt Norð wic. And his wif wæs innan þā castele. and hine heold swa lange þ man hire grið sealde. and heo ut ferde þa of Engla lande. and eall hire men þe hire mid woldon. And se cyng siððan cō to Engla lande. and genā Roger eorl his mæg. and gefestnode hine. and Walþeof eorl he genā eac.

And sona æfter þam comon eastan of Den mearcan cc scipa. and þær on wæron twægen heafod menn. Cnut Swægnes sunu and Hacun eorl. and hí né dorstan nan gefeoht healdan wið Will'm cynge. ac heoldon ofer sæ to Flandran.

And Eadgið seo hlæfdig forð ferde on Win ceastre vii nihton ær Xp̃es mæssan. and se cyng hi let bryngan to West mynstre mid mycclan wurðscipe. and lægde hi wið Eadward kyng hire hlaforde.

And se wæs on West mynstre þone mide winter. and man for dyde þær ealle þa Bryttas þe wæron æt þam bryd ealoð æt Norð wic. sume hy wurdon ablænde and sume of land adrifene. swa wurdon Will'mes swican geniðrade.

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(D 1076) and his wif belâf æft' in þā castele. and hine swa lange heold oð þ man hire gryð salde. and heo þa ut ferde of Engla lande. and ealle hire menn þe hire mid woldon. and se kyngc syððan com to Engla lande. and gefeng Rogcer eorl his mæg. and sette on prisun. And Walþeof eorl ferde ofer sæ. and wreide hine sylfne and bæd forgyfenysse and bead gærsuman. Ac se kyngc let lihtlice of oð þ he com to Englalande. and hine let syððan tacan.

And sona æft' þisan coman of Denemarcon twa hund scypa. þæron wæron heafdes menn Cnut Swegnes sunu cynges. and Hacon eorl. and ne dorston nan ge feoht healdan wið Willelme cynge. ac ferdon to Eoforwic. and bræcon sc̃e Petres mynst'. and tócon þær inne mycele æhta and foron swa aweg. ac ealle þa forferdon þe æt þā ræde wæron. þ wæs Hacones sunu eorles and manege oðre mid him.

And Eadgyð seo hlæfdie forð ferde. seo wæs Eadwardes cynges geresta. seofon niht ær Xpēs mæssan on Wincestre. and se cyngc hig let bryngan to Westmynstre mid mycclan weorðscype. and leide heo wið Eadwarde cynge hire hlaforde.

Se kyngc wæs þa þone midwint' on Westmynstre. þær mon for demde ealle þa Bryttas þe wæron æt þā brydlópe æt Norðwic.

Sume hi wurdon geblende·
and sume wrecen of lande·
and sume getawod to scande·
þus wurdon þæs kyninges
swican genyðerade.

1076. On þisū geare forð ferde Swægn cyng on Dænmercan. and Harold his sunu feng to þe cyneríce.

And se cyng geaf Westmynster Vithele abbode se wæs ær abb' on Bærnege. And Walþeof eorl wes beheafdod on Win ceastre. and his lic wearð gelead to Crulande.

And se cyng for ofer sǽ. and lædde his fyrde to Brytlande. and beset þone castel Dól. and þa Bryttas hine heoldon þ̄ se cyng cō of Francland. and Willelm þanon fór. and þær for leas ægðer ge men ge hors. and feola his gersuma.

1077. Her on þisū geare wurdon sæhte Franca cyng and Willelm Englalandes cyng. ac hit heold litle hwile.

And þes geares forbarn Lunden burh anre nihte ær Assumptio sc̄e Marie swa swyðe swa heo næfre ær næs syð þan heo gestabeled wæs. comb|

And on þisū geare forð fyrde Ægelwig abb' on Eueshā on þā dæge xiv k' Mr'. And Hereman b' eac forð ferde on þā dæge x k' Mr'.

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(D) 1077. On þisan geare forð ferde Swegen kyngc on Denemarcon. and Harold his sunu feng to his cyne rice. Her Wyllelm cyngc geaf þ̄ abb'rice æt Westmynstre Fiþele abbode. se wæs ær abb' munuc æt Bernege. And her wæs Walþeof eorl be heafdod. on Wincestre on sc̄e Petronella mæsse dæg. and his lic wearð gelæd to Crúlande. and he þær is bebyrged. And Wyllelm cyngc for ofer sǽ. and lædde fyrde to Brytlande. and be sæt þone castel æt Dól. ac þa Bryttas hine heoldon oð̄ þ̄ se cyngc com of Francrice. and Wyllelm cyngc þa þanon fór. and þær for leas ægðer menn and hors and unarimede gærsaman.

1078. Her se mona aþystrode þreom nihton ær Candelmæssan. and Ægelwig se worulds notra abb' on Eofeshamme forðferde. on sc̄a Juliana mæsse dæg. and Waltere wæs to abb'e geset on his stede. and Hereman b' forð ferde. se wæs b' on Bearrucscire. and on Wiltunscire. and on Dorsǽtan. and Her Malcholom kyngc gewann Mælslæhtan modor. * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * and ealle his betstan menn and ealne his gærsuman. and his orf. and he sylf uneaðe ætbærst.

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and her wæs se dria sumor. and wilde fyr com on manega scira and forbærnde fela tuna. and eac manega burga forbu[r]non.

1079. On þisū geare cō Melcolm cyng of Scotlande into Englelande betwyx þā twā Mariam mæssan mid mycclū fyrde. and gehergode Norðhymbra land oð hit com to Tine. and ofsloh feala hund manna. and ham lædde manige sceattas and gersuma. and menn on heftninge.

And þi ilcan geare se cyng Willelm gefeaht to geanes his sunu Rotbearde wiðutan Normandige be anū castele Gerborneð hatte. and se cyng Will'm wearð þær gewundod. and his hors ofslagen þe he on sæt. and eac his sunu Willelm wearð þær gewundod. and fela manna ofslagene.

1080. On þisum geare wæs se b' Walchere ofslagen on Dunholme æt anū gemote. and an hund manna mid him Frencisce and Flemisce. and he sylf wæs on Hloðeringa geboren. þis dydon Norðhymbran on Maies monðe.

1081. On þisū geare se cyng lædde fyrde into Wealan. and þær gefreode fela hund manna.

1082. Her nam se cyng Odan b'. and her wæs mycel hungor.

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(D) 1079. Her Rodbert þæs cynges sunu Will'm. hleop fram his fæder. to his eame Rotbryhte on Flandron. for þan þe his fæder ne wolde him lætan waldan his eorldomes on Normandige þe he sylf and eac se kyng Filipp' mid his geþafunge him gegyfen hæfdon. and þa þe betst wæron on þā lande hæfdon aðas hī gesworon. and hine to hlaforde genumen. Her Rotbert feht wið his fæder and hine on þa hand gewundade. and his hors wearð under ofscoten. and se þe hī oðer tobrohte wearð þærrihte mid ánan arblaste ofscoten. þ wæs Tokig Wiggodes sunu. and fela þær wurdon ofslægen and eac gefangene. and Rotb't eft gewende to Fleminga lande. ne wylle we þeh her na mâre scaðe awritan þe he his fæder ge * * * *

1080. *Hér werþ Anagus ofsleien frám Scotta eére. and þer werþ micel weell ofsleigen mid him. þer wes codes riþt ge sochen on him for þæ' he wes all for swóórn.*§

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§ MS. D closes with this curious piece of English, which was added to the book after a considerable interval. The date is faulty, and instead of MLXXX, should probably be, as Ingram has shewn, MCXXX, which was about the time of the rebellion of Angus earl of Murray against David I. Buchanan touches on it: "... Ænea Moraviæ Comite cum suorum magna multitudine cæso ..." Rer. Scot. Hist. vii. 29.

1083. On þisū geare aras sco ungehwærnes on Glæstinga byrig betwyx þā abbode Þurstane. and his munecan. Ærest hit cō of þæs abbotes unwisdome. þ he mis bead his munecan on fela þingan. and þa munecas hit mændon lufelice to hī. and beadon hine þ he sceolde healdan hi rihtlice. and lufian hi. and hi woldon hī beon holde and gehyrsume. Ac se abbot nolde þæs naht. ac dyde heō yfele. and beheot heom wyrs. Anes dæges þe abbot eode into capitulan. and spræc uppon þa munecas. and wolde hi mis tukian. and sende æft' læwede mannū. and hi comon into capitulan on uppon þa munecas full gewepnede. And þa wæron þa munecas swiðe áferede of heō. nyston hwet heō to donne wære. ac to scuton. sume urnon into cyrcean. and belucan þa duran into heō. and hi ferdon æft' heō into þā mynstre. and woldon hig út dragan. þaða hig ne dorsten ná ut gan. Ac reowlic þing þær gelamp on dæg. þ þa Frencisce men bræcen þone chór and torfedon to wærd þā weofode þær ða munecas wæron. and sume of ðam cnihtan ferdon uppon þone úpp flore. and scotedon á dunweard mid árewan to weard þā halig dome. swa þ on þære rode þe stod bufon þā weofode sticodon on mænige arewan. and þa wreccan munecas lagon on buton þā weofode. and sume crupon under. and gyrne cleopedon to Gode his miltse biddende. þa þa hi ne mihton nane miltse æt mannū begytan. Hwæt magon we secgean. buton þ hi scotedon swiðe. and þa oðre ða dura brækon þær adune and eodon inn. and of slogon sume þa munecas to deaðe. and mænige gewundedon þær inne. swa þ ðet blod cō of ðā weofode uppon þā gradan. and of ðam gradan on þa flore. þreo þær wæron of slagene to deaðe. and eahteteone g'wundade.

And on þæs ilcan geares forð ferde Mahtild Will'mes cynges cwen. on þone dæg æft' ealra halgena mæsse dæg.

And on þes ylcan geares æft' mide wint' se cyng let beodan mycel gyld and hefelic ofer eall Engla land. þ wæs æt ælcere hyde twa and hund seofenti peanega.

1084. Her on ðisum geare forð ferde Wulfuuold abb' on Ceortesege. on þā dæg xiii k' Mai.

1085. On þisū geare menn cwydodon and to soðan sædan. þ Cnut cyng of Den mearcan Swægnes sune cynges fundade hiderward. and wolde gewinnan þis land mid Rod-

(A.D. 1085) beardes eorles fultume of Flandran. forðan þe Cnut heafde Rodbeardes dohter. Ða Will'm Engla landes cyng þe þa wæs sittende on Normandige. forðig he ahte ægðer ge Engla land ge Normandige. þis geaxode. he ferde into Engla lande mid swa mycclan here ridendra manna and gangendra of Franc rice and of Bryt lande. swa næfre ær þis land ne gesohte. swa þ menn wundredon hu þis land mihte eall þone here afedan. Ac se cyng let to scyfton þone here geond eall þis land to his mannon. and hi fæddon þone here ælc be his land efne. And men heafdon mycel geswinc þæs geares. and se cyng lett awestan þ land abutan þa sæ. þet gif his feond comen úpp. þ hi næfdon na on hwam hi fengon swa rædlice. Ac þa se cyng geaxode to soðan þ his feond gelætte wæron. and ne mihten na geforðian heora fare. þa lett he sum þone here faren to heora agene lande. and sum he heold on þisū lande ofer winter.

Ða to þā midewintre wæs se cyng on Gleawe ceastre mid his witan. and heold þær his hired v dagas. and syððan þe arce b' and gehadode men hæfden sinoð þreo dagas. Ðær wæs Maurici' gecoren to b' on Lundene. and Will'm to Norð folce. and Rodbeard to Ceaster scire. hi wæron ealle þæs cynges clerecas. Æfter þisū hæfde se cyng mycel geþeaht. and swiðe deope spæce wið his witan ymbe þis land hu hit wære gesett. oððe mid hwylcon mannon. Sende þa ofer eall Engla land into ælcere scire his men. and lett agan ut hu fela hundred hyda wæron innon þære scire. oððe hwet se cyng him sylf hæfde landes and orfes innan þā lande. oððe hwilce gerihtæ he ahte to habbanne to xii monþum of ðære scire. Eac he lett gewritan hu mycel landes his arce b's hæfdon. and his leod b's. and his abb's. and his eorlas. and þeah ic hit lengre telle. hwæt oððe hu mycel ælc mann hæfde þe land sittende wæs innan Engla lande. on lande oððe on orfe. and hu mycel feos hit wære wurð. Swa swyðe nearwelice he hit lett ut aspyrian. þ næs an ælpig hide. ne an gyrde landes. ne furðon. hit is sceame to tellanne. ac hit ne þuhte hī nan sceame to donne. an oxe. ne án cú. ne án swin. næs belyfon. þ næs gesæt on his gewrite. and ealle þa gewrita wæron gebroht to him syððan.

1085. Her se cyng bær his corona and heold his hired on Win ceastre to þā Eastran. and swa he ferde þ he wæs to

þā Pentecosten æt Wæst minstre. and dubbade his sunu Henric to ridere þær. (A.D. 1085) Syððan he ferde abutan swa þ he com to Lam mæssan to Seare byrig. and þær hī comon to his witan. and ealle þa land sittende men. þe ahtes wæron ofer eall Engla land. wæron þæs mannes men þe hi wæron. And ealle hi bugon to hī. and weron his menn. and hī hold aðas sworon þ hi woldon ongean ealle oðre men hī holde beon. Đanon he ferde into Wiht. forþig he wolde faran into Normandige. and swa dyde syððan. And þeah he dyde ærest æfter his gewunan. begeat swiðe mycelne sceatt of his mannan þær he mihte ænige teale to habban oððe mid rihte oððe elles. Ferde þa syððan into Normandige. and Eadgar æþeling Ædwardes mæg cynges beah þa frā hī. forþig he næfde na mycelne wurðscipe of hī. ac se ælmihtiga God hī gife wurðscipe on þam toweardan. And Cristina þæs æðelinges swuster beah into mynstre to Rumesege. and underfeng halig rest.

And þæs ilcan geares wæs swiðe hefelic gear. and swiðe swincfull and sorhfull gear innan Englelande on orfcwealme. and córn and wæstmas wæron æt standene. and swa mycel un gelimp on wæderunge swa man naht æðelice geþencean ne mæg. swa stór þunring. and lægt wes. swa þ hit acwealde manige men. and áá hit wyrsode mid mannan swiðor and swiðor. Gebete hit God elmihtiga. þonne his willa sy.

1086. Æfter ure Drihtnes Hælendes Cristes gebyrtide. an þusend wintra and seofan and hund eahtatig wintra. on þā án and twentigan geare þæs þe Will'm weolde and stihte Engle land swa hī God uðe. gewearð swiðe hefelic and swiðe wold berendlic gear on þissū lande. Swylc coðe cō on mannum. þ full neah æfre þe oðer man wearð on þā wyrrestan yfele. þet is on ðam drife. and þet swa stranglice. þ mænige menn swulton on ðam yfele. Syððan cō þurh þa mycclan ungewiderunge þe comon swa we beforan tealdon. swyðe mycel hungor ofer eall Engle land. þ manig hundred manna earmlice deaðe swulton þurh þone hungor. Eala hu earmlice and hu reowlic tid wæs ða. Đa ða wreccæ men lægen for drifene full neah to deaðe. and syððan cō se scearpa hungor and adyde hi mid ealle.

Hwā ne mæg earmian swylcere tide? oððe hwa is swa heard heort þ ne mæg wepan swylces ungelimpes? Ac swylc

(A. D. 1086) þing gewurðaþ for folces synna þ hi nellað lufian God and rihtwisnesse. Swa swa hit wæs þa on ðam dagū. þ litel rihtwisnesse wæs on þisū lande mid ænige menn. buton mid munecan ane þær þær hi wæll ferdon. Se cyng and þa heafod men lufedon swiðe and ofer swiðe gitsunge. on golde. and on seolfre. and ne rohtan hu synlice hit wære begytan buton hit come to heō. Se cyng sealde his lande swa deorc to male swa heo deorost mihte. Ðonne cō sū oðer and bead mare þonn̄ þe oðer ær sealde. and se cyng hit lett þā menn þe him mare bead. Ðonne cō se þridde. and bead geat mare. and se cyng hit let þā men to handa þe hī eallra meast bead. and ne rohte na hu swiðe synlice þa gerefan hit begeatan of earme mannon. ne hu manige unlaga hi dydon. Ac swa man swyðor spæc embe rihte lage. swa mann dyde mare unlaga. hy arerdon un rihte tollas. and manige oðre un rihte hi dydan. þe sindon earfeþe to areccenne.

Eac on ðam ilcan geare æt foran hærfeste for barn þ halige mynster sc̄e Paule þe b'stol on Lundene. and mænige oðre mynstres. and þ mæste dæl and þ rotteste ealle þære burh. Swylc eac on ðam ilcan timan for barn full neah ælc heafod port on eallon Engle lande. Eala reowlic and wependlic tid wæs þæs geares. þe swa manig un gelimp wæs forð bringende.

Eac on þam ilcan geare to foran Assumptio sc̄e Marie for Will'm cyng of Normandige into France mid fyrde. and hergode uppan his agenne hlaford Philippe þā cynge. and sloh of his mannon mycelne dæl. and for bearnde þa burh Maðante. and ealle þa halige mynstres þe wæron innon þære burh. and twegen halige menn þe hyrsumedon Gode on ancer settle wuniende. þær wæron for bearnde.

Ðissū þus gedone. se cyng Willelm cearde on gean to Normandige. Reowlic þing he dyde. and reowlicor hī gelaþ. Hu reowlicor? him geyfelade. and þ him stranglice églade. Hwæt mæg ic teollan? Se scearpa deað þe ne for let ne rice menn ne heane. seo hine genā.

He swealt on Normandige on þone nextan dæg æft' natiuitas sc̄e Marie. and man bebyrgede hine on Caþum æt sc̄e Stephanes mynstre. ærer he hit arærde. and syððan mæni fealdlice gegodade.

Eala hu leas and hu un wrest is þysses middan cardes wela.

Se þe wæs ærur rice cyng. and maniges landes hlaford. he (A.D. 1086)
næfde þa ealles landes buton seofon fot mæl. and se þe wæs hwilon gescrid mid golde. and mid gimmū. he læg þa ofer wrogen mid moldan.

He læfde æfter hī þreo sunan. Rodbeard hét se yldesta. se wæs eorl on Normandige æft' him. se oðer hét Willelm. þe bær æft' him on Engle land þone kine helm. Se þridda hét Heanric. þā se fæder becwæð gersuman un ateallendlice.

Gif hwa gewilnigeð to gewitane hu gedon mann he wæs. oððe hwilcne wurðscipe he hæfde. oððe hu fela lande he wære hlaford. Ðonne wille we be hī awritan swa swa we hine ageaton. ðe hī onlocodan. and oðre hwile on his hirede wunedon. Se cyng Willelm þe we embe specað wæs swiðe wis man. and swiðe rice. and wurðfulre and strengere þonne ænig his foregengra wære. He wæs milde þā godū mannū þe God lufedon. and ofer eall gemett stearc þā mannū þe wiðcwædon his willan. On ðā ilcan steode þe God him geuðe þ he moste Englc land gegán. he arerde mære mynster. and munecas þær gesætte. and hit wæll gegodade. On his dagan wæs þ mære mynster on Cant warbyrig getymbrad. and eac swiðe manig oðer ofer eall Engla land. Eac þis land wæs swiðe afylled mid munecan. and þa leofodan heora lif æft' sćs Benedict' regule. and se Xp̃endom wæs swilc on his dæge þ ælc man hwæt his hade to belumpe. folgade se þe wolde. Eac he wæs swyðe wurðful. þriwa he bær his cyne helm ælce geare. swa oft swa he wæs on Engle lande. on Eastron he hine bær on Win ceastre. on Pentecosten on West mynstre. on mide wintre on Gleawe ceastre. And þænne wæron mid hī ealle þa rice men ofer eall Engla land. arcebiscopas. and leod b's. abbodas and eorlas. þegnas and cnihtas. Swilce he wæs eac swyðe stearc man and ræðe. swa þ man ne dorste nan þing ongean his willan dón. He hæfde eorlas on his bendū. þe dydan ongean his willan. Biscopas he sætte of heora biscop rice. and abbodas of heora abb'ríce. and þægnas on cweartern. and æt nextan he ne sparode his agenne broðor Odo hét. he wæs swiðe rice b' on Normandig'. on Baius wæs his b' stol. and wæs manna fyrmest to eacan þā cynge. And he hæfde eorl dō on Engle lande. and þonne se cyng on Normandige.

(A.D. 1086) þonne wæs he mægest' on þisum lande. and hine he sætte on cweartern. Betwyx oðrū þingū nis na to forgytane þ gode frið þe he macode on þisan lande. swa þ án man þe him sylf aht wære. mihte faran ofer his rice mid his bosum full goldes ungederad. and nan man ne dorste slean oðerne man. næfde he næfre swa mycel yfel gedón wið þone oðerne. And gif hwilc carl man hæmde wið wimman hire unðances. sona he forleas þa limu þe he mid pleagode.

He rixade ofer Englæ land. and hit mid his geapscipe swa þurh smeade. þ næs án hid landes innan Englæ lande. þ he nyste hwa heo hæfde. oððe hwæs heo wurð wæs. and syððan on his gewrit gesætt. Bryt land him wæs on gewealde. and he þær inne casteles gewrohte. and þet Mann cynn mid ealle gewealde. swilce eac Scotland he hī underþædde. for his mycele strengþe. Normandige þ land wæs his gecynde. and ofer þone eorl dō þe Mans is gehaten he rixade. and gif he moste þa gyt twa gear libban. he hæfde Yrlande mid his werscipe gewunnon. and wiðutan ælcon wæpnon. Witodlice on his timan hæfdon men mycel geswinc. and swiðe manige teonan. castelas he lét wyrcean. and earme men swiðe swencean. Se cyng wæs swa swiðe stearc. and benā of his underþeoddan man. manig marc goldes. and má hundred punda seolfres. Ðet he nā be rihte. and mid mycelan ún rihte of his leode· for littelre neode. he wæs on gitsunge befeallan. and grædinæsse he lufode mid ealle. he sætte mycel deor frið· and he lægde laga þær wið. þ swa hwa swa sloge heort oððe hinde· þ hine man sceolde blendian. he forbead þa heortas· swylce eac þa baras. swa swiðe he lufode þa hea deór· swilce he wære heora fæder. cac he sætte be þā haran· þ hi mosten freo faran. his rice men hit mændon. and þa earme men hit beceórodan. ac he swa stið· þ he ne rohte heora eallra nið. ac hi moston mid ealle

þes cynges wille folgian
gif hi woldon libban· oððe land habban·
land oððe eahta· oððe wel his sehta·
Wala wá· þ ænig man sceolde modigan swa·
hine sylf úpp ahebban· and ofer ealle men tellan.
Se ælmihtiga God cyþæ his saule mild heortnisse·
and do hī his synna forgifenesse.

Ðas þing we habbað be hī gewritene. ægðer ge góde ge

yfele. þ þa godan men niman æft' þeora godnesse. and for (A.D. 1086)
leon mid ealle yfelnesse. and gan on ðone wég. þe us lett to heofonan rice.

Fela þinga we magon writan þe on ðam ilcan geare gewordene wæron. Swa hit wæs on Den mearcan. þ þa Dænescan þe wæs ærur geteald eallra folca getreowast. wurdon awende to þære meste untriwðe. and to þā mæsten swicdóme þe æfre mihte gewurðan. Hi gecuron and ábugan to Cnute cynge. and hī aðas sworon. and syððan hine earhlice ofslogon innan anre cyrcean. Eac wearð on Ispanie þ þa hæðenan men foran and hergodan uppon þā Xp̃enan mannan. and mycel abegdan to heora anwealde. Ac se Xp̃ena cyng Anphos wæs gehaten he sende ofer eall into ælcan lande. and gyrnde fultumes. and hī cō to fultū of ælcen lande þe Xp̃en wæs. and ferdon and ofslogon and aweg adrifan eall þet hæðena folc. and gewunnon heora land ongean. þurh Godes fultum.

Eac on þisan ilcan lande on þā ilcan geare. forð ferdon manega rice men. Stigand b' of Ciceastre. and se abb' of sc̃e Augustine. and se abb' of Baðon. and þe of Perscoran. and þa heora eallra hlaford Willelm Englælandes cyng. þe we ær beforan embe spæcon. Æfter his deaðe his sune. Will'm hæt callswa þe fæder. feng to þā rice and wearð gebletsod to cynge frā Landfrance arce b' on West mynstre. þreō dagum ær Michaeles mæsse dæg. and ealle þa men on Englalande hī to abugon. and him aðas sworon. Ðisū þus gedone. se cyng ferde to Winceastre. and sceawode þ madme hus. and þa gersuman þe his fæder ær gegaderode. þa wæron unasecgendlice ænie men hu mycel þær wæs gegaderod. on golde and on seolfre. and on faton. and on wællan. and on gimman. and on manige oðre deorwurðe þingon. þe earfoðe sindon to ateallene. Se cyng dyde þa swa his fæder him bebead ær he dead wære. dælde þa gersuman for his fæder saule. to ælcen mynstre þe wes innan Englelande to suman mynstre x marc goldes. to suman vi and to ælcen cyrcean uppe land lx pæñ. and into ælcere scire man seonde hundred punda feos. to dælanne earme mannan for his saule. And ær he forðferde he bead þ man sceolde unlesan ealle þa menn þe on hæftnunge wæron under his anwealde. and se cyng wæs on ðam midewintre on Lundene.

1087. On þisū geare wæs þis land swiðe astirad. and mid mycele swicdome afylled. swa þ þa riceste Francisce men þe weron innan þisan lande. wolden swican heora hlaforde þā cynge. and woldon habban his broðer to cynge Rodbeard þe wæs eorl on Normandige. On þisū ræde wæs ærest Oda b'. and Gosfrið b'. and Will'm b' on Dunholme. Swa wæll dyde se cyng be þā b'. þ eall Engla land færde æft' his ræde. and swa swa he wolde. and he þohte to donne be him eall swa Iudas Scarioth dyde be ure Drihtene. And Rogere eorl wæs eac æt þā unræde. and swiðe mycel folc mid heō ealle Francisce men. and þæs unræd wærð geræd innan þā lengtene. Sona swa hit cō to þā Eastron. þa ferdon hí and hergodon and bærndon and aweston þæs cynges feorme hames. and eallra þæra manna land hi fordydon þe wæron innan þæs cynges holdscipe. and heora ælc ferde to his castele. and þone mannoden and metsoden swa hig betst mihton. Gosfrið b' and Rodbeard amundbræg ferdon to Bricgstowe and hergodon and brohton to þā castele þa hergunge. and syððon foron út of ðam castele and hergodon Baðon. and eall þ land þær abutan. and eall Beorclea hyrnesse hi awæston. And þa men þe yldest wæron of Here forde. and eall þeo scír forð mid. and þa men of Scrobscyre mid mycele folce of Brytlande comon and hergodon and bærndon on Wiðre ceastre scire forð þ hi comon to þā porte sylfan. And woldon þa ðæne port bærnen. and þ mynster reafian. and þæs cynges castel gewinnan heō to handa. Ðas þing geseonde se arwurða b' Wlstan. wearð swiðe gedrefed on his mode. forðig him wæs betæht þe castel to healdene. þeah hweðer his hiredmen ferdon út mid feawe mannan of þā castele. and þurh Godes mildheortnisse and þurh þæs b's ge earnunga of slogon and gelæhton fif hundred manna. and þa oðre ealle aflymdon. Se b' of Dunholme dyde to hearme þ he mihte ofer eall be norðan. Roger hét an of heō. se hleop into þā castele æt Norðwic. and dyde git eallra wærst ofer eall þ land. Hugo eac an þe hit ne gebette nan þing. ne innan Lægre ceastre scire. ne innan Norð hā tune. Ðe b' Odo þe þas cyng of awócan ferde into Cent to his eorldome. and fordyde hit swyðe. and þæs cynges land. and þæs arce b's mid ealle aweston. and brohte eall þ god into his castele on Hrofe ceastre.

Đa þe cyng undergeat ealle þas þing. and hwilcne swicdō (A. D. 1087)
hi dydon toweard his. þa wearð he on his mode swiðe gedrefed. sende þa æfter Englisce mannan. and heō fore sæde his neode. and gyrnde heora fultumes. and behet heom þa betsta laga þa æfre ær wæs on þisan lande. and ælc unriht geold he for bead. and geatte mannan heora wudas. and slætinge. ac hit ne stod nane hwile. Ac Englisce men swa þeah fengon to þā cynge heora hlaforde on fultume. ferdon þa toweard Hrofe ceastre. and woldon þone b' Odan begytan. þohtan gif hi hæfdon hine þe wæs ærur heafod to ðam unræde. þ hi mihton þe bet begytan ealla þa oðre. hi comon þa to þā castele to Tonebricge. þa wæron innan þā castele Oda b's cnihtas. and oðre manige þe hine healdon woldan ongean þoñ cyng. ac þa Englisce men ferdon and to bræcon þone castel. and þa men þe þær inne wæron. griðodon wið þone cyng. Se cyng mid his here ferde toweard Hrofe ceastre. and wendon þ se b' wære þær inne. ac hit wearð þam cynge cuð þet se b' wæs afaren to ðam castele Apefenesea. and se cyng mid his here ferde æft'. and besætt þoñ castel abutan. mid swiðe mycele here fulle six wucan.

Betwyx þissū se eorl of Normandige Rodbeard þes cynges broðer gaderode swiðe mycel folc. and þohte to gewinnane Engle land mid þæra manna fultume þe wæron innan þisan lande ongean þoñ cyng. and he sende of his mannan to þisū lande. and wolde cuman himsylf æft'. Ac þa Englisce men þe wærdedon þære sæ. gelæhton of þā mannon. and slogon. and adrengton ma þonñ ænig man wiste to tellanne.

Syððan heō ateorede mete wiðinnan þā castele. ða gyrndon hi griðas. and agefan hine þā cynge. and se b' swór þ he wolde út of Engle lande faran. and ná mare cuman on ðisan lande butan se cyng hī æft' sende. and þ he wolde agifan þoñ castel on Hrofe ceastre. Ealswa se b' ferde and sceolde agifan þoñ castel. and se cyng sende his men mid hī. ða arisan þa men þe wæron innan þā castele. and namon þone b' and þes cynges men. and dydon hi on hæftnunge. Innan þā castele wæron swiðe gode cnihtas. Eustati' þe iunga. and Rogeres eorles þreo sunan. and ealle þa betst boren men. þe wæron innan þisan lande. oððe on Normandige.

Đa se cyng undergeat þas þing. þa ferde he æft'

(A.D. 1087) mid þā here þe he ðær hæfde. and sende ofer eall Engla lande. and bead þ ælc man þe wære unniðing sceolde cuman to hī. Frencisce and Englisce. of porte and of uppe lande. Hī cō þa mycel folc tó. and he for Hrofe ceastre. and besætt þone castel. oððet hi griðedon þe þær inne wæron. and þone castel ageafon. Se b' Odo mid þā mannū þe innan þā castele wæron ofer sæ ferdon. and se b' swa for let þone wurð scipe þe he on þis land hæfde. Se cyng syððan sende here to Dun holme. and let besittan þone castel. and se b' griðode and ageaf þone castel. and for let his biscop rice. and ferde to Normandig'. Eac manige Frencisce men for leton heora land. and ferdon ofer sæ. and se cyng geaf heora land þā mannū þe him holde wæron.

1089. On þisum geare se arwurða muneca feder and frouer Landfranc arcb' gewat of þissū life. ac we hopiað þ he ferde to þ heofanlice rice. Swilce eac gewarð ofer eall Engle land mycel eorð styrunge. on þone dæg iii idus Aug'. and wæs swiðe lætsum gear on corne. and on ælces cynnes wæstmum. swa þ manig men ræpon heora corn on butan Martines mæssan. and gyt lator.

1090. Indictione xiii. Ðissū þus gedón. eall swa wæ ær abufan sædan be þā cynge. and be his broðer. and be his mannon. se cyng wæs smægende hu he mihte wrecon his broðer Rodbeard swiðost swencean. and Normandige of him gewinnan. Ðeah þurh his geapscipe. oððe þurh gærsuma he begeat þone castel æt sce Waleri. and þa hæfenan. and swa he begeat þone æt Albemare. and þar inne he sette his cnihtas. and hi dydon hearmes uppon þā lande on hergunge and on bærnete. Æft' þisū he begeat ma castelas innan þā lande. and þær inne his rideras gelogode.

Se eorl of Normandige R' syððan he under geat þ his gesworene men him trucedon. and agefon hera castelas him to hearme. þa sende he to his hlaforde Philippe Francena cynge. and he cō to Normandig' mid mycelan here. and se cyng and se eorl mid or mætre fyrde besæton þoñ castel abuton. þær þæs cynges men of Engle land inne wæron. Se cyng Willelm of Engla lande sende to Philippe Francena cynge. and he for his lufan oððe for his mycele gersuma for let swa his man þoñ eorl Rodbeard and his land. and ferde ongean to France and let heō swa weorðan. And betwyx

þisum þingū þis land wæs swiðe fordón. on unlagagelde. and on oðre manige ungelimpe.

1091. On þisū geare se cyng Will'm heold his hired to Xp̃es messan on Wæstmynstre. and þær æft' to Candel mæssan he ferde for his broðær unþearfe ut of Engla lande into Normandige. On mang þā þe he þær wæs. heora sehte to gædere eode. on þ gerad þ se eorl hī to handan let Uescam. and þone eorldō æt Ou. and Kiæres burh. and þær to eacan þes cynges men sac leas beon moston on þā castelan. þe hi ær þes eorles unþances begiten hæfdon. And se cyng hī ongean þa Manige behet. þe ær heora fæder gewann and þa frā þā eorle gebogen wæs. gebygle to donne. and eall þ his fæder þær begeondan hæfde. butan þā þe he þā cynge þa geunnen hæfde. And þ ealle þa þe on Engle lande for þā eorle æror heora land for luron. hit on þisum sehte habban sceoldan. and se eorl on Engle lande eall swa mycel swa on heora forewarde wæs. And gif se eorl forð ferde butan sunu be rihtre æwe. wære se cyng yrfe numa of eallon Normandig. be þisre sylfan forewarde gif se cyng swulte. wære se eorl yrfe numa ealles Engla landes. Ðas forewarde gesworan xii þa betste of þes cynges healfe. and xii of þes eorles. þeah hit syððan litle hwile stode.

On mang þisū sæhte wearð Eadgar æþeling belandod. of þā þe se eorl him æror þær to handa gelæten hæfde. and ut of Normandig for to þā cynge his aðume to Scotlande. and to his swustor.

On mang þā þe se cyng W. ut of Engle lande wæs. ferde se cyng Melcolm of Scotlande hider into Englū. and his mycelne dæl ofer hergode. oð þ þa gode mæn þe þis land bewiston. hī fyrde ongean sændon. and hine gecyrdon. Ða þa se cyng W. into Normandige þis gehyrde. þa gearcode he his fare. and to Engle lande cō. and his broðer se eorl Rodbeard mid hī. and sona fyrde hét ut abeodan. ægðer scipfyrde and landfyrde. ac seo scipfyrde ær he to Scotlande cuman mihte. ælmæst earmlice forfór. feowan dagon toforan sc̃e Michæles mæssan. And se cyng and his broðer mid þære landfyrde ferdon. ac þa ða se cyng Melcolm gehyrde þ hine man mid fyrde secean wolde. he for mid his fyrde ut of Scotlande into Loðene on Engla land and þær abad. Ða þa se cyng W. mid his fyrde genealehte. þa ferdon betwux

(A. D. 1091) Rodbeard eorl and Eadgar æðeling and þæra cinga sehte swa gemacedon. þ se cyng Melcolm to uran cynge cō. and his man wearð to eallswilcre gehyrsūnisse swa he ær his fæder dyde. and þ mid aðe gefestnode. and se cyng W. him behét on landc and on ealle þinge þæs þe he under his fæder ær hæfde.

On þisū sehte wearð eac Eadgar eþeling wið þone cyng gesæhtlad. and þa cyngas þa mid mycclū sehte to hwurfon. ac þ litle hwile stod. And se eorl Rodbeard her oð Xp̃es mæssc forneah mid þā cynge wunode. and litel soðes þær on mang· of heora forewarde onfand. and twā dagon ær þære tide on Wiht scipode. and into Normandig fór. and Eadgar æðeling mid him.

1092. On þisū geare se cyng W. mid mycelre fyrde ferde norð to [1]Cardcol. and þa burh geæðstaþelede. and þone castel arerde. and Dolfin út adraf þe æror þær þes landes weold. and þoñ castel mid his mannan gesette. and syððan hider suð gewænde. and mycele mænige [2]Eyrlisces folces mid wifan and mid orfe þyder sænde. þær to wunigenne þ land to tilianne.

1093. On þisū geare to þā længtene warð se cyng W. on Gleawe ceastre to þā swiðe geseclod. þ he wæs ofer eall dead gekyd. And on his broke he Gode fela behæsa behét. his agen lif on riht to lædene. and Godes cyrcean griðian and friðian. and næfre má eft wið feo gesyllan. and ealle rihte lage on his þeode to habbene. and þ arce b'rice on Cant war byrig þe ær on his agenre hand stód. Anselme betæhte. se wæs ær abb' on Bæc. and Rodbeard his cancelere þ biscop rice on Lincolne. and to manegan mynstren land geuðe. ac þ he syððan æt bræd. þa hī gebotad wæs. and ealle þa gode laga forlæt. þe he us ær behét.

Ða æft' þisson sende cyng of Scotlande. and þære forewarde gyrnde þe hī behaten wæs. and sé cing W. him steofnode to Glowe ceastre. and hī to Scotlande gislas sende. and Eadgar æþeling æft'. and þa men syððan ongeán. þe hine mid mycclon wurðscipe to þā cynge brohtan. Ac þa ða he to þā cynge cō. ne mihte he beon weorðe naðer ne ure cynges spæcc. nc þæra forewarde þe hī ær behatene wæron. and forþi hi þa mid mycclon un sehte to hwurfon. and se

[1] Carleol: Gibson's correction. [2] Englisces: Gibson's correction.

cyng Melcolm hā to Scotlande gewænde. Ac hraðe þæs þe (A. D. 1093)
he hā com. he his fyrde gegaderode. and into Engle lande hergende mid maran unræde ferde þone hī abehofode. and hine þa Rodbeard se eorl of Norð hymbran mid his mannan unwæres besyrede and ofsloh. Hine sloh Moræl of Bæbbaburh. se wæs þæs eorles stiward. and Melcolmes cynges god sib. Mid hī wæs eac Eadward his sune ofslagen. se æft' hī cyng beon sceolde. gif he hit gelifode. Ða þa seo gode cwen Margarita þis gehyrde. hyre þa leofstan hlaford and sunu þus beswikene. heo wearð oð deað on mode geancsumed. and mid hire prestan to cyrcean eode. and hire gerihtan under feng. and æt Gode abæd. þ heo hire gast agcaf. And þa Scottas þa Dufenal to cynge gecuron Melcolmes broðer. and ealle þa Englisce út adræfdon. þe ær mid þā cynge Melcolme wæron. Ða þa Dunecan Melcolmes cynges sunu þis eall gehyrde þus gefaren. se on þæs cynges hyrede W. wæs. swa swa his fæder hine ures cynges fæder ær to gisle geseald hæfde. and her swa syððan belaf. he to þā cynge cō. and swilce getrywða dyde. swa se cyng æt him habban wolde. and swa mid his unne to Scotlande fór. mid þā fultume þe he begytan mihte Engliscra and Frenciscra. and his mæge Dufenal þes rices benā. and to cynge wearð underfangen. Ac þa Scottas hi eft sume gegaderoden. and for neah ealle his mænu ofslogan. and he sylf mid feawū æt bærst. Syððan hi wurdon sehte. on þa gerád þ he næfre eft Englisce ne Frencisce into þam lande ne gelogige.

1094. Her hæfde se cyng W. to Cristes mæssan his hired æt Gleawe ceastre. and him þider fram his broðer Rodbeardc of Normandig bodan coman. þa cyddon þ his broðer grið and forewarde eall æft' cwæð. butan se cyng gelæstan woldc eall þet hi on forewarde hæfdon ær gewroht. and uppon þ hine forsworenne and trywleasne clypode. buton he þa forewarda geheolde. oððe þider ferde and hine þær betealde þær seo forewardc ær wæs gewroht and eac gesworen.

Ða ferde se cyng to Hæstingan to þā Candel mæssan. and on mang þā þe he þær wederes abád. he let halgian þ mynster æt þære Bataille. And Herbearde Losangc þā b' of þeot fordan his stæf benā. and þær æft' to mid lengtenc ofer sæ fór into Normandigc. Syððan he þider cō. he and his broðer Rodbeard sc eorl gecwæðan. þ hi mid griðe togædere cuman

(A.D. 1094) sceoldan. and swa dydon. and gesemede beon ne mihtan. Syððan eft hi togædere coman mid þā ilcan mannan þe ær þ loc makedon. and eac þa aðas sworen. and ealne þoñ bryce uppon þone cyng tealdon. ac he nolde þæs geþafa beon. ne cac þa forewarde healdan. and forþā hi þa mid mycelon unsehte to cyrdon.

And se cyng syððan þoñ castel æt Bures gewann. and þes eorles men þær inne genā. þa sume hyder to lande sende. Đær togeanes se eorl mid þes cynges fultume of France gewánn þone castel æt Argentses. and þear inne Rogger Peiteuin genā. and seofen hundred þes cynges cnihta mid hī. and syððan þoñ æt Hulme. and oftrædlice heora ægðer uppon oðerne tunas bærnde and eac menne læhte.

Đa sende cyng hider to lande. and hét abeodan út xx þusenda Engliscra manna him to fultume to Normandig. ac þa hi to sæ coman. þa het hi man cyrran. and þ feoh syllan to þæs cynges behófe þe hi genumen hæfdon. þet wæs ælc man healf punda. and hi swa dydon.

And se eorl innon Normandig æft' þison mid þā cynge of France and mid eallon þan þe hi gegaderian mihton ferdon towardes Ou þær se cyng W. inne wæs. and þohtan hine inne to besittanne. and swa foran oð hi coman to Lunge uile. Đær wearð se cyng of France þurh gesmeah gecyrred. and swa syððan eal seo fyrding tó hwearf. Her on mang þison se cyng W. sende æfter his broðer Heanrige. se wæs on þā castele æt Damfront. ac forþi þe he mid friðe þurh Normandig faran ne mihte. he hī sende scipon æfter. and Hugo eorl of Ceastre. Ac þa ða hi towardes Óú faran sceoldan þær se cyng wæs. hi foran to Engle lande. and úp coman æt Hamtune on ealra halgena mæsse æfne. and her syððon wunedon. and to Xp̃es mæssan wæron on Lunden.

Eac on þisū ylcan geare þa Wylisce menn hi gegaderodon. and wið þa Frencisce þe on Walon. oððe on þære neawiste wæron and hi ær belandedon. gewinn úp ahofon. and manige festena and castelas abræcon. and men ofslogon. and syððan heora gefylce weox. hí hí on ma to dældon. Wið sum þæra dæle gefeaht Hugo eorl of Scrob scire and hi aflymde. Ac þeah hweðer þa oðre ealles þæs geares nanes yfeles ne geswicon þe hi dón mihton.

Đises geares eac þa Scottas heora cyng Dunecan besyredon

and of slogan. and heō syððan eft oðre syðe his fæderan Dufenal to cynge genamon. þurh þes lare and to tihtinge he wearð to deaðe beswicen.

1095. On þisū geare wæs se cyng Will'm to Xp̃es mæssan þa feower forewarde dagas on Hwitsand. and æfter þā feorðan dæge hider to lande fór. and úpp com æt Doferan. And Heanrig þes cynges broðer her on lande oð lengten wunode. and þa ofer sæ for to Normandig mid mycclon gersuman. on þæs cynges heldan uppon heora broðer Rodbeard eorl. and gelomlice uppon þone eorl wann. and him mycelne hearm ægðer on lande and on mannan dyde.

And þa to Eastran heold se cyng his hired on Win ceastre. and se eorl Rodbeard of Norð hymbran nolde to hirede cuman. and se cyng forðan wearð wið hine swiðe astyrod. and hī to sænde and heardlice bead gif he griðes weorðe beon wolde. þ he to Pentecosten to hired come. On þisū geare wæron Eastron on viii k' Apr'. and þa uppon Eastron on sce Ambrosius mæsse niht. þ is ii nō Apr' wæs gesewen forneah ofer eall þis land swilce forneah ealle þa niht swiðe mæni fealdlice steorran of heofenan feollan. naht be anan oððe twam. ac swa þiclice þ hit nan mann ateallan ne mihte. Her æft' to Pentecosten wæs se cyng on Windlesoran. and eall his witan mid hī. butan þā eorle of Norð hymbran. forþā se cyng him naþer nolde ne gislas syllan. ne uppon trywðan geunnon þ he mid griðe cumon moste and faran.

And se cyng forþi his fyrde bead. and uppon þoñ eorl to Norð hymbran fór. and sona þes þe he þider cō. he manege and forneah ealle þa betste of þes eorles hirede innan anan fæstene gewann. and on hæftene gedyde. And þoñ castel æt Tine muðan besæt oððet he hine gewann. and þæs eorles broðer þær inne and ealle þa þe hī mid wæron. and syððan ferde to Bebbaburh. and þoñ eorl þær inne besæt. Ac þa ða se cyng geseah þ he hine gewinnan ne mihte. þa het he makian ænne castel to foran Bebbaburh. and hine on his spæce Malucisin het. þ is on Englisc yfel nehhebur. and hine swiðe mid his mannan gesætte. and syððan suð weard fór. Ða sona æft' þam þe se cyng wæs suð afaren. feorde se eorl anre nihte ut of Bebbaburh towardes Tine muðan. ac þa þe innan þam niwan castele wæron. his gewær wurdon. and him æft' foran and on fuhton. and hine gewundedon. and syððan

(A.D. 1095) gelæhton. and þa þe mid hī wæron sume of slogan. sume lifes gefengon.

On mang þison wearð þā cynge cuð. þ þa Wylisce men on Wealon sumne castel heafdon to broken Muntgumni hatte. and Hugon eorles menn of slagene þe hine healdon sceoldan. and he forþi oðre fyrde hét fearlice abannan. and æft' sče Michaeles mæsse into Wealan ferde. and his fyrde to scyfte. and þ land eall þurh for. swa þ seo fyrde eall togædere cō to ealra halgena to Snawdune. Ac þa Wylisce a toforan into muntan and moran ferdan þ heō man to cuman ne mihte. and se cyng þa hā weard gewende forþā he geseah þ he þær þes wintres mare don ne mihte.

Ða þa se cyng ongean cō. þa het he niman þoñ corl Rotbeard of Norð hymbran and to Bæbbaburh lædan. and ægðer eage ut adon. buton þa þe þær inne wæron þoñ castel agyfan woldan. Hine heoldan his wif. and Moreal se wæs stiward and eac his mæg. Ðurh þis wearð se castel þa agyfen. and Moreal wearð þa on þes cynges hirede. and þurh hine wurdon manege ægðer ge gehadode and eac læwede geypte. þe mid heora ræde on þes cynges un heldan wæron. þa se cyng sume ær þære tíde hét on hæftneðe gebringan. and syððan swiðe gemahlice ofer eall þis land beodan. þ ealle þa þe of þā cynge land heoldan. eall swa hi friðes weorðe beon woldan. þ hi on hirede to tide wæron. and þone eorl Rotbert hét se cyng to Windlesoran lædan. and þær innan þā castele healdan.

Eac on þis ylcan geare togeanes Eastron cō þæs Papan sande hider to lande. þ wæs Waltear bisceop swiðe god lifes man of Albin þære ceastre. and þā arce b' Ansealme uppon Pentecosten of þæs Papan healfe Urban' his palliū geaf. and he hine under feng æt his arce stole on Cant wara byrig. And se biscop Waltear her on lande þæs geares syððan lange wunode. and man syððan þ Rom gesceot be hī sende. swa man manegan gearan æror ne dyde.

Ðises ylcan eac geares wæron swiðe un tid gewidera. and forþi geond eall þis land wurdon eorð wæstmas eall to medemlice gewende.

1096. On þison geare heold se cyng Will'm his hired to Xp̃es mæssan on Windlesoran. and Will'm bisc̃ of Dunholme þær forð ferde to geares dæge. and on Octab' Epiphan' wæs

se cyng and ealle his witan on Sear byrig. Þær beteah (A.D. 1096)
Gosfrei Bainard Will'm of Ou þes cynges mæg þ he heafde gebeon on þes cynges swicdome. and hit hī on gefeaht. and hine on orreste ofer cō. and syððan he ofer cumen wæs. hī het se cyng þa eagan ut adón. and syþðan belisnian. and his stiward Will'm hatte. se wæs his modrian sunu. het se cyng on rode ahón. Ðær wearð eac Eoda eorl of Cāpaine þæs cynges aðum and manege oðre belende. and sumne man to Lundene lædde. and þær spilde.

Ðises geares eac to þā Eastran wearð swiðe mycel styrung geond ealle þas þeode and fela oðra þeodan þurh Urban' se wæs Papa gehaten þeah þe he þæs setles naþing næfde ón Rome. and ferde un arimedlice folc mid wifan and cildan tó þi þ hi uppon hæðene þeodan winnan woldan. Ðurh þas fare wearð se cyng and his broðor Rodbeard eorl sehte. swa þ se cyng ofer sæ fór. and eall Normandig æt hī mid feo alisde. swa swa hi þa sehte wæron. And se eorl syððan ferde. and mid hī se eorl of Flandran. and se of Bunan. and eac manige oðre heafodmen. and se eorl Rodbeard and þa þe mid him ferdon þoñ winter on Puille wunedon. Ac þes folces þe be Hungrie fór. fela þusenda þær and be wæge earmlice for foran. and fela hreowlice and hunger bitene ongean winter hā tugon.

Ðis wæs swiðe hefig tyme gear geond eall Angel cyn. ægðer ge þurh mænig fealde gylda. and eac þurh swiðe hefig tymne hunger. þe þisne eard þæs geares swiðe gedrehte.

Eac on þison geare þa heafodmen þe þis land heoldan oft rædlice fyrde into Wealon sendon. and mænig man mid þā swiðe gedrehtan. ac man þær ne gespædde. butan man myrringe. and feoh spillinge.

1097. Her on þison geare weas se cyng Willelm to Xp̃es mæssan on Normandig. and þa togeanes Eastron hider to lande for. forþā he þohte his hired on Win ceastre to healdenne. ac he wearð þurh weder gelét. oððet Eastre æfen þ he up cō ærost æt Arundel. and forþi his hired æt Windlesoran heold.

And þær æft' mid mycclū here into Wealon ferde. and þ land swiðe mid his fyrde þurh fór. þurh sume þa Wyliscean þe hī to wæron cumen and his læd teowas wæron. and þær inne wunode frā midde sumeran for neah oð August. and mycel

(A.D. 1097) þær inne forleas on mannan and on horsan. and eac on manegan oðran þingan. Ða Wylisce men syððon hi frā þā cynge gebugon. heō manege ealdras of heō sylfan gecuron. sum þæra wæs Caduugaun gehaten þe heora weorðast wæs. se wæs Griffines broðer sunu cynges. Ac þa ða se cyng geseah þ he nan þingc his willes þær geforðian ne mihte. he ongean into þíson lande fór. and hraðe æfter þā. he be þā gemæron castelas let gemakian.

Ða uppon sče Michael' mæssan iv non' Octobr'. ætywde án selcuð steorra on æfen scynende and sona to setle gangende. He wæs gesewen suð weast. and se leoma þe hī of stód. wæs swiðe lang geþuht suð east scinende. and for neah ealle þa wucan on þas wisan ætywde. manige men leton þ hit cometa wære.

Sona æft' þyson. se arce b' Ansealm of Cant war byrig leafe æt þā cynge nā. þeah hit þā cynge ungewill wære þæs þe men leton. and ofer sæ fór. forþā him þuhte þ man on þisne þeodan lytel æfter rihte and æft' his dyhte dyde.

And se cyng þær æft' uppon sče Martines mæssan ofer sæ íntó Normandig fór. ac þa hwile þe he wederes abád. his hired innon þā sciran þær hi lagón. þoñ mæston hearm dydon þe æfre hired oððe here innon friðlande don sceolde. Ðis wæs on eallon þingan swiðe hefig tyme geár. and ofer geswincfull. on ungewederan þa man oððe tilian sceolde oððe eft tilða gegaderian. and on ungyldan þa næfre ne ablunnon. Eac manege sciran þe mid weorce to Lundenne belūpon. wurdon þærle gedrehte. þurh þoñ weall þe hi worhton on butan þoñ túr. and þurh þa brycge þe for neah eall to flotan wæs. and þurh þæs cynges healle geweorc þe man on West mynstre worhte. and mænige man þær mid gedrehte.

Eac on þysū ylcan geare sona uppon sče Michaeles mæssan ferde Eadgar æþeling mid fyrde þurh þæs cynges fultū into Scotlande. and þet land mid stranglicū feohte gewann. and þoñ cyng Dufenal út adræfde. and his mæg Eadgar se wæs Melcolmes sunu cynges and Margarite þære cwenan he þær on þæs cynges Willelmes heldan to cynge gesette. and syððan ongean into Engleland fór.

1098. On þysum geare to Xþes mæssan wæs se cyng W. on Normandig. And Walcelin b' on Winceastre and Baldewine

abb' on sce Ædmund innan þære tide bægen forð ferdan. (A. D. 1098)
And on þisū geare eac Turold abb' of Burh forð ferde.

Ðises geares eac to þan sumeran innan Barruc scire æt Finchāstæde án mere blod weoll. swa swa manige trywe men sædan he hit geseon sceoldan.

And Hugo eorl wearð of slagen innan Angles ege frā út wikingan. and his broðer Rodbert wearð his yrfe numa. swa swa he hit æt þā cynge ofeode.

Toforan sce Michael' mæssan ætywde seo heofon swilce heo for neah ealle þa niht byrnende wære. Ðis wæs swiðe geswincfull gear þurh manig feald un gyld. and þurh mycele renas þe ealles geares ne ablunnon. for neah ælc tilð on mersc lande for ferde.

1099. Her wæs se cyng Will'm to midewintra on Normandig. and to Eastron hider to lande cō. and to Pentecosten forman siðe his hired innan his niwan g'byttlan æt West mynstre heold. and þær Rannulfe his capellane þ biscop rice on Dunholme geaf. þe æror ealle his gemot ofer eall Engle land draf and bewiste. and sona þær æft' ofer sæ fór. and þoñ eorl Elias of þære Manige adraf. and hy syððan on his geweald gesætte. and swa to sce Michael' mæssan eft hider to lande cō.

Ðises geares eac on sce Martiñ mæsse dæg. asprang up to þan swiðe sæ flod. and swa mycel to hearme gedyde. swa nan man ne g'munet þ hit æfre æror dyde. and wæs ðæs ylcan dæges luna p'ma.

And Osmund biscop of Searbyrig innon Aduent forð ferde.

1100. On þison geare se cyng W. heold his hired to Xpes mæssa on Gleawe ceastre. and to Eastron on Win ceastre. and to Pentecost' on West mynstre.

And to þā Pentecost' wæs gesewen innan Barruc scire æt anan tune blod weallan of eorþan. swa swa mænige sædan þe hit g'seon sceoldan. And þær æft' on morgen æft' hlā mæsse dæge wearð se cyng Willelm on huntnoðe frā his anan men mid anre fla of sceoten. and syððan to Win ceastre gebroht. and on þā biscop rice bebyrged. þ wæs þæs þreotteðan geares þe he rice on feng.

He wæs swiðe strang and reðe ofer his land and his mænn. and wið ealle his neahheburas. and swiðe on drædendlic. and þurh yfelra manna rædas þe hī æfre gecweme wæran. and

(A.D. 1100) þurh his agene gitsunga. he æfre þas leode mid here and mid un gylde tyrwigende wæs. forþan þe on his dagan ælc riht afeoll. and ælc un riht for Gode and for worulde úp aras. Godes cyrcean he nyðerade. and þa b'coprices and abb'rices þe þa ealdras on his dagan feollan. ealle he hi oððe wið feo gesealde. oððe on his agenre hand heold. and to gafle gesette. forþan þe he ælces mannes gehadodes and læwedes yrfe numa beon wolde. and swa þ þæs dæges þe he gefeoll. he heafde on his agenre hand þ arce b'rice on Cantwarbyrig. and þ bisceop rice on Win ceast'. and þ on Sear byrig. and xi abb' rices. ealle to gafle gesette. And þeah þe ic hit læng ylde. eall þet þe Gode wæs lað and rihtfull' mannan. eall þ wæs gewunelic on þisan lande on his tyman. and forþi he wæs for neah ealre his leode lað. and Gode andsæte. swa swa his ænde ætywde. forþan þe he on midde wardan his un rihte buten behreowsunge and ælcere dæd bote gewat.

On þæne Þunresdæg he wæs ofslagen. and þæs on morgen bebyrged. and syðþan he bebyrged wæs. þa witan þe þa neh handa wæron. his broðer Heanrig to cynge gecuran. and he þær rihte þ bisc'rice on Win ceast' Will'me Giffarde geaf. and siþþan to Lundene fór. and on þan Sunnan dæge þær æft' to foran þā weofode on West mynstre Gode and eallan folce behét ealle þa un riht to aleggenne þe on his broðer timan wæran. and þa betstan lage to healdene þe on æniges cynges dæge to foran him stodan. And hine syððan æft' þā se biscop of Lundene Maurici' to cynge gehalgode. and hī ealle on þeosan lande to abugan. and aðas sworan. and his men wurdon.

And se cyng sona æft' þā be þære ræde þe hī abutan wæran. þoñ biscop Rannulf of Dunholme let niman. and into þā ture on Lundene lét gebringon. and þær healdan. Ða to foran sce Michael' mæssan cō se arce biscop Ansealm of Cant warbyr' hider to lande. swa swa se cyng Heanrig be his witena ræde hī æft' sende. forþan þe he wæs út of þis lande gefaren. for þan mycelan un rihte þe se cyng Will'm him dyde.

And siðþan sona her æft' se cyng genā Mahalde hī to wife Malcolmes cynges dohter of Scotlande. and Margareta þære goda cwæne Eadwardes cynges magan. and of þan rihtan Ængla landes kyne kynne. and on sce Martines mæsse dæg heo wearð him mid mycelan weorðscipe for gifen on West

mynstre. and se arce bisc' Anselm hi hī bewæddade. and (A.D. 1100)
siððan to cwene gehalgode. And se arce b' Thomas of Eoferwic her æft' sona forð ferde.

Ðeoses ylces geares eac innan hærfest cō se eorl Rotbert ham into Normandi. and se eorl Rotb't of Flandr'. and Eustati' eorl of Bunan frā Ierusalē. And sona swa se eorl R. into Normandig com. he wearð frā eallan þā folce bliþelice under fangen. butan þā castelan ðe wæron g'sætte mid þæs cynges Heanriges manna. togeanes þan he manega gewealc and gewinn hæfde.

1101. Her on þisū geare to Xp̃es mæssan heold se cyng Heanrig his hired on West mynstre. and to Eastran on Win ceastre.

And þa sona þær æfter wurdon þa heafod men her on lande wiðer ræden togeanes þā cynge. ægðer ge for heoran agenan mycelan un getrywðan. and eac þurh þoñ eorl Rodbert of Normandig. þe mid unfriðe hider to lande fundode. And se cyng syððan scipa ut on sæ sende his broðer to dære and to lættinge. ac hi sume æft æt þære neode abruðon. and frā þā cynge gecyrdon. and to þā eorle Rotb'te gebugan. Ða to midde sumeran ferde se cyng út to Pefenesæ mid eall his fyrde togeanes his broðer and his þær abád. Ac on mang þison cō se eorl Rotb't up æt Portes muðan xii nihtan toforan Hlaf mæssan. and se cyng mid ealre his fyrde hī togeanes cō. Ac þa heafod men heō betwenan foran. and þa broðra gesehtodan on þa gerád. þet se cyng for let eall þ he mid streangðe innan Normandig togeanes þā eorle heold. and þ ealle þa on Engle lande heora land ongean heafdon. þe hit ær þurh þone eorl forluron. and Eustaties eorl eac eall his fæder land her on lande. and þet se eorl Rotb't ælce geare sceolde of Engla lande þreo þusend marc seolfres habban. and loc hweðer þæra gebroðra oðerne ofer bide. wære yrfe weard ealles Engla landes and eac Normandiges. buton se forð farena yrfe numan heafde be rihtre æwe. and þis þa mid aðe gefestnodan xii þa hihste of ægðre healfe. And se eorl syððan oð ðet ofer sce Michael' mæsse her on lande wunode. and his men mycel to hearme æfre gedydon swa hi geferdon. þa hwile þe se eorl her on lande wunode.

Ðises geares eac se b' Rannulf to þā Candel mæssan út of þā ture on Lunden nihtes oðbærst þær he on hæftneðe wæs.

(A.D. 1101) and to Normandige fór. þurh þes macunge mæst and tospryttinge se eorl Rotb't þises geares þis land mid unfriðe g'sohte.

1102. On þisū geare to Natiuitеð wæs se cyng Heanrig on Westmynstre. and to Eastron on Winceastre.

And sona þær æft' wurdon unsehte se cyng and se eorl Rotb't of Bælæsme se hæfde þoñ eorldō her on lande on Scrobbes byrig þe his fæder Roger eorl ær ahte. and micel rice þær to. ægðer g' beheonon sæ ge begeondon. And se cyng ferde and besæt þoñ castel æt Arundel. ac þa he hine swa hraðe gewinnan ne mihte. he let þær toforan castelas gemakian. and hi mid his mannan gesette. and syððan mid ealre his fyrde ferde to Brigge. and þær wunode oððet he þone castel hæfde. and þone eorl Rotbert belænde. and ealles benæmde. þes he on Engla lande hæfde. and se eorl swa ofer sæ gewát. and se fyrde syððan hā cyrde.

Ða þær æft' to sče Michael' mæssan wæs se cyng æt Wæst mynstre. and ealle þa hæfod men on þis lande g'hadode and læwede. and se arce b' Ansealm heold g'hadodra manna sinoð. and hi þær manega beboda setton þe to Xp̃endome belimpað. and ægðer manige Frencisce and Englisce þær heora stafas and rice forluron. þe hi mid unrihte begeaton. oððe mid woge þær on lifedon.

And on ðisū ylcan geare on Pentecosten mæssan wuce. þa coman þeofas sum of Aluearnie. sū of France. and sū of Flandres. and breokan þa mynstre of Burh and þær inne naman mycel to gode on golde and on seolfre. þet wæron roden and calicen and candelsticcan.

1103. Her on þisū geare to midewintra wæs se cyng Heanrig æt Westmynstre. And þær æft' sona ferde se b' Willelm Giffard ut of þis land. forþan þe he ongean riht nolde his hades on fon æt þā arce b' Girarde of Eoferwic. And þa to þan Eastran heold se cyng his hired on Win c'. And þær æft' ferde se arce b' Ansealm of Cantwarbyrig to Rome. swa swa hī and þā cynge gewearð.

Ðises geares eac cō se eorl Rotbert of Normandig to sprecene wið þone cyng her on lande. And ær he heonne ferde he forgeaf þa þreo þusend marc þe hī seo cyng Heanrig be fore weard ælce geare gifan sceolde.

On þisum geare eac æt Heamstede innan Barrucscire. wæs

gesewen blod of eorðan. Ðis wæs swiðe gedcorfsum gear (A. D. 1103)
her on lande. þurh mænifealde gyld. and þurh orf cwealm. and wæstma for weorþenesse ægðer ge on corne and eac on eallon treow wæstman. Eac on morgen uppon sce Laurent' mæsse dæg gedyde se wind swa mycel to hearme her on lande on eallon wæstman. swa nan man ne gemunde þ æfre ænig ær gedyde.

On ðisum ylcan geare Mathias abb' of Burh forðferde. se ne lyfode na leng þā an geare. syððan he abb' wæs. Æft' sce Michael' mæssan on xii k' Nov' he wæs mid procession under fangan to abb'. and on ðā ylcan dæge þes oðres geares he wearð dead on Gleaw ceastre. and þær bebyrged.

1104. Her on þisū geare to Xp̃es mæssan heold se cyng Heanrig his hired æt Wæst minstre. and to Eastron on Win ceastre. and to Pentecosten eft on West mynstre.

Ðises geares wæs se forma Pentecostes dæg on nō Jun'. and on þam Tiwæs dæge þær æft' ætywdan feower circulas to þā mid dæge onbutan þære sunnan hwites hiwes. ælc under oðran gebroiden. swylce hi gemette wæron. Ealle þe hit g'sawon wundredon. forþan hi næfre ær swilce ne gemundon.

Her æft' wurdon sehte se eorl Rotb't of Normandig. and Rotb't de Bælesme þe se cyng Heanri æror belænd hæfde and of Engla lande adrifen. and þurh heora sehte wurdon wiðer ræde se cyng of Englalande and se eorl of Normandig. and se cyng his folc ofer sæ into Normandig sende. and þa heafod men þær on lande hi under fengon. and on heora hlaf-ordes þæs eorles swicdome into heora castelan gelogodan. þanon hi manige gedrecednissa on hergunga and on bærninge þam eorle gedydon. Eac þises geares Willelm eorl of Moretoin heonon of lande into Normandig fór. ac syððan he afaren wes. he wið þone cyng g'worhte. for hwan hine se cyng ealles benæmde. and belænde þæs þe he her on lande hæfde.

Nis eaðe to asecgenne þises landes earmða· þe hit to þysan timan dreogende wæs· þurh mistlice and mænig fealdlice un riht and gyld· þæ næfre ne geswican ne ne ateorodon. and æfre ealswa se cyng for· ful hergung þurh his hired uppon his wreccea folc wæs. and þær on mang for oft bærneta and man slihtas.

Eall þis wæs God mid to gremienne.
and þas arme leode mid to tregienne.

1105. On þisū geare to Natiuitež heold se cyng Heanrig his hired æt Wíndlesoran.

And þæræft' to þā lengtene he for ofer sæ into Normandig uppon his broðer Rotbert eorl. And on mang þā þe he þær wunode he gewann of his broðer Caþum and Baius. and mæst ealle þa castelas and þa heafod men þær on lande hī wurdon under þeodde. and se syððan to herfest eft ongean hider to lande cō. And þ he on Normandig g'wunnen hæfde. syððan ón sibbe and hī gebygle wunode. butan þa þe þā eorle Will'me of Mortoin ahwær neah wunedon. þa he gelomlice geswæncte swa he swiðost mihte. for his landlyre her on lande. And þa toforan Xp̄es mæssan cō Rotb't de Bælesme hider to lande to þā cynge.

Ðis wæs swiðe gedyrfsum gear her on lande þurh wæstma forwordenessa. and þurh þa mænig fealde gyld þe næfre ne geswican ær se cyng oferfore. and þa hwile þe he þær wæs. and eft syððan he ongean com.

1106. Her on þison geare wæs se cyng Henrig to Natiuitež on West mynstre. and þær his hired heold. and uppon þære tide Rotbert de Bælesme mid un sehte frā þā cynge út of þison lande into Normandige fór.

Ða her æft' on foran længtene wæs se cyng æt Norð hā tune. and se eorl Rotbert his broðer of Normandig þyder to hī cō. and forþā se cyng hī nolde agifan þ þe he on Normandig' uppon hī genumen hæfde. hi mid un sehte to hwurfon. and se eorl ferde ofer sé sona eft ongean.

On þære forman længten wucan on þoñ Frige dæg i. e. xiiii k' Mr' on æfen ætywde án un gewunelic steorra. and lange stunde þær æft' wæs ælce æfen gesewen hwile scinende. Se steorra ætywde innon þ suð west. he wæs litel geþuht. and deorc. ac se leoma þe hī frā stod wæs swiðe beorht. and swilce ormæte beam geþuht norð east scinende. and Sūne æfen wæs gesæwen swilce se beam ongean weardes wið þes steorran ward fyrcliende wære. Gehwylce sædon þ hig ma on þison timon un cuðra steorra gesawon. ac we hit openlicor ne awriton. forþā þe we hit sylfe ne sawon. On þa niht þe on morgen wæs CENA Dñi. þ is se Þunres dæg toforan Eastran. wæron gesewen twegen monan on þære heofonan toforan þam dæge oðer be eastan. and se oðer be westan begen fulle. and þæs ylcan dæges wæs se mona xiiii$^{a}$.

To Eastran wæs se cyng æt Baðan. and to Pentecosten æt Searbyrig. forþā þe he nolde on his fundunge ofer sæ hired healdan. Đær æfter toforan August ferde se cyng ofer sæ into Normandig. and ealle mæst þe þær on lande wæron hī on his willan to gebugon. wiðuton Rotb't de Bælesme. and þā eorle of Moretoin. and feawa oðre of þā heafodmannan þe mid þā eorle of Normandige þe gyt heoldan. and forþan se cyng syððan mid fyrde for. and besæt þæs eorles ænne castel of Moretoin Tenercebrai hatte. On mang þā þe se cyng þoñ castel besæt. cō se eorl Rotb't of Normandig on sče Michael' mæsse æfen uppon þone cyng mid his fyrde. and mid hī Rotb't de Bælesme. and Willelm eorl of Moretoin. and ealle þa þe mid heō woldan. ac seo streongðe and se sige wearð þæs cynges. Đær wearð se eorl of Normandig gefangen. and se eorl of Moretoin. and Rotb't de Stutteuile. and to Engla lande syððan gesende. and on hæftneðe gebrohte. Rotb't de Bælesme þær wearð aflymed. and Will'm Crispin g'læht. and manige forð mid. Eadgar æþeling þe litle ær frā þā cynge to þā eorl wæs gefaren þær wæs eac gefangen. þone lét se cyng syððan sac leas faran. Syððan geeode se cyng eall þ on Normandige wæs. and hit on his willan and geweald gesette. (A. D. 1106)

Đises geares eac wæron swiðe hefige and sinlice gewinn betwux þā Casere of Sexlande and his sunu. and on mang þā g'winnan se fæder forð ferde. and se sunu feng to þam rice.

1107. On þisū geare to Xp̄es mæssan wæs se cyng Henri on Normandig. and þ land on his g'weald dihte and sette. and þær æft' to længtene hider to lande cō. and to Eastran his hired on Windlesoran heold. and to Pentecosten on West mynstre. And syððan eft to Augustes anginne on West mynstre wæs. and þær þa biscop ricen and abbod riċ geaf and sette. þe on Engle lande oððe on Normandige buton ealdre and hyrde. Đera wæron swa fela swa nan man næs þe gemvnde þ æfre ær swa fela togædere gyfene wæron.

And æt þes ylcan syðe. on mang þa oððre þe abb'rices under fengon. Ernulf þe ær wæs prior on Cantwarburyig feng to þā abb'rice on Burh. Đis wæs rihtlice ymbe vii gear þæs þe se cyng Henri cynedomes on feng. and wæs þ an and fowertigeðe gear þæs þe Francan þyses landes weoldan.

(A.D. 1107) manege sædon þet hi on þā monan þisces geares mistlice tacna gesawon. and ongean cynde his leoman wexende and waniende.

Ðises geares forð ferdon. Maurici' biscop on Lunden. and Rotb't abb' on sče Eadmundes byrig. and Ricard abb' on Elig. Ðises geares eac forð ferde se cyng Eadgar on Scotlande id' Jañr'. and feng Alexander his broðer to þā rice swa se cyng Henri hī geuðe.

1108. Her on þisū geare wes se cyng Henri to Natiuiteð on West mynstre. and to Eastron on Win ceastre. and to Penteč eft on West mynstre. and þær æft' toforan Aug' he ferde into Normandig.

And se cyng of France Philipp' forð ferde non' Aug'. and feng his sunu Loðewis to þā rice. and wurdon syððon manege gewinn betwux þā cynge of France and þā of Englelande. þa hwile þe he on Normandig wunode.

On þisū geare eac forð ferde se arceb' Girard of Eoferwíc toforan Pentecost'. and wearð syððan Thomas þær to gesett.

1109. Her on þison geare wæs se cyng Henri to Xp̃es mæssan and to Eastron on Normandig. and toforan Penteč hider to lande cō. and his hired on West mynstre heold. Ðær wurdon þa forewcarda full worhte. and þa aðas gesworene his dohter þā Casere to gifene.

Ðises geares g'wurdon swiðe fela þunra. and þa swiðe ægeslicc. And se arceb' Anselm of Cantwara byrig forð ferde on þā dæge xi k' Apr'. and wæs se forma Easter dæg on Letania maior.

1110. On þisū geare heold se cyng Henri his hired to Xp̃es mæssan æt West mynstre. and to Eastron he wæs æt Mærle beorge. and to Penteč forman siþe his hired on þā niwan Windlesoran heold.

Ðises geares sende se cyng toforan længtene his dohter mid mænig fealdan madman ofer sæ. and hi þam Casere for geaf. On þære fiftan nihte on Maies monðe. ætywde se mona on æfen beorhte scinende. and syððan litlan and litlan his leoht wanode. swa þ he sona nihtes to þā swiðe mid ealle acwanc. þ naþer ne leoht ne trændel ne nan þing mid ealle of hī wæs gesæwen. and swa þurh wunode fullneah oð dæg. and syðþan full and beorhte scinende ætywde. he wæs þæs ylcan dæges feowertyne nihta cald. Ealle þa niht

wæs seo lyft swiðe clene. and þa steorran ofer eall þa heofon (A.D. 1110)
swiðe beorhte scinende. and treow wæstmas wurdon þære nihte þurh forste swiðe for numene. Đær æft' on Junies monðe ætywde an steorra norðan eastan. and his leoma stod toforan hī on þet suð west. and þus manega niht wæs gesæwen. and furðor nihtes syððan he ufor astah. he wæs g'sewen on bæc on þ norð west gangende.

Đises geares wurdon belænde Philipp' de Brause. and Will'm Mallet. and Will'm Bainart.

Eac þises geares forð ferde Elias eorl. þe þa Mannie of þā cynge Heanri geheold. and on cweow. and æft' his forsiðe feng to se eorl of Angeow. and hi togeanes þā cynge heold.

Đis wæs swiðe gedeorfsū gear her on lande þurh gyld þe se cyng nam for his dohter gyfte. and þurh un gewædera. for hwan eorð westmas wurdon swiðe amyrde. and treow westmas ofer eall þis land for neah eall for wurdon.

Đises geares me began ærost to weorcenne on þā niwan mynstre on Ceortes æge.

1111. On þison geare ne bær se kyng Henri his coronan to Xp̃es mæssan. ne to Eastron. ne to Penteč. And innan August he ferde ofer sæ into Normandig. for un sehte þe wið hī hæfdon sume be þā gemæran of France. and swiðost for þā eorle of Angeow þe þa Mannie togeanes him heold. and syððan he þyder ofer cō. manega un ráda and bærnetta and hergunga hi heō betweonan gedydan.

On þison geare forð ferde se eorl Rotbert of Flandran. and feng his sunu Baldewine þærto.

Đises geares wæs swiðe lang wint' and hefig tyme and strang. and þurh þ eorð wæstmas wurdon swiðe amyrde. and g'wearð se mæsta orf cwealm þe ænig mann mihte gemunan.

1112. Eall þis gear wunode se cyng Henri on Normandig for þære un sehte þe he hæfde wið France. and wið þoñ eorl of Angeow þe þa Mannie togeanes hī heold. And on mang þā þe he þær wæs. he belænde þoñ eorl of Eureus and Will'm Crispin. and ut of Normandi adraf. and Philippe de Braus his land ageaf þe ær wæs belænd. and Rotb't de Bælesme he let niman and on prisune dón.

Đis wæs swiðe god gear and swiðe wistfull on wudan and on feldan. ac hit wæs swiðe hefig tyme and sorhfull þurh or mætne man cwealm.

1113. Her on þison geare wæs se cyng Henri to Natiuiteð and to Eastron and to Pentec̃ on Normandig. And þær æft' to sumeran he sænde hider to lande Rotb't de Bælesme into þam castele to Wærhā. and hīsylf sona þæræft' hider to lande com.

1114. On þison geare heold se cyng Henri his hyred to Natiuiteð on Windlesoran. and þæs geares syððan hé né heold hired nan oftar.

And to middan sumeran he ferde mid fyrde into Wealon. and þa Wyliscean coman and wið þon̄ cyng griðedon. and he lét þær inne castelas weorcean. And þær æft' innan Septemb' he for ofer sæ into Normandig.

Ðises geares on æfteward Mai wæs gesewen an selcuð steorra mid langan leoman manege niht scinende. Eac on þis ylcan geare wæs swa mycel ebba æghwær anes dæges swa nan man æror ne g'munde. and swa þ̄ man ferde ridende and gangende ofer Tæmese be eastan þære brigge on Lunden. Þises geares wæron swiðe mycele windas on Octob'r monðe. ac he wæs or mæte mycel on þa niht Octab' sc̃i Martini. and þ̄ gehwær on wudan and on tunan gecydde.

Eac on þisū geare se cyng geaf þet arceb'rice on Cant warabyrig Raulfe. se wæs æror biscop on Hrofeceastre. And se arceb' on Eoferwic Thomas forðferde. and feng Turstein þærto. se wæs æror þæs cynges capelein.

On þæs ylcan tyme feorde se cyng toweard þon̄ sǽ and ofer wolde. ac wæder hī lætte. þa hwile þa sende he his writ æft' þon̄ abb' Ernulf of Burh. and bebead hī þ̄ he efeostlice scolde to hī cuman. forþi þ̄ he wolde sprecon mid hī dærne sprece. Ða he to hī cō. þa neodde he hī to þā biscoprice of Hrofeceastre. and þa arc̃biscopes and biscopes and þ̄ dugeð þ̄ wæs on Englalande forð mid se cyng. and he lange wið stód. ac hit ne forheol naht. and se cyng þa bebead þon̄ arc̃b' þ̄ he sceolde hī læden to Cantwarabyrig and blætson hī to b' wolde he nolde he. þis wæs don on þære tuna þa man cleopað Burne. þ̄ wæs þes dæges xvii k' Octobr'. Ða þe munecas of Burch hit herdon sægen. þa wæron hi swa sari swa hi næfre ær ne wæron. forþi þ̄ he wæs swiðe god and softe man. and dyde mycel to gode wiðinnan and wiðutan. þa hwile þe he þær wunode. God ælmihtig wunie æfre mid hī.

Đa sona þær æft' þa geaf se cyng þoñ abb'rice an munec (A.D. 1114)
of Sæis Johan wæs g'haten. þurh þæs arce b' gearnunge of
Cantwarbyrig. And sona þær æft' sende se cyng hī and
se arceb' of Cantwarb' to Rome æft' þes ærceb' palliū. and
an munec mid hī Warner wæs is gehaten. and þoñ ærce diæcnc
Johan þes arceb' neafe. and hi þær well spæddon. Đis wæs
don þes dæges xi k' Octobr'. on þone tuna þe man cleopað
Rugenore. and þes ylces dæges eode se cyng on scipa on
Portes muðe.

1115. Her wæs se cyng Henri to Natiuiteð on Normandig.
and on mang þā þe he þær wæs. he dyde þ ealle þa heafod
mæn on Normandig dydon man ræden and hold aðas his sunu
Will'me þe he be his cwene hæfde. and æft' þan syððan innon
Julies monðe hider into lande cō.

Đises geares wæs swa strang wint' mid snawe and mid
forste. swa nan man þe þa lifode ær þan nan strengre ne
g'munde. and wearð þurh þ ungemæte orfcwealm.

On þison geare sænde se papa Paschal' Raulfe ærceb' on
Cantwarabyrig palliū hider to lande. and he his onfeng mid
mycelan wurðscipe æt his arce stole on Cant'byrig. Hine
brohte Ansealm abb' of Rome se wæs nefa Ansealmes ærceb'.
and se abb' Johan of Burh.

1116. On þison geare wæs se cyng Henri to Natiuiteð æt
sce Albane. and þær lét þ mynster halgian. and to Eastron
on Wudiham. And wes eac þyses geares swiðe hefig tyme
winter and strang and lang. wið orf and wið ealle þing. And
se cyng æft' Eastron sona ferde ofer sæ into Normandig. and
wurdon manega unráda and ræfunga and castelas g'numene
betwux France and Normandig. Mæst þis unsehte wæs
forþan þe se cyng Henri fylste his nefan þā eorle Tædbalde
de Blais. þe þa wyrre hæfde togeanes his hlaforde þā cynge of
France Loðewis.

Đis wæs swiðe g'swincfull gear and byrstfull on eorð
wæstman. þurh þa ormæte reinas þe coman sona onforan
August. and swiðe gedrehton and geswencton þe gyt þe cō
Candel mæssan. Eac þis gear wæs swa gæsne on mæstene.
swa þ on eallon þison lande ne eac on Wealon ne g'hyrde me
of nanan segcean. Đis land and þas leodon wurdon eac þyses
geares oftrædlice sare geswencte. þurh þa gyld þe se cyng nā.
ægðer ge binnan burgan and butan.

combustio eccl'ie

On þisū ylcan geare bærnde eall þ mynstre of Burh. and callæ þa husas butan se Captelhus and se Slæpperne. and þær to eac bærnde eall þa mæste dæl of þa tuna. Eall þis belaþ on an Frig dæg. þ wæs ii no Aug't.

1117. Eall þis gear wunode se cyng Henri on Normandig. for þes cynges unsehte of France and his oðra nehhebura. And þa to ðan sumeran cō se cyng of France and se eorl of Flandra mid hī mid fyrde into Normandig. and ane niht þær inne wunedon. and on morgen butan gefeohte ongean ferden. And Normandig wearð swiðe gedreht. ægðer g' þurh gyld ge þurh fyrde þe se cing Henri þær ongean gaderode. Eac þeos þeode þurh þis ylce þurh manigfealde gyld. wearð strange geswenct.

Ðises geares eac on þære nihte kl' Decemb' wurdon ormætlica wædera mid þunre. and lihtinge. and reine. and hagole. And on þære nihte iii id' Dec̄ wearð se mona lange nihtes swylce he eall blodig wære. and syððan aðistrode. Eac on þære nihte xvii kl' Janr' wæs seo heofon swyðe read gesewen. swylce hit bryne wære. And on Octab' sci Johis Eugl'æ wæs seo mycele eorð byfung on Lumbardige. for hwan manega mynstras and turas. and huses gefeollon. and mycelne hearm on mannan gedydon. Ðis wæs swyðe byrstful gear on corne. þurh þa renas þe forneh ealles geares ne geswicon.

And se abb' Gilebert of West mynstre forð ferde viii id' Dec̄. and Farits abb' of Abbandune vii k' Martii. And on þisum ylcan geare . . . . . .

1118. Her eall þis gear wunode se cyng Henri on Normandig. for þes cynges wyrre of France. and þæs eorles of Angeow. and þæs eorles of Flandran. And se eorl of Flandra warð innan Normandig gewundod. and swa gewundod into Flandran for. Ðurh þisra unsehte wearð se cyng swyðe gedreht. and mycel forleas. ægðer ge on feoh and eac on lande. and mæst hine dryfdon his agene mæn þe hī gelome frā bugon. and swicon. and to his feondan cyrdon. and heō to þæs cynges hearme and swicdome heora castelas ageafon. Eall þis strange gebohte Englaland. þurh þa mænig fealdlice gyld þe ealles þises geares ne geswicon.

On þison geare on þære wucon Theophanie wæs anes æfenes swyðe mycel lihtinge. and ungemetlice slæge þær æft'.

And seo cwén Mahald forð ferde on West mynstre þæs (A.D. 1118)
dæges kl' Mai. and þær wæs bebyrged. And se eorl Rotbert of Mellent þises geares eac forðferde.

Eac on þison geare to sce Thomas mæsse. wæs swa swiðe ungemetlice mycel wind. þ nan man þe þa lifode nænne maran ne gemunde. and þ wæs æghwer geseone. ægðer ge on husan and eac on treowan.

Ðises geares eac forðferde se papa Paschal'. and feng Johan of Gaitan to þā papdóme. þā wæs oðer nama Gelasius.

1119. Ðis gear eall wunode se cyng Henri on Normandig. and wæs þurh þæs cynges wyrre of France. and eac his agenra manna þe hī mid swicdome frā wæron mid abugon. oft rædlice swyþe gedreht. oððet þa twegen cyngas innan Normandige. mid heoran folcan coman togædere. þær wearð seo cyng of France aflymed. and ealle his betste mæn genumene. and syððan þæs cynges mæn Heanriges manega hī to gebugen. and wið hinc acordedan þe æror mid heora castelan hī togeanes wæron. and sume þa castelas he mid strengðe genā.

Ðises geares ferde Willelm þæs cynges sunu Heanriges and þære cwene Mahalde into Normandige to his fæder. and þær wearð hī forgifen and to wife beweddod þæs eorles dohter of Angeow.

On sce Michael' mæsse æfen wæs mycel eorðbifung on suman steodan her on lande. þeah swyðost on Glowe ceastre scire. and on Wigre ceastre scire.

On þis ylcan geare forðferde se papa Gelasius on þas halfe þærc muntan. and wæs on Clunig bebyrged. and æft' hī se arce b' of Uiana wearð to papan gecoren. þam wearð nama Calixtus. Se syððan to sce Lucas mæssan eug'lista cō into France to Ræins. and þær heold conciliū. and se arce b' Turstein of Eoferwic þyder ferde. and forþi þe he togeanes rihte and togeanes þā arce stole on Cant wara byrig. and togeanes þæs cynges willan his had æt þam papan under feng. him wiðcwæð se cyng ælces gean fares to Engla lande. and he þus his arceb'rices þærnode. and mid ðam papan to wardes Rome fór.

Eac on þison geare forðferde se eorl Baldewine of Flandran of þā wundan þe he innan Normandige gefeng. and æfter hī feng Carl his faðasunu to þam rice. se wæs Cnutes sunu þæs haligan cynges of Denmarcan.

1120. Đises geares wurdon sehte seo cyng of Engle lande and se of France. and æfter heora sehte acordedan ealles þæs cynges Heanriges agene mæn wiđ hine innan Normandige. and se eorl of Flandran. and se of Puntiw. Syđđan her æfter sætte se cyng Henrig his castelas and his land on Normandi æfter his willan. and swa toforan Aduent hider to lande for.

And on þam fare wurdon adrincene þæs cynges twegen sunan Willelm and Ricard. and Ricard eorl of Ceastre. and Ottuel his broðor. and swyðe manega of þæs cynges hired stiwardas and burþenas and byrlas and of mystlicean wican. and ungerim swyðe ænlices folces forð mid. Đysra deað wæs heora freondan twy fealdlic sár. an þet hi swa fearlice þises lifes losedan. oðer þ feawa heora lichaman ahwær syđđan fundena wæron.

Đises geares com þet leoht to Sepulchrū Dñi innan Ierusalē twiges. ænes to Eastron. and oðre siðe to Assūptio sce Marie swa swa geleaffulle sædon þe þanon coman.

An se arceb' Turstein of Eoferwic wearð þurh þone papan wiđ þone cyng acordad. and hider to lande com. and his biscoprices onfeng. þeah hit þā arceb' of Cantwarabyrig swyðe ungewille wære.

1121. Her wæs se cyng Henri to Xp̃es mæssan on Bramtune. and þær æfter to foran Candel mæssan on Windlesoran him to wife forgyfen Aðelis and syđđan to cwene gehalgod. seo wæs þæs heretogan dohtor of Luuaine.

And se mona aþystrode on þære nihte none Apr'. and wæs xiv luna.

And se cyng wæs to Eastran on Beorclea. and þær æfter to Pentecosten he heold mycelne hyred on West mynstre. and syđđan þæs sumeres mid ferde into Wealan fór. and þa Wyliscean him ongean coman. and æfter þes cynges willan hi wiđ hine acordedan.

Đises geares com se eorl of Angeow frā Ierusalē into his lande. and syđđan hider to lande sende. and his dohter let feccean. seo wæs Will'me þes cynges sune æror to wife for gyfan.

And on þære nihte uigilia Natal' Dñi wæs swyðe mycel wind ofer eall þis land. and þet wearð on manegan þingan swyðe gesene. §

§ Here ends the first hand in MS. E.

1122. On þis geare wæs se king Heanri on Cristes mæssan on Norhtwic. and on Pasches he weas on Norhthamtune.

And on þone lententyde þær toforen forbearn se burch on Gleawe ceastre. þa hwile þe þa munecas sungen þære messe. and se dæcne hafde ongunnan þone godspel P'teriens Iħc. þa cō se fir on ufenweard þone stepel. and forbearnde ealle þe minstre. and ealle þa gersumes þe þær binnen wæron foruton feawe bec. and iii messehakeles. þet wes þes dæies viii id' Mr'. combus Gloucest

And þær æfter þe Tywesdæi æfter Palmes Sunendæi wæs swiðe micel wind on þ dæi xi k' Apr'. þær æfter comen feale tacne widehwear on Engla land and feole dwild wearen geseogen and geheord. And þes niht viii k' Aug' wæs swiðe micel eorðdyne ofer eal Sumersete scire and on Gleawe cestre scire. Siððon on þæs dæi vi id' Sept' þet wæs on sce Marie messedæi. þa wearð swiðe mycel wind frā þa undern dæies to þa swarte nihte.

Þeos ilce geares forð ferde Raulf seo ærce biscop of Cant warbyrig. þ wæs on þæs dæies xiii° k' Nouemb'. þær æfter wæron feole scip men on sæ. and on wæter. and sædon þ hi sægon on norð east fir mycel and brad wið þone eorðe. and weax on lengþe up on an to þam wolcne. and se wolcne undide on fower healfe and faht þær togeanes. swilc hit scolde á cweucen. and se fir weax na þa ma up to þe heouene. Þæt fir hi seagon in ðe dæi rime and læste swa lange þ hit wæs liht ofer eall. þet wæs þæs dæies vii idus Decembr'.

1123. On þyssum geare wæs se king Henri on Cristes tyde æt Dunestaple. and þær comen þes eorles sandermen of Angeow to him. and þeonen he ferde to Wudestoke. and his biscopes and his hird eal mid him. Þa tidde hit on an Wodnesdei. þet wæs on iv id' Jañrii. þet se king rad in his derfald and se biscop Roger of Seres byrig on an half him. and se biscop Rotbert Bloet of Lincolne on oðer half him. and riden þær sprecende. Þa aseh dune se biscop of Lincolne and seide to þam kyng. Laferd kyng ic swelte. and se kyng alihte dune of his hors and alehte hine betwux his earmes. and let hine beran ham to his inne. and wearð þa sone dead. and man ferode hine to Lincolne mid micel wurðscipe. and bebyrigde hine toforen sce Marie wefod. and hine bebyrigde se b' of Ceastre Rotbert Pecceð wæs gehaten.

(A. D. 1123) Ða sone þær æfter sende se kyng hise write ofer eall Engla lande. and bed hise biscopes and hise abbates and hise þeignes ealle þet hi scolden cumen to his gewitene mot on Candel messe deig to Gleaw ceastre him togeanes. and hi swa diden. Ða hi wæran þær gegaderod. þa bed se cyng heom þæt hi scoldon cesen hem ærce biscop to Cant wara byrig swa hwam swa swa hi woldon. and he hem hit wolde tyþian. Ða spræcon ða biscopas hem betwenan. and sæden þæt hi næfre mare ne wolden hafen munec hades man to erce biscop ofer hem. ac iedon ealle samodlice to þone kyng and ieornden þ hi mosten cesen of clerc hades man swa hwam swa swa hi wolden to ercebiscop. and se kyng hit hem tidde. Ðis wæs eall ear gedon ðurh se biscop of Seres byrig. and þurh se biscop of Lincolne ær he wære dead. forði þet næfre ne luueden hi munece regol. ac wæron æfre to gænes muneces and here regol. And se prior and se munecas of Cantwarabyrig. and ealle þa oðre þe ðær wæron munec hades men hit wið cwæðen fulle twa dagas. ac hit naht ne beheld. for se biscop of Særes byrig wæs strang and wealde eall Engle land. and wæs þær togeanes eall þ he mihte and cuðe. Ða cusen hi an clerc Willelm of Curboil wæs gehaten. he was canonie of an mynstre Cicc hatte. and brohten him toforen se kyng. and se kyng him geaf ðone ærce biscop rice. and ealle þa biscopas him under fengen. him wið cwæðen muneces and eorles and þeignes ealle mest þe þær wæron.

On þa ilca tyma ferden þes eorles sander men mid un sæhte frā kyng. na of his gyfe naht ne rohton.

On þa ilca tyma com an Legat of Rome Henri wæs gehaten. he wæs abbot of sce Johs mynstre of Anieli. and he cō æfter þe Rome scot. and he sæde þone cyng þ hit wæs togeanes riht þ man scolde setten clerc ofer muneces. and swa swa hi hæfden cosen ærce biscop æror in here capitele æfter rihte. ac se cyng hit nolde ún dón. for þes b' luuen of Særes byrig. Ða ferde se ærce biscop sone þær æfter to Cantwarabyrig and wæs þær under fangan þæh hit wære here un þancas. and was þære sone gebletsod to biscop fram se biscop of Lundenc. and se b' Ernulf of Roucceastre. and se b' Will'm Gifard of Winceastre. and se b' Bernard of Wales. and se b' Roger of Seares byrig. Da sone in þe leuten ferde se ærce biscop to Rome æfter his palliū. and mid him ferde se b' Bernard of

Wales. and Sefred abbot of Gleasting byrig. and Ansealm (A. D. 1123)
abbot of s' Ædmund. and Johan ærce dæcne of Cantwara byrig. and Gifard wæs þes kinges hird clerc.

On þa ilca tima ferde se ærce biscop Ðurstan of Eoferwic to Rome þurh þes papes hese. and com þider ðre dagas ær se ærce b' of Cantwarabyrig come. and wæs þære under fangan mid micel wurðscipe. Ða cō se ærce b' of Cantwarabyrig and wæs ðære fulle seoueniht ær hi mihte cumen to þes papes spræce. þ wæs forþan þ hit wæs don ðone pape to understanden þ he hæfde under fangen ðone ærce biscop rice togeanes þa muneces of þe mynstre and togeanes rihte. Ac þ ofer cō Rome þet ofer cumeð call weoruld þ is gold and seolure. and se pape swe ðolode and gaf hī his pallium. and se ærce b' swor him underþeodnysse of ealle ða þing þ se papa hī on leide on s' Petres heuod and s' Paules. and sende him hā ða mid his bletsunge.

Ða hwile þ se ærce b' wæs út of lande geaf se kyng ðone biscop rice of Baðe þes cwenes canceler Godefreið wæs gehaten. he wæs boren of Luuein. þ wæs þes dæiges Annuntiatio s' Marie at Wudestoke. Ða sone þær æfter ferde se king to Winceastre and wæs ealle Eastren tyde þære. and þa hwile þ he þær wæs þa geaf he þone biscop rice of Lincolne an clerc Alexander wæs gehaten. he wæs þes biscopes nefe of Seares byrig. þis he dyde eall for þes biscopes luuen.

Ða ferde se kyng þenen to Portes muðe. and læi þære eall ofer Pentecoste wuce. þa sone swa he hæfde wind swa ferde he ofer into Normandie. and betæhte þa eall Engle land to geamene and to wealden þone b' Roger of Seares byrig. Ða wæs se kyng eall þes geares in Normandie. and weax þa micel un frið betwux him and hise þeignas. swa þ se eorl Walaram of Mellant. and Hamalri. and Hugo of Mundford. and Will'm of Romare. and fela oðre wendan frā him and helden here castles him togeanes. And se kyng held stranglice hē togeanes. and þes ylces geares he wan of Walaram his castel Punt Aldemer. and of Hugo Mundford. and siððen he spedde æfre leong þe bet.

Ðes ylce geares ær se biscop of Lincolne cō to his b' rice forbearn eall meast se burh of Lincolne. and micel un gerime folces wæpmen and wimmen for burnen. and swa mycel hearm

þær wæs gedon swa nan man hit cuðe oþer secgen. þet wæs þes dæges xiv kl' Junii.

1124. Eall þis gear wes se king Heanri on Normandi. þ wes for se miccle unfrið þ he heafde wið se king Lodewis of France. and wið se eorl of Angeow. and wið his agene men alre mest.

Þa gelamp hit on þes dæges Annuntiatio sce Marie þ se eorl Waleram of Mellant ferde frā his an castel Belmunt het to his an oðer castel Watteuile. mid hī ferde þes kinges stiward of France Amalri. and Hugo Gerueises sunu. and Hugo of Munford. and fela oðre godre cnihte. Þa comen hem togeanes þes kinges cnihtes of calla þa castelcs ða þær abuton wæron and fuhton wið hem and aflemden hē and namen þone eorl Waleram and Hugo Gerueises sunu. and Hugo of Wundford. and fif and twenti oðre cnihtes and brohton hē to þone kinge. and se king let don þone eorl Waleram and Hugo Gerucises sunu on heftninge on ðone castel on Roðem. and Hugo of Mundford he sende to Engle land. and let hine don on ifele bendas on þone castel on Gleucestre. and of þa oðre swa fela swa hī þuhte he sende norð and suð to hise castelas on heftnunge. Ða siððon ferde se king and wan calle þes eorles castelas Walcrā þa wæron on Normandi. and ealle þa oðre þa his wiðre wines healden hī togeanes.

Eall was þes unfrið for þes eorles sunu Rotbert of Normandi Willelm het. Se ilce Will'm hefde numen Fulkes eorles gingre dohter to wife of Angeow. and forði se king of France and ealle þas eorles heolden mid hī. and ealle þa rice men. and sæidon þet se king heold his broðer Rotbert mid wrange on heftnunge. and his sunu Will'm mid unrihte aflemde ut of Normandi.

Ðes ilces geares wæron fæla untime on Engle lande. on corne and on ealle westme. swa þ betweonen Cristes messe and Candelmesse man sælde þ acer sæd hwæte þ is twegen sed læpas to six scillingas. and þ bærlic þ is þre sed læpas to six scillingas. and þ acer sæd aten þ is feower sed læpas to feower scillingas. Þet wæs forþi þ corn wæs litel. and se penig wæs swa ifel þ se man þa hæfde at an market an pund he ne mihte cysten þær of for nan þing twelfe penegas.

On þes ilces geares forð ferde se eadig biscop Ernulf of (A. D. 1124)
Roueceastre se æror wæs abbot on Burch. þet wæs þes dæies
id' Martíí. And þær æft' forð ferde se king Alexander of
Scotlande on þes dæies ix kl' Mai. and Dauid his broðer þa
wæs eorl of Norðhamtune scire feng to rice and hæfde ða
baðe togedere þone kinerice of Scotlande. and þone eorldom
on Engle lande. And on þæs dæies xix kl' Janr' forð ferde
se pape on Rome Calistus wæs gehaten. and Honorius feng
to papedom.

Ðes ilces geares æft' s' Andreas messe toforen Cristes
messe held Raulf Basset and þes kinges ðæines ge witenemot
on Leþecæstre scire at Hundehoge. and ahengen þær swa
fela þefas swa næfre ær ne wæron. þet wæron on þa litle
hwile ealles feower and feowerti manne. and six men spilde
of here ægon and of here stanes. Fela soð feste men sæidon
þ þær wæron manege mid micel unrihte gespilde. oc ure
Laford God ælmihtig þa eall digelnesse seð and wat. he seoð
þ man læt þ ærme folc mid ealle unrihte. ærost man hem
beræfoð her eahte and siþðon man hē ofslæð. Ful heui gær
wæs hit se man þe æni god heafde. him me hit beræfode mid
strange geoldes and mid strange motes. þe nan ne heafde
stærf of hungor.

1125. On þis gær sende se king Henri toforen Cristes
messe of Normandi to Engla lande and bebead þet man Nota de
scolde beniman ealle þa minitere þe wæron on Engle lande
heora liman. þ wæs here elces riht hand and heora stanen
beneðan. þ wæs for se man ðe hafde an pund he ne mihte
cysten ænne peni at anne market. And se biscop Roger of
Særes byrig sende ofer eall Engla lande and bebead hi ealle
þ hi scolden cumen to Winceastre to Cristes messe. Þa hi
ðider coman ða nam man an and an and benam ælc ðone
riht hand and þa stanes beneðan. Eall þis wæs gedon wið
innon þa twelf niht. and þ wæs eall mid micel rihte forði þ
hi hafden fordon eall þ land mid here micele fals. þ hi ealle
abohton.

On þes ilces gæres sende se papa of Rome to ðise lande an
cardinal Johan of Creme wæs gehaten. He com first to
þone king on Normandi. and se king hine under feng mid
micel wurðscipe. beteahte hine siððon þone ærceb' W. of
Cantwarabyrig. and he hine ledde to Cantwarabyrig. and

(A.D. 1125) he wæs þær under fangen mid micel wurðscipe and mid micel processionē. and he sang ðone heh messe on Eastren dæi æt Cristes wefod. And siððon he ferde ofer eall Engla lande to calle þa biscop rices and abbot rices þa wæron on þis lande. and ofer eall he wæs under fangen mid wurðscipe and ealle hine iæfen micele gife and mære. And siððon he heold his concilie on Lundene fulle þreo dagas on natiuitas sc̄e Mariæ on Septemb' mid ærce biscopes and mid leod bisc̄ and abbotes and læred and lawed. and bead þær þa ilce lagas þa Anselm ærce b' hæfde æror beboden and feala ma þeah hit litel for stode. And þeonon he for ofer sæ sone æft' sc̄e Michaeles messe and swa to Rome and se ærce b' W. of Cant warabyrig. and se ærceb' T. of Eferwic. and se bisc̄ A. of Lincolne. and se b' of Loþene J. and se abbot of sc̄e Alban G. and wæran þær under fangen of þone pape Honori' mid micel wurðscipe. and wæron þære eall þone wintre.

On ðes ilces geares wearð swa micel flod on sc̄e Laurent' messe dæig þ feola tunes and men weorðon adrencte. and brigges to brokene. and corn and mædwe spilt mid calle. and hunger and cwealm on men and on erue. and on ealle westme swa micel untime wearð swa hit ne wæs feola gear ær.

And þes ilces geares forð ferde se abbot Jo. of Burch on ii id' Octobris.

1126. Eall þis gear wæs se kyng Heanri on Normandi eall to æft' heruest. þa cō he to þis lande betwyx natiuit' sc̄e Marie and Michaeles messe. mid hī cō se cwen and his dohter þ he æror hafde giuen þone kasere Heanri of Loherenge to wife. And he brohte mid him þone eorl Waleram and Hugo Gerueises sunu. and þone eorl he sende to Brigge on heftnunge. and þeonon he sende hī to Walingeforde siððon. and Hugo to Windles ofra. and let hine don on harde bande.

And þa æft' Michaeles messe com se Scotte kyng Dauid of Scotlande hider to lande. and se kyng Heanri under feng hine mid micel wurðscipe. and he wunode þa eall þet gear on þis lande.

On þes ilces geares let se kyning nimen his broðer Rotbert frā þone biscop Roger of Særes byri. and betahte hine his sune Rotbert eorl of Gleucæstre. and let hine læden to Bricstowe and þær diden on þone castel. Þæt wæs eall don ðurh his dohtres ræd. and þurh se Scotte kyng Dauid hire cam.

1127. Ðis gear heald se kyng Heanri his hird æt Cristes mæsse on Windlesoure. þær wæs se Scotte kyng Dauid. and eall ða heaued læred and læuued þ wæs on Engleland. And þær he let sweren erce biscopes and biscopes and abbotes and eorles and ealle þa ðeines ða þær wæron his dohter Æðelic Engleland and Normandi to hande æfter his dæi. þe ær wæs þes Caseres wif of Sexlande. And sende hire siððen to Normandi. and mid hire ferde hire broðer Rotbert eorl of Gleucestre. and Brian þes eorles sunu Alein Fergan. and leot hire beweddan þes eorles sunu of Angeow Gosfreið Martæl wæs gehaten. Hit of þuhte naþema ealle Frencisc and Englisc. oc se kyng hit dide for to hauene sibbe of se eorl of Angeow. and for helpe to hauene togænes his neue Will'm. Ad huc

Ðes ilces gæres on þone lenten tide wæs se eorl Karle of Flandres of slagen on ane circe þær he læi and bæd hine to Gode tofor þone weofede amang þane messe frā his agene manne. And se kyng of France brohte þone eorles sunu Will'm of Normandi and iæf hine þone eorldom. and þet land folc him wið tóc. þes ilce Will'm hæfde æror numen ðes eorles dohter of Angeow to wife oc hi wæron siððen to tweamde for sib reden. þet wes eall ðurh þone kyng Heanri of Engleland. Siððen þa nā he þes kynges wifes swuster of France to wife. and forþi iæf se kyng him þone eorldom of Flandres.

Ðes ilce gæres he gæf þone abbot rice of Burch an abbot Heanri wæs gehaten of Peitowe. se hæfde his abbot rice s' Joħs of Angeli on hande. and ealle þa ærce biscopes and biscopes seidon þ hit wæs togeanes riht. and þ he ne mihte hafen twa abbot rices on hande. Oc se ilce Heanri dide þone king to understandene þ he hæfde læten his abbot rice for þ micele unsibbe þ wæs on þ land. and þ he dide ðurh þes papes ræd and leue of Rome. and ðurh þes abbotes of Clunni. and þurh þæt he wæs legat of ðone Romescott. Oc hit ne wæs naðema callswa. oc he wolde hauen baðe on hand. and swa hafde swa lange swa Godes wille wæs. He wæs on his clærc hade biscop on Scesscuns. siððan warð he munec on Clunni. and siððon prior on þone scoluc minstre. and siððon he wærð prior on Sauenni. þar æftor þurh þ he wæs ðes kynges mæi of Engle land and þes eorles of Peitowe þa geaf se eorl him þone abbot rice of s' Joħs minstre of Angeli. abb' Henr'

(A. D. 1127) Siððon þurh his micele wrences ða beiæt he þone ærcebiscop rice of Besencun and hæfde hit þa on hande þre dagas. þa forlæs he þ mid rihte forþi þ he hit hæfde æror beieten mid unrihte. siððon þa beiet he þone biscoprice of Seintes þ wæs fif mile frā his abbotrice þ he hæfde fulneah seoueniht on hande. þenon brohte se abbot him of Clunni swa swa he æror dide of Besencun. þa beþohte he him þ gif he mihte ben rotfest on Engleland þ he mihte habben eal his wille. besohte þa ðone kyng and sæide hī þ he wæs eald man and forbroken man and þ he ne mihte ðolen þa micele unrihte and þa micele unsibbe ða wæron on here land. and iærnde þa þurh hī and ðurh ealle his freond nācuðlice þone abbot rice of Burhc. and se kyng hit hī iætte forði þ he wæs his mæj. and forþi þ he wæs an hæfod ða að to swerene and witnesse to berene þær ða eorles sunu of Normandi and þes eorles dohter of Angeow wæron totwemde for sibreden. þus earmlice wæs þone abbotrice gifen betwix Cristesmesse and Candelmesse at Lundene. and swa he ferde mid þe cyng to Wincestre and þanon he cō to Burch. and þær he wunede eall riht swa drane doð on hiue. Eall þ þa beon dragen toward swa frett þa drane and dragað fraward. swa dide he eall þ he mihte tacen wiðinnen and wiðuten of læred and of læwed swa he sende ouer sæ and na god þær ne dide. ne na god ðær ne læuede. Ne þince man na sellice þ we soð seggen for hit wæs ful cuð ofer eall land þ swa radlice swa he þær cō þ wæs þes Sunnendæies þ man singað Exurge quare o. D. þa son þær æft' þa sægon and herdon fela men feole huntes hunten. Ða huntes wæron swarte and micele and ladlice. and here hundes ealle swarte and bradegede and ladlice. and hi ridone on swarte hors and on swarte bucces. Þis wæs segon on þe selue der fald in þa tune on Burch and on calle þa wudes ða wæron frā þa selua tune to Stanforde. and þa munecces herdon ða horn blawen þ hi blewen on nihtes. Soðfeste men heō kepten on nihtes. sæidon þes þe heō þuhte þ þær mihte wel ben abuton twenti oðer þritti horn blaweres. Þis wæs sægon and herd frā þ he þider cō eall þ lented tid on an to Eastren. Þis was his ingang. of his utgang ne cunne we iett noht seggon. God scawe fore.

1128. Eall þis geare weas se kyng Heanri on Normandi for þone unfrið þ wæs betwenen him and his nefe ðone eorl

of Flandres. Oc se eorl wearð gewunded at an gefiht fram (A.D. 1128)
anne swein. and swa gewundod he for to s' Berhtines minstre. and sone þear wearð munec and liuode siððon fif dagas. and he wearð þa dæd and þær bebyriged. God geare his sawle. þ wæs ðes daies vi kl' Aug'.

Ðes ilces geares forð ferde se biscop Randulf Passeflābard of Dunholme. and þære bebyriged on no' Sept'.

And þes ilces geares ferde se foren sprecene abbot Henri hā to his agen minstre to Peitou be þes kynges leue. He dide ðone king to understanden þ he wolde mid alle forlæten þone minstre and þ land and þær wunien mid hī on Engla lande and on ðone mynstre of Burh. Oc hit ne was naðema swa. he hit dide forði þ he wolde þurh his micele wiles ðear beon wær it tweolf monð oððe mare. and siððon ongeon cumen. God ælmihtig haue his milce ofer þ wrecce stede.

Ðes ilces geares cō frā Jerl'm Hugo of þe tēple to ðone kyng on Normandig. and se kyng hī underfeng mid micel wurðscipe. and micele gersumes hī geaf on gold and on silure. And siððon he sende hī to Engla lande. and þær he wæs underfangen of ealle gode men. and ealle hī geauen gersume and on Scotlande ealswa. and be hī senden to Jerl'm micel eahte mid ealle on gold and on silure. And he bebead folc ut to Jerl'm. and þa for mid hī and æfter hī swa micel folc swa næfre ær ne dide siððon þ se firste fare was on Urbanes dæi pape þeah hit litel behelde. He seide þ fulle feoht was sett betwenen ða Cristene and þa heðene. þa hi þider comen ða ne was hit noht buton læsunge. þus earmlice wearð eall þ folc swengt.

1129. On þis gear sende se kyng to Englaland æfter þone eorl Walerā. and æft' Hugo Gerueises sunu. and þær hi gisleden hem. and Hugo ferde hā to his agen land to France. and Waleram belaf mid þone kyng. and se kyng hī geaf eall his land buton his castel ane. Siððon þa cō se kyng to Engla land innon heruest. and se eorl cō mid hī. and wurðon þa alswa gode freond swa hi wæron æror feond.

Ða sone be þes kynges ræd and be his leue sende se ærce b' Will'm of Cantwarbyrig ofer eall Engla land. and bead biscopes and abbotes and ærce dæcnes and ealle þa priores muneces and canonias þa wæron on ealle þa cellas on Engla

(A.D. 1129) land. and æft' ealle þa þet Cristendome hæfdon to begemen and to locen. and þ hi scolden ealle cumen to Lundene at Michaeles messe. and þær scolden sprecon of ealle Godes rihtes. Þa hi ðider comen þa began þ mot on Monen dæig and heold on an to ðe Fridæig. Þa hit eall cō forð þa weorð hit eall of earce dæcnes wifes and of preostes wifes þ hi scolden hi forlæten be sēs Andreas messe. and se þe þ ne wolden done. forgede his circe and his hus and his ham and nefra ma nan clepunge þær to na hafde mare. þis bebæd se ærce b' Will'm of Cantwarabyrig and ealle þa leod biscopes ða þa wæron on Engla lande. and se kyng hem geaf ealle leue hā to farene. and swa hi ferdon hā. and ne forstod noht ealle þa bodlaces. ealle heoldon here wifes be þes kynges leue swa swa hi ear didon.

Ðis ilces geares forðferde se biscop Will'm Giffard of Win ceastre and þear bebyriged on viii kl' Febr'. and se kyng Henri geaf þone biscop rice æft' Micheles messe þone abbot Henri his nefe of Glasting byri. and he wæs gehalgod to biscop frā þone ærce b' Will'm of Cantwarabyri þes dæies xv k' Decēb'.

Þes ilces geares forðferde Honori' papa. Ær he wære wel ded. þa wære þær coren twa papes. Se an wæs gehaten Petr'. he wæs munec of Clunni. and weas boren of þa ricceste men of Rome. mid hī helden ða of Rome. and se duc of Sicilie. Se oðer het Gregori'. he wæs clerc and wærð flemd ut of Rome frā þon oðer pape and frā his cinnes men. mid hī held se Kasere of Sexlande and se kyng of France and se kyng Heanri of Engle land. and ealle þa be þis half þa muntes. Nu wærð swa mycel dwyld on Cristendom swa it næfre ær ne wæs. Crist sette red for his wrecce folc.

Ðis ilces geares on s' Nicholaes messe niht litel ær dæi wæs micel eorðdine.

1130. Ðis geares wæs se mynstre of Cantwarabyri halgod frā þone ærce b' Will'm þes dæies iv no' Mai. Ðær wæron þas biscopes. Johan of Roue ceastre. Gilbert Uniu'sal of Lundene. Heanri of Win ceastre. Alexander of Lincolne. Roger of Særes byri. Simon of Wigorceastre. Roger of Couentre. Godefreith of Bathe. Eourard of Noruuic. Sigefrid of Cicaestre. Bernard of s' Dauid. Audoen' of Euereus of Normand'. Johan of Sæis.

Ðes feorðe dæges þær æft' wæs se king Heanri on Roue (A.D. 1130)
ceastre. and se burch for bernde æl mæst. and se ærce b'
Will'm halgede s' Andreas mynstre and ða for sprecon biscē
mid hī. And se kyng Heanri ferde ouer sæ into Normandi
on heruest.

Ðes ilces geares cō se abbot Heanri of Angeli æft' Æsterne Burg'
to Burch. and seide þ he hæfde for læten þone mynstre mid
ealle. Æft' him cō se abbot Clunni Petr' gehaten to Engle
lande bi þes kynges leue and wæs under fangen ouer eall swa
hwar swa he cō mid mycel wurðscipe. To Burch he cō. and
þær behet se abbot Heanri hī þ he scolde bejeton hī þone
mynstre of Burch þ hit scolde beon underðed into Clunni.
oc man seið to biworde. hæge sitteð þa aceres dæleth.
God ælmihtig adylege iuele ræde. And sone þær æft' ferde
se abbot of Clunni ham to his ærde.

1131. Ðis gear æfter Cristesmesse on an Monenight æt þe
forme slæp wæs se heouene oðe norð half eall swilc hit wære
bærnende fir. swa þ ealle ðe hit sægon wæron swa of færed
swa hi næfre ær ne wæron. þ wæs on iii id' Janr'. Ðes ilces
geares wæs swa micel orf cwalm swa hit næfre ær ne wæs on
manne gemynd ofer eall Engle land. þ wæs on næt and on
swin. swa þ on þa tun þa wæs tenn ploges oðer twelfe
gangende ne be læf þær noht an. and se man þa heafde twa
hundred oðþe ðre hundred swin ne beleaf him noht an. Þær
æft' swulten þa henne fugeles. þa scyrte ða flescmete and se
ceose and se butere. God hit bete þa his wille beð.

And se kyng Heanri cō hā to Engle land toforen heruest
æft' s' Petres messe þe firrer.

Ðes ilces geares for se abbot Heanri toforen Eastren fram Burg'
Burch ofer sæ to Normandi and þær spreac mid þone kyng.
and sæide hī þet se abbot of Clunni heafde hī beboden þ he
scolde cumen to hī and betæcen hī þone abbot rice of Angeli.
and siðþen he wolde cumen hā be his læfe. and swa he ferde
hā to his agen mynstre and þær wunode eall to mid sumer
dæi. And ðes oðer dæies æfter s' Joñes messe dæj. cusen
þa muneces abbot of hē self and brohten hī into cyrce mid
processionē. sungen Te D'm laud'. ringden þa belle. setten
hī on þes abbotes settle. diden hī ealle hersūnesse swa swa hi
scolden don here abbot. and se eorl and ealle þa heafed menn
and þa muneces of þa mynstre flemden se oðer abbot Heanri

(A.D. 1131) ut of þa mynstre. hi scolden nedes. on fif and twenti wintre ne biden hi næfre an god dæj. Her hī trucode ealle his mycele cræftes. nu hī behofed þ he crape in his mycele codde in ælc hyrne gif þær wære hure an unwreste wrenc þ he mihte get beswicen anes Crist and eall Cristene folc. Þa ferde he into Clunni and þær man hī held þ he ne mihte na east na west. sæide se abbot of Clunni þ hi heafdon forloron s' Joñes mynstre þurh hī and þurh his mycele sotscipe. Þa ne cuþe he hī na betre bote bute behet hem and aðes swor on halidom þ gif he moste Engle land secen þet he scolde begeton hē ðone mynstre of Burch. swa þ he scolde setten þær prior of Clunni and circeweard and hordere and reilþein and ealle þa ðing þa wæron wiðinne mynstre and wiðuten eall he scolde hē betæcen. Þus he ferde into France and þær wunode eall þ gear. Crist ræde for þa wrecce muneces of Burch and for þ wrecce stede. nu hē behofeð Cristes helpe and eall Cristenes folces.

§ 1132. Ðis gear cō Henri king to þis land. þa cō Henri abbot ⁊ uureide þe muneces of Burch to þe king forþi ð he uuolde underþeden ð mynstr' to Clunie. sua ð te king was welneh bepaht. ⁊ sende eft' þe muneces. ⁊ þurh Godes milce ⁊ þurh þe b' of Seresb'i ⁊ te b' of Linc̄ ⁊ te oþre ricemen þe þer wæron þa wiste þe king ð he feorde mid suicdō. Þa he nā mor ne mihte. þa uuolde he ð his nefe sculde ben abb' in Burch. oc Xpist it ne uuolde. Was it noht suithe lang þer eft' þat te king sende eft' hī. ⁊ Burg' dide hī gyuen up ð abb'rice of Burch ⁊ faren ut of lande. Abb' Mrtn ⁊ te king jaf ð abb'rice an prior of s' Neod Martin was gehaten. he cō on s' Pet' messe dei mid micel wurscipe into the minstre.

1135. On þis gære for se king H' ouer sæ æt te Lāmasse. ⁊ ð oþer dei þa he lai an slep in scip. þa þestrede þe dæi ouer al landes and uuard þe sunne suilc als it uuare thre niht ald mone. an st'res abuten hī at middæi.

§ Here begins the final Continuator, who wrote, probably, before 1160. His work has not much chronological arrangement, but it is full of vigour, earnestness, and pathos. The language is very rude. Saxon seems now to have reached the lowest stage of decline at which written literature is possible. But it is just this combination of the feeble with the strong, decrepit language with indignant patriotism, that, while it cripples the narrative, enforces the lamentation, and makes us regard it with tenderness and reverence.

Wurþen men suiðe of uundred ⁊ of dred ⁊ sæden ð micel þing sculde cum̃ her eft'. sua dide. for þat ilc gær warth þe king ded. ð oþer dæi eft' s' Andreas masse dæi on Norm̃. Þa westre sona þas landes. for æuric man sone ræuede oþer þe mihte. Þa namen his sune ⁊ his frend ⁊ brohten his lic to Engle l' ⁊ bebiriend in Reding'. god man he wes ⁊ micel æie wes of hī. Durste nan man mis don wið oðer on his time. Pais he makede men ⁊ dær. Wua sua bare his byrthen gold ⁊ sylure. durste nā man sei to hī naht bute god. (A.D. 1135)

En mang þis was his nefe cumen to Engle l' Stephne de Blais. ⁊ cō to Lundene. ⁊ te Lundenisce folc hī under feng. ⁊ senden æft' þe ærce b' Will'm Curbuil ⁊ halechede hī to kinge on mide wintre dæi. On þis kinges time wes al unfrið ⁊ yfel ⁊ ræflac. for agenes hī risen sona þa rice men þe wæron swikes. Alre fyrst Balduin de Reduers ⁊ held Execestre agenes hī. ⁊ te king it besæt. ⁊ siððan Bald' acordede. Þa tocan þa oðre ⁊ helden her castles agenes hī. ⁊ Dauid king of Scotland toc to uerrien hī. þa þohuuethere þat here sandes feorden betwyx heō. ⁊ hi to gædere comen ⁊ wurðe sæhte. þoþ it litel for stode. Scot'

1137. Ðis gære for þe k' Steph' ofer sæ to Normandi ⁊ ther wes under fangen for þi ð hi uenden ð he sculde ben alsuic alse the eō wes. ⁊ for he hadde get his tresor. ac he to deld it ⁊ scatered sotlice. Micel hadde Henri k' gadered gold ⁊ syluer. ⁊ na god ne dide me for his saule thar of.

Þa^þe king S' to Engle l' cō þa macod he his gadering æt Oxeneford. ⁊ þar he nā þe b' Roger of Sereb'i ⁊ Alex' b' of Lincol ⁊ te Canceler Rog' hise neues. ⁊ dide ælle in p̃sun. til hi iafen up here castles. Þa the suikes under gæton ð he milde man was ⁊ softe ⁊ god. ⁊ na justise ne dide. þa dide^n hi alle wunder. Hi hadden hī manred maked ⁊ athes suoren. ac hi nan treuthe ne heolden. alle he wæron for sworen and here treothes for loren. for æuric rice man his castles makede ⁊ agænes hī heolden. ⁊ fylden þe land ful of castles. Hi suencten suyðe þe uurecce men of þe land mid castel weorces. þa þe castles uuaren maked þa fylden hi mid deoules ⁊ yuele men. Þa namen hi þa men þe hi wenden ð ani god hefden. bathe be nihtes ⁊ be dæies. carl men and wīmen. ⁊ diden heō in p̃sun Dissensio int' Reg' et Barr'

(A. D. 1137) eft' gold ȝ syluer. ȝ pined heō. untellendlice pining. for ne uuæren næure nan martyrs swa pined alse hi wæron. Me henged up bi the fet ȝ smoked heō mid ful smoke. Me henged bi the þūbes. other bi the hefed. ȝ hengen bryniges on her fet. Me dide cnotted strenges abuton here hæued. ȝ uurythen to ð it gæde to þe hærnes. Hi dyden heō in quarterne þar nadres ȝ snakes ȝ pades wæron inne. ȝ drapen heō swa. Sume hi diden in crucethus ð is in an cæste þat was scort ȝ nareu. ȝ un dep. ȝ dide scærpe stanes þer inne. ȝ þrengde þe man þær inne. ð hī bræcon alle þe limes. In mani of þe castles wæron lof ȝ grī. ð wæron rachenteges ð twa oþer thre men hadden onoh to bæron onne. þat was sua maced. ð is fæstned to an beom. ȝ diden an scærp iren abuton þa mannes throte and his hals. ð he ne myhte nowiderwardes. ne sitten ne lien ne slepen. oc bæron al ð iren. Mani þusen hi drapen mid hungær.

J ne can ne í ne mai tellen alle þe wunder ne alle þe pines ð hi diden wrecce men on þis land. ȝ ð lastede þa xix wintre wile Stephne was king ȝ æure it was uuerse ȝ uuerse. Hi læiden gæildes o[n] the tunes æureūwile ȝ clepeden it tenserie. þa þe uurecce men ne hadden nā more to gyuen. þa ræueden hi ȝ brendon alle the tunes. ð wel þu myhtes faren all adæis fare sculdest thu neure finden man in tune sittende. ne land tiled. Þa was corn dære. ȝ flec ȝ cæse ȝ butere. for nan ne wæs o þe land. Wrecce men sturuen of hungær. sume ieden on ælmes þe waren sū wile rice men. sume flugen ut of lande.

Wes næure gæt mare wrecce hed on land. ne næure hethen men werse ne diden þan hi diden. for ouer sithon ne for baren hi, nouther circe ne cyrce iærd. oc nam̄ al þe god ð þar inne was. ȝ brenden sythen þe cyrce ȝ al te gædere. Ne hi ne for baren b' land ne abb' ne preostes. ac ræueden munekes ȝ clerekes. ȝ æuric man other þe ouer myhte. Gif twa men oþer iii coman ridend to an tun. al þe tunscipe flugæn for heō. wenden ð hi wæron ræueres. Þe biscopes and lered men heō cursede æure. oc was heō naht þar of. for hi uueron al for cursæd ȝ for suoren ȝ for loren.

War sæ me tilede. þe erthe ne bar nan corn. for þe land was al for don. mid suilce dædes. ȝ hi sæden openlice ð

xpist slep. ⁊ his halechen. Suilc ⁊ mare þanne we cunnen (A.D. 1137)
sæin. we þolenden xix wintre for ure sinnes.

On al þis yuele time heold Martin abbot his abbot rice xx wint' ⁊ half gær ⁊ viii dæis. mid micel suinc. ⁊ fand þe munekes ⁊ te gestes al þat heō be houed ⁊ heold mycel carited in the hus. ⁊ þoþ wethere wrohte on þe circe ⁊ sette þar to landes ⁊ rentes. ⁊ goded it suythe ⁊ læt it refen ⁊ brohte heō into þe neuuæ mynst' on S' Petres mæsse dæi mid micel wurtscipe. ð was anno ab incarñ D' Mcxl. a cōbustiōe loci xxiii. And he for to Rome. ⁊ þær wæs wæl underfangen frā þe pape Eugenie. and begæt thare p̄uilegies. an of alle þe landes of þabbot rice. ⁊ an oþer of þe landes þe lien to þe circe wican. ⁊ gif he leng moste liuen alse he mint to don of þe horder wycan. And he begæt in landes þat rice men hefden mid strengthe. of Will'm Malduit þe heold Roginghā þæ castel. he wan Cotinghā ⁊ Estun. and of Hugo of Walt' uile he uuan Hyrtlingb'. and Stanewig. ⁊ lx sol' of Aldewingle (ælc gær). And he makede manie munek' ⁊ plantede winiærd. ⁊ makede mani weorkes. ⁊ wende þe tun betere þan it ær wæs. ⁊ wæs god munec ⁊ god man. ⁊ forþi hī luueden God ⁊ gode men.

Burg'

Na de Redd' de Aude-uuncle

Nu we willen sægen sūdel wat belamp on Steph' kinges time. On his time þe Judeus of Noruuic bohton an xpisten cild beforen Estren ⁊ pineden hī alle þe ilce pining ð ure Drihten was pined. ⁊ on lang fridæi hī on rode hengen for ure Drihtines luue. ⁊ sythen byrieden hī. Wenden ð it sculde ben for holen. oc ure Dryhtin atywede ð he was hali m̄r. ⁊ to munekes hī namen. and bebyried hī heglice in þe minst'. and he maket þur ure Drihtin wunderlice ⁊ manifældlice miracles. ⁊ hatte he S' Willelm.

De Sc'o Will'mo

1138. On þis gær cō Dauid king of Scotl' mid ormete færd to þis land. wolde winnan þis land. and hī cō to gænes Will'm eorl of Albamar þe þe king adde beteht Euorwic ⁊ to other æuez men mid fæu men and fuhten wid heō. ⁊ flēden þe king æt te Standard. ⁊ sloghen suithe micel of his genge.

Scot'

1140. On þis gær wolde þe king Steph' tæcen Rodb't eorl of Gloucestre þe kinges sune Henries. ac he ne myhte for he wart it war.

Þer eft' in þe lengten þestrede þe sunne ⁊ te dæi. abuton

(A.D. 1140) non tid dæies. þa men eten. ð me lihtede candles to æten bi. and þat was xiii k' Ap'l. wæron men suythe ofwundred.

Þer eft' fordfeorde Will' ærceb' of Cantwarb'. ⁊ te king makede Teodbald ærceb' þe was abbot in the Bec.

Þer eft' wæx suythe micel uuerre betuyx þe king ⁊ Randolf eorl of Cæstre noht for þi ð he ne iaf hī al ð he cuthe axen hī. alse he dide alle othre. oc æfre þe mare he iaf heō. þe wærse hi wæron hī. þe eorl heold Lincol agænes þe king. ⁊ benā hī al ð he ahte to hauen. ⁊ te king for þider ⁊ besætte hī ⁊ his brother Will'm de R[om]are in þe castel. ⁊ te æorl stæl ut ⁊ ferde eft' Rodb't eorl of Gloucestre. ⁊ brohte hī þider mid micel ferd. ⁊ fuhten suythe on Candel masse dæi agenes heore lauerd. ⁊ namen hī for his men him suyken ⁊ flugæn. ⁊ læd hī to Bristowe ⁊ diden þar in p̃sun. ⁊ . . . teres. Þa was al Engle l' styred mar þan ær wæs. ⁊ al yuel wæs in lande.

Þer eft' cō þe king' doht' Henries þe hefde ben Emperice in Alamanie. ⁊ nu wæs cuntesse in Angou. ⁊ cō to Lundene ⁊ te Lundenissce folc hire wolde tæcen. ⁊ scæ fleh ⁊ forles þar micel.

Þer eft' þe biscop of Wincestre Henri þe king' brother Steph' spac wid Rodb't eorl ⁊ wyd þēperice ⁊ suor heō athas ð he neure ma mid te king his brother wolde halden. ⁊ cursede alle þe men þe mid hī heoldon. ⁊ sæde heō ð he uuolde ííuen heō up Wincestre. ⁊ dide heō cumen þider. Þa hi þær inne wæren. þa cō þe king' cuen [mid al] hire strengthe. ⁊ besæt heō. ð þer wæs inne micel hungær. Þa hi ne leng ne muhten þolen þa stali hi ut ⁊ flugen. ⁊ hi wurthen war widuten ⁊ folecheden heō. ⁊ namen Rodb't eorl of Glouc̃. ⁊ ledden hī to Roue cestre. ⁊ diden hī þare in p̃sun. ⁊ te emperice fleh into an minstre. Þa feorden þe wise men be twyx þe kinges freond ⁊ te eorles freond. ⁊ sahtlede sua ð me sculde leten ut þe king of p̃sun for þe eorl. ⁊ te eorl for þe king. ⁊ sua diden.

Sithen þer eft' sahtleden þe king ⁊ Randolf eorl at Stan ford. ⁊ athes suoren ⁊ treuthes fæston ð her nouþer sculde be suiken other. ⁊ it ne for stod naht. for þe king hī sithen nā in Hātun. þurhc wicci ræd. ⁊ dide hī in p̃sun. ⁊ ef sones he let hī ut þurhc wærse red. to ð forewarde ð he suor on halidō ⁊ gysles fand. þat he alle his castles sculde ííuen up.

Sume he iaf up ȝ sume ne iaf he noht. ȝ dide þanne wærse (A.D. 1140)
þanne he hær sculde.

Þa was Engle land suythe to deled. sume helden mid te king. ȝ sume mid þēperice. for þa þe king was in p̃sun þa wenden þe eorles ȝ te rice men þat he neure mare sculde cum̃ ut. ȝ sæhtleden wyd þēperice. ȝ brohten hire into Oxen ford. ȝ iauen hire þe burch. Þa þe king was ute þa herde ð sægen. ȝ toc his feord ȝ be sæt hire in þe tur. ȝ me læt hire dun on niht of þe tur mid rapes. ȝ stal ut. ȝ scæ fleh ȝ iæde on fote to Walingford.

Þær eft' scæ ferde ouer sæ. ȝ hi of Normandi wenden alle fra þe king. to þe eorl of Angæu. sume here þankes ȝ sume here un þankes. for he be sæt heō til hi a iauen up here castles. ȝ hi nan helpe ne hæfden of þe k'.

Þa ferde Eustace þe king' sune to France ȝ nā þe king' suster of France to wife. wende to bigæton Normandi þær þurh. oc he spedde litel. ȝ be gode rihte for he was an yuel man. for ware se he [com he] dide mare yuel þanne god. he reuede þe landes ȝ læide mic[ele gilde]s on. he brohte his wif to Engle land. ȝ dide hire in þe caste ..... teb'. god wīman scæ wæs. oc scæ hedde litel blisse mid hī. ȝ Xpist ne wolde ð he sculde lange rixan. ȝ wærd ded ȝ his moder beien.

ȝ te eorl of Angæu wærd ded. ȝ his sune Henri toc to þe rice. ȝ te cuen of France to dælde fra þe king. ȝ scæ cō to þe iunge eorl Henri. ȝ he toc hire to wiue. ȝ al Peitou mid hire. Þa ferde he mid micel færd into Engle land. ȝ wan castles. ȝ te king ferde agenes hī mid micel mare ferd. ȝ þoþwæthere fuhtten hi noht. oc ferden þe ærceb' ȝ te wise me" betwux heō. ȝ makede ð sahte ð te king sculde ben lauerd ȝ king wile he liuede. ȝ æft' his dæi ware Henri king. ȝ he helde hī for fader ȝ he hī for sune. ȝ sib ȝ sæhte sculde ben betwyx heō. ȝ on al Engle land. Þis ȝ te othre foruuardes þet hi makeden. suoren to halden þe king ȝ te eorl ȝ te b' & te eorles ȝ rice men alle. Þa was þe eorl under fangen æt Wincestre ȝ æt Lundene mid micel wurtscipe. ȝ alle diden hī man red. ȝ suoren þe pais to halden. ȝ hit ward sone suythe god pais. sua ð neure was here. Þa was þe k' strengere þanne he æuert her was. ȝ te eorl ferde ouer sæ. ȝ al folc hī luuede for he dide god iustise ȝ makede pais.

1154. On þis gær wærd þe king Steph' ded ȝ bebyried þer his wif ȝ his sune wæron bebyried æt Faures feld. þæt minstre hi makeden. þa þe king was ded. þa was þe eorl beionde sæ. ȝ ne durste nan man don oþer bute god for þe micel eie of hī. þa he to Engle land cō. þa was he under fangen mid micel wurtscipe. and to king bletcæd in Lundene on þe Sunnen dæi be foren midwint'dæi. and held þær micel curt.

Þat ilce dæi þat Mart' abb' of Burch sculde þider faren. þa sæclede he ȝ ward ded iv no. Jañ. ȝ te munek' innen dæis cusen oþer of heō sælf. Will'm de Walt'uile is gehaten. god clerc ȝ god man. ȝ wæl luued of þe k' ȝ of alle gode men. and o[n cyric]en byrie' þabb' hehlice ȝ sone þe cosan ab' ferde ȝ te muneces [mid him to] Oxenford to þe king [and he] iaf hī þat abb'rice. ȝ he ferde *hī sone* [to Linc]ol ȝ was *þær bletcæd to* abbot ær he ham come. ȝ *sithen* was under fangen *mid micel wurtscipe* at Burch. mid *micel* p̄cessiun. ȝ *sua* he was alsua at Ramesæie. ȝ at Torn'. ȝ at . . . ȝ Spall' ȝ at *S. l.* bares. ȝ . . . . . ȝ *nu is* abbot. ȝ *fair* haued begunnon. Xpus *hī* un*ne* . . . ⁘

END OF MS. E.

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*To give the whole of the historical material*
*preserved in the series of Saxon Chronicles,*
*a few more supplementary pieces,*
*for which no place was found*
*in the body of the work,*
*are added in the*
*Appendix.*

# APPENDIX.

I.—F 796. *continued from the asterisk on page* 58.

796. . . . And let him pycan ut his eagan. and ceorfan of his handa. Ond Aðelard arceb' of Cantwareb' sette synoð. and getrymde and gefæstnode. ðurh ðas papan hæse Leones. ealle ða ðing be Godes mynstran. ða wæron gesett be Wihtgares dæge. and be oðra cinga dæge. and ðus cwæð. Ic Aðelard. eadmod arceb' of Cantwareb'i. mid anmodan ræde ealles sinoðes. and mid ealra ðare gegaderungæ ealra ðara mynstra ðā be ealdan dagan frignesse was geauen fram geleaffullan mannum. on Godes naman. and ðurh his bifigendan dom. ic bebeode swa swa ic hæse habbe of ðan papan Leone. ð heononforð nan ne dyrstlæce ceosan him hlauordas of læwedan mannan ouer Godes erfwyrðnysse. Ac eal swa swa hit ys on ðan gewrite ðe se papa hæfð giuen. oððe ða haligan weras gesetton. ðe beoð ure fæderas and ure lareowas be haligum mynstrum. swa hi beliuon unawēmed butan ælcre ánsæce. Gif æni mann ys ð þis Godes and uræs papan and ure bebod healdan nelle. ac farseoð and far naht healdaþ. witan hi ð hi sculon gifan gescead to foran Godes domsetle. And ic Aðelhard arceb'. mid twelf biscopan. and mid þrim and twentigan abbodan. þis ylce mid rodetacne Cristes getrīmaþ and gefæstnia.

II.—*A curious note (peculiar to* F*) of the traditions of Christ Church, Canterbury. In Saxon and Latin: from the margin of* F.

870. . . . Ða ferde Æðered cing to and Ælfred his broðer. and naman Æðelred Wiltunscire b'. and settan hine to arceb' to Cantuare b'i. forðan he was ær munec of ðan ylcan mynstre of Cantwareb'i. Ealswa hraðe swa he com to Cantuareb'i and he warð getremmed on his arcestole. þa he ðohte hu he mihte ut adræfan ða clericas þe

þar binnan . a . . . . þa se arceb' Ceolnoð þar biforan sette far swylcre neode ge . ð . . swa we seggan wyllað. Ðas forman geares þe he to arceb' geset was. þa wearð swa mycel man cwealm þ of eallan þā munecā þe he þar binnan funde. na belifan na ma þone fif munecas. Ða far þare and . . . . ge he his hand preostas. and eac sume of his tun prestan. þ hi scoldan helpan þā feawan munecan þe þar bylifen wæran to donne Xp̃es ðeowdom. for ðan he na mihte swa ferlice munecas findan. þa mihtan be heō sylfum þone ðeowdom don. and far ðyssen he het þ ða prestas þa hwile eal þ God giefe sibbe on þis lande þā munecan helpan scoldan. To þan ylcan timan was þis land swyþe geswent mid gelomlican feohten. and farþi se arceb' na þar embe beon. far ðan ealne his timan was gewinn and sorhge ofer England. and forþi belifan þa clericas mid ðan munecan. Nas næfre nan tima þ þar næran munecas binnan. and æfre hefdan þone hlafordscipe ofor ða prestas. Eft se arceb' Ceoln' þohte and eac to þan ðe mid him wæran sæde. eal swa hraþe swa God gifþ sibbe on þisan lande. oððe þas prestas scolan munecas beon. oððe ca. ellos hwar munecas eal swa fela don binnan þā minstre wylle þ magan þone ðeowad be heom sylfan don. far ðan God wat ð ic . . . . . .

Cum autem venisset Cantuariam, statim cogitare cœpit quomodo possit eicere clericos de ecclesia Christi, quos Ceolnothus pro tali necessitate compulsus ibi posuit. Primo igitur anno ordinationis suæ tanta mortalitas facta est in ecclesia Christi, ut de tota congregatione monachorum non remanerent nisi quinque. Qua de causa quia ita subito non potuit invenire tot monachos qui ibi servitium Dei facere possent, ex simplicitate cordis præcepit capellanis clericis suis, ut essent cum eis usque quo Deus pacificaret terram, quæ tunc nimis erat turbata propter nimias tempestates bellorum. Accepit etiam de villis suis presbiteros, ut essent cum monachis, ita tamen ut monachi semper haberent dominatum super clericos. Cogitavit idem archiepiscopus et sæpe suis dixit, quia statim cum Deus pacem nobis dederit, aut isti clerici monachi fient, aut ego ubicumque monachos inveniam quos reponam. Scit enim Deus inquid, quod aliter facere non possum. Sed nunquam temporibus suis pax fuit in Anglia, et ideo remanserunt clerici cum monachis, nec ullo tempore fuit ecclesia sine monachis. Sed nec iste Æðeredus archiepiscopus potuit facere.

III.—*This is a little Mercian Register of a period of twenty years, and may be styled "The Annals of Æþelflæd." It was unskilfully jointed into* B *and* C *after date, and so stands out conspicuous and isolated from the midst of the surrounding compilation. But the compiler of MS.* D *made selections from this piece, and mingled them with materials from other sources, digesting the compound into chronological order. So that we have here the opportunity of contemplating a portion of our history both in its earlier isolated and in its later compiled aspect.*

*The MSS.* B *and* C, *after closing the year* 915 (918 A), *fetch back to* 902, *and introduce the present episode, which may be considered to close at* 921. *Barren from* 921 *to* 924, *they here fall in again with the usual current of history, and relate the death of Eadweard* (A 925), *but in a manner of their own. Both are then vacant for ten years, and to exhibit their poverty at this point, the extract has been continued two annals beyond the termination of the Mercian Register or Annals of Æþelflæd.*

*The text is from* C, *and at the foot are given the variations of* B.

902. Her Ealhswiþ[1] forðferde. and þý[2] ilcan gere wæs þ gefeoht æt þam Holme Cantwara and þara Deniscra.

904. Her mona aþystrode[3].

905. Her ætywde[4] cometa.

907. Her wæs Ligcester[5] ge edniwod.

909. Her wæs sce Oswaldes lic gelæded[6] of Beardanigge on Myrce.

910. On þysum gere[7] Engle and Dene gefuhton[8] æt Teotanheale and Engle sige namon[9]. and þý ilcan geare Æðelflæd[10] getimbrede þa burh æt Bremesbyrig.

911. Ða wæs oþres geares gefor Æþered Myrcna hlaford.

912. Her com Æþelflæd Myrcna hlæfdige on þone halgan æfen Inventione sce crucis to Scergeate. and þær wa burh getimbrede. and þæs ilcan geares þá[11] æt Bricge.

913. Her Gode forgyfendum[12] for Æþelflæd Myrcna hlæfdige mid eallum Myrcum to Tamaweorþige. and þá[13] burh þær[14] getim-

1 Ealhswyð. 2 þy ilcan geare. 3 aðeostrode. 4 oþywde.
5 Lig ceaster geedneowad. 6 gelædd. 7 geare. 8 gefuhtan.
9 naman. 10 Æþelflæd. 11 þa. 12 forgifendum. 13 þa.
14 ðær.

brede. on foreweardne sumor. and þæs foran to hlaf[15] mæssan. þá æt Stæf forda.

914. Þá ðæs[16] oþre geare þá[17] æt Eades byrig on foreweardne sumor. and þæs ilcan geres[18] eft on ufeweardne hærfest þá[19] æt Wæring wicum[20].

915. Þá ðæs[21] oþre geare on ufan midne winter þá[22] æt Cyric byrig. and þá[23] æt Weard byrig. and ðy ilcan gere[24] foran to middan wintra þá æt Rum cofan[25].

916. Her wæs[26] Ecgbriht abbud unscyldig ofslegen foran to middan sumera. on xvi kl' ivl'. þý ilcan dæge wæs sce Ciricius tid[27] þæs ðroweres. mid his geferum. and ðæs embe þreo[28] niht sende Æþelflæd fyrde[29] on Wealas. and abræc Brecenan mere and þær genam ðæs[30] cinges wif[31] feower and ðritiga sume.

917. Her Æþelflæd Myrcna hlæfdige Gode fultumgendum[32] foran to hlæfmæssan begeat þa burh mid eallum þam ðe þær tó[33] hyrde. þé ýs haten[34] Deorabý. þær wæron eac ofslegene hyre þegna feower ðe hire besorge wæron binnan þam[35] gatum.

918. Her heo begeat on hire geweald mid Godes fultume[36] on foreweardne gear gesybsumlice[37] þa burh æt Ligra[38] ceastre. and se mæsta dæl þæs herges þe ðær[39] to hirde[40] wearð underþeoded[41] and hæfdon eác[42] Eforwicingas hire gehaten[43] and sume on wedde geseald. sume mid aþum gefæstnod þ hi[44] on hyre[45] rædenne beon woldon[46]. Ac swiðe[47] hrædlice þæs ðe hi[48] þæs geworden hæfde heo gefór. xii nihtun[49] ær middan sumera. binnan Tama weorþige ðy[50] eahtoþan geare þæs ðe[51] heo Myrcna anweald[52] mid riht hlaford dome healdende wæs. and hyre lic lið[53] binnan Gleaw cestre[54] on þam east portice sce Petres cyrcean[55].

919. Her eac wearð Æþeredes dohtor[56] Myrcna hlafordes ælces anwealdes[57] on Myrcum benumen. and on West Sexe aleded[58]. þrim wucum ær middan[59] wintra. seo wæs haten Ælfwyn.

15 hláf. 16 ða þæs. 17 þa. 18 geares. 19 þa. 20 wícon. 21 ða þæs. 22 þa. 23 þa. 24 þý ilcan geare. 25 Rúm cofan. 26 wearð. 27 tíd. 28 þæs ymb iii. 29 fyrd. 30 þæs. 31 wíf. 32 fultmigendum. 33 þær tó. 34 þe is hatan Deorabý. and þær wæron eac ofslegene hire. 35 ðam. 36 fultome. 37 geár gesimbsumlice. 38 Legra. 39 þær. 40 hyrde. 41 þyded. 42 éac. 43 Eoforwic (no more) gehâten. 44 hie. 45 hire. 46 beón woldan. 47 swiþe. 48 þe hie. 49 nihtū. 50 Taman weorðe þy. 51 þe. 52 anwald. 53 líc liþ. 54 ceastre. 55 ciricean. 56 dohtar. 57 onwealdes. 58 alæded. 59 ær middum.

921.† Her Eadweard cing getimbrede þa burh æt Clede muþan.

924. Her Eadweard cing gefor[60] on Myrcum æt Fearndune. and Ælfwerd[61] his sunu swiðe hraðe[62] þæs gefór[63]. æt Oxna forda. and hira lic lið[64] æt Wintan ceastre. and Æþelstan[65] wæs of Myrcum gecoren to cinge. and æt Cinges tune[66] gehalgod. and he geaf his sweostor[67]

934. Her for Æþelstan[68] cing on Scot land ægþer ge mid land here ge mid scyphere and his micel ofer hergode.

† 921. This Annal not in B.

60 gefór. 61 Ælfweard. 62 swiþe hraþe. 63 þæs gefór. 64 heora licgað. 65 Æþestan. 66 túne. 67 swystor cf. D. p. 111. 68 Æþestán.

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IV.—*A fragment supplied from* D (F).

1021. . . (E) . . . * And Ælfgar b'. se ælmes fulla. forðferde on Cristes mæsse uhtan.

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V.—*The piece promised in the foot-note, page* 208.

1066. Secundo anno ordinationis suæ [Lanfrancus] Romam ivit, quem papa Alexander in tantum honoravit, ut ei contra morem assurgeret; et duo Pallia, ob signum præcipui amoris, tribueret. Quorum unum Romano more ab altare accepit; alterum vero ipse Papa, unde missas celebrare consueverat, sua manu porrexit. In cujus præsentia Thomas de primatu Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ, et de subjectione quorundam Episcoporum calumniam movit; quæ qualem finem postea in Anglia accepit, Lanfrancus breviter et absolute scribit in Epistola, quam præfato Alexandro Papæ direxit. Hoc quoque anno generale consilium Wentoniæ celebratum, in quo et Vuluricum, novi Monasterii Abbatem deposuit; multaque de Christianæ religionis cultu servanda instituit. Post dies paucos, in Lundonia Osbernum Essecistrensem Episcopum, et Cantuariæ Scotlandum Ecclesiæ sancti Augustini Abbatem sacravit.

Tertio anno, in Cloecistria sacravit Petrum, Licifeldensem sive Cestrensem Episcopum. Hoc quoque anno habitum est magnum placitum in loco qui dicitur Pinenden; in quo Lanfrancus diratiocinatur, se suamque Ecclesiam omnes terras, et consuetudines suas ita liberas, terra marique habere; sicut Rex habet suas, exceptis tribus; videlicet, si regalis via fuerit effosa; si arbor incisa juxta super eam ceciderit; si homicidium factum, et sanguis in ea fusus fuerit: in iis qui deprehensus est, et ab eo pignus acceptum fuerit; Regi enim dabit; alioquin liber à Regis exactoribus erit.

Quarto anno, Patricium Dubliniæ civitati in Hibernia sacratum Episcopum Lundoniæ, à quo et professionem accepit; et literas ei deferendas regibus Hiberniæ, dignas valde memoriæ contradidit.

Quinto anno, generale Concilium Lundoniæ celebratum: cujus gestionem, rogatu multorum, literis commendavit.

Sexto anno, dedit Hernosto Monacho in Capitulo Ecclesiæ Christi Ecclesiam Rofensem regendam, quem et Lundoniæ sacravit. Wentoniæ Concilium celebratum: et Hernostus hoc ipso anno ab hac vita migravit.

Septimo anno, Gundulfo Ecclesiam Rofensem tradidit; quem etiam Cantuariæ sacravit. Hoc quoque anno misit ei literas Thomas Archiepiscopus Eboracensis; in quibus rogavit ut sibi mitterentur duo Episcopi ad consecrandum Clericum quendam, qui ei literas de Horgadis insulis detulit; ut ipsarum insularum Episcopus consecretur. Cujus petitioni Lanfrancus annuens, mandavit Wulstano Wigorniensi, et Petro Cestrensi Episcopis, ut Eboracum irent, et cum Thoma tantam rem complere satagerent.

Octavo anno, Concilium Lundoniæ celebratum, in quo Ailnodum Glastingensis cœnobii Abbatem deposuit.

Anno undecimo, celebratum Concilium apud Claudiam civitatem, ubi et Thomas Archiepiscopus Eboracensis, jubente Rege, et Lanfranco consentiente, sacravit Wilielmum Dunelmensem Episcopum, eo quod à Scotorum Episcopis qui sibi subjecti sunt, habere adjutorium non potuit. Hujus ministerii cooperatores fuerunt, Lanfranco præcipiente, Wolstanus, Osbernus, Giso, Rotbertus, Episcopi. Eo quoque tempore, misit in Hiberniam Donnaldo Episcopo literas, sacræ doctrinæ pinguedine refertas.

Sexto decimo anno, sacravit Donatum monachum suum Cantuariæ, ad regnum Dubliniæ, petente Rege, clero, et populo Hiberniæ, quibus etiam literas exhortatorias misit. Hoc quoque anno, apud Cleucestriam Concilium celebravit, in quo Wulfecetelum Crulandensis cœnobii Abbatem deposuit. Rotbertum Cestrensem, et Willielmum Helmeanensem simul uno die Episcopos Cantuariæ sacravit. Mauritium Lundoniensi Ecclesiæ apud Wentoniam consecravit; qui sacratus, post paucos dies matri suæ Ecclesiæ Cantuariensi, cum honestis muneribus, se præsentavit.

Octavo decimo anno, mortuo Rege Wilielmo trans mare, filium ejus Wilielmum sicut pater constituit Lanfrancus, in Regem elegit, et in Ecclesia beati Petri, in occidentali parte Lundoniæ sita, sacravit, et coronavit. Eodem anno Godefridum Cicestrensis Ecclesiæ Antistitem; et Widonem Ecclesiæ S. Augustini Abbatem; et Johannem Wellensi Ecclesiæ Episcopum Cantuariæ in sede Metropoli examinavit, atque sacravit. In crastino hujus consecrationis Widonem Abbatem per semetipsum Lanfrancus, associato sibi Odone Baiocensi Episcopo fratre Regis qui tunc Cantuariam venerat, ad S. Augustinum duxit: mandatis fratribus ejusdem Ecclesiæ, quatenus eum susciperent, ut proprium Abbatem, atque pastorem: qui unanimiter animati responderunt, se illi nec velle subesse, nec illum suscipere. Venit itaque Lanfrancus adducens Abbatem; et cum Monachos pertinaciter videret resistere, nec ei velle parere; præcepit ut omnes, qui sibi nollent obedire, continuo exirent. Exierunt ergo pariter fere omnes, et Lanfrancus cum suis, Abbatem honorifice introductum, in sede locavit; et Ecclesiam commendavit. Priorem autem ejusdem Ecclesiæ nomine Ælfwinum, et alios, quos voluit, cepit: et Cantuariam claustrali custodia servandos protenus transmisit: eos vero qui fortiores, et caput scandali extiterant, in castellum duci, ibique in carcere custodiri præcepit. Cumque omnibus rite peractis domum rediret, nunciatum est ei Monachos, qui exierant, sub castro, secus Ecclesiam S. Miltrudæ consedisse. Quibus mandavit ut, si vellent, ante horam nonam, ad Ecclesiam impune redirent: sed si illam præterirent, non jam libere, sed ut fugitivi revenirent. Hoc audito, in ambiguo habebant redire, vel remanere. Hora autem refectionis, cum esurirent, plures ex iis

pœnitentes suæ pertinaciæ, ad Lanfrancum miserunt, et ei omnem obedientiam promiserunt. Quibus continuo pepercit, mandans ut redirent, et professionem suam præfato Abbati se servaturos sacramento confirmarent. Itaque redierunt, et se deinceps fore fideles, et obedientes Widoni Abbati super corpus beati Augustini juraverunt. Qui vero remanserant cepit Lanfrancus, et per Ecclesias Angliæ divisit; constrinxit, donec eos obedientiam profiteri coëgit. Circa idem tempus Æluredum unum ex illis vagantem fugiendo cepit, et Cantuariæ in sede metropoli, cum quibusdam sociis illius, qui Abbati malum moliti sunt, ferro compeditos, multis diebus rigorem ordinis in claustro discere fecit: sed postquam sufficienter humiliati sunt, ut æstimatum est, et emendationem promiserunt, misertus eorum Lanfrancus de singulis locis, quo eos disperserat, præcepit reduci; et suo Abbati reconciliari.

Eodem anno, dissentione reiterata, perniciem Abbati clam machinati sunt; et dum unus ex eis, nomine Columbanus, deprehensus fuisset, jussit eum Lanfrancus sibi adduci. Cumque coram eo astaret, interrogavit si Abbatem uoluisset perimere. Qui confestim, Si, inquit, potuissem, pro certo eum interfecissem. Præcepit itaque Lanfrancus, ut ante portas beati Augustini, spectante populo, ligaretur nudus, flagellis afficeretur: deinde præciso capitio, ab urbe pelleretur. Factum est ut imperavit, et ex hoc, inquietudinem cæterorum, donec vixit, sua formidine quassavit.

Nono decimo anno, defunctus est Lanfrancus venerabilis Archiepiscopus, et sepultus est in sede Metropoli Cantuariæ; qui in sede Pontificali sedit annis decem et octo mensibus ix duobus diebus. De cujus actibus, ædificiis, eleemosynis, laboribus, scriptura quæ in ejus anniversario legitur ex parte commemorat. Multa enim erant valde. Post ejus obitum, Monachi S. Augustini, præfato Abbati suo Widoni palam resistentes, cives Cantuariæ contra eum concitaverunt; qui illum armata manu in sua domo interimere tentaverunt. Cujus familia cum resisteret, pluribus utrinque vulneratis, et quibusdam interfectis, vix Abbas inter manus illorum illæsus evasit; et ad matrem Ecclesiam, quærendo auxilium, Cantuariam fugit. Hujus facti fama citati suffraganei ejusdem Ecclesiæ, Walkelmus Wentanus et Gundulfus Rofensis Epi-

scopi, Cantuariam, cum quibusdam nobilibus, quos miserat Rex, veniunt: ut tantæ offensæ vindictam adhibeant. Auditis ergo rationibus seditionis, Monachi à culpa excusari non poterant: quos coram populo subire disciplinam, quia palam peccaverant, ii qui advenerant, decreverunt: sed Prior, et Monachi Ecclesiæ Christi, pietate moti restiterunt; ne si palam punirentur infames deinceps fierent; sicque eorum vita ac servitus contemneretur. Igitur concessum est, ut in Ecclesia fieret, ubi non populus, sed soli ad hoc electi admitterentur. Vocati sunt ad hoc Monachi Ecclesiæ Christi, Wido videlicet, et Normannus, qui disciplinam ad Episcoporum imperium intulerunt. Deinde divisi sunt per Ecclesias Angliæ, et loco illorum xxiv Monachi Ecclesiæ Christi admissi, cum Priore nomine Antonio, qui Sub-prioratus officio Cantuariæ fungebatur. Cives vero, qui Abbatis curiam armata manu intraverant, capti; et qui se ab ejus impugnatione purgare non poterant, oculos amiserunt.

Post obitum Lanfranci caruit Ecclesia Christi Pastore quatuor annis mensibus ix et diebus ix in quibus multa adversa perpessa est. Anno vero Dominicæ incarnationis mxciii datus est Pontificatus Cantuarberiæ Anselmo Beccensi Abbati, ii Non. Martii, viro probo, bono, apprime erudito, et sui temporis nominatissimo. Venit autem Cantuariam vii kal. Octob. multis eum causis rationabilibus detinentibus, quod prius venire nolebat; et sacratus est ii Non. Decemb.

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# NOTES

*The letters* t, h, m, l, b, *attached to the figure of a page, mean* top, high, middle, low, bottom.

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# NOTES

p 2 l. **Wesseaxna**] This is the form which survives in the name of **Wessex**. The form without the **t** occurs in many places in A and its earlier successors; but never in E. E. g. p 4: A. D. 560, 611, 643, 650, 670, 827, 836. In 855, C exhibits the archaic form, where A has the **t**. It has been questioned whether **Wes-** had the same meaning as the later **West-**; and this doubt would apply also to the parallel case of the **Visi**goths = Westgoths. Förstemann, Ortsnamen, p 133, treats the identity as certain, and produces Visula and Bisula as acknowledged forms of the river-name Vistula, which river he supposes was once the *western* boundary of the Gothic tribes.

p 3 t. **geþeode**] geþeódu D. This word means, not *nations* or *peoples*, but **languages**. The translators have been misled by the sequel, which goes on to speak of them as peoples; following Beda in rough epitome. The Latin of **fif geþeode** is *quinque gentium linguis*. Gens, natio is **þeod**, but **geþeod** is the national **language**: cf. Matth. i. 23. on ure geþeode = in our speech. As **þeod** was thus affected by the prefix **ge-**, so by the suffix **-isc**: þeodisc = language, both in A. S. (Boeth. 19) and in the continental dialects; whence Theotiscus, Tedesco, Deutsch, Dutch.

Among the five languages used in Britain, Beda enumerated Latin. A glance at his text will shew that this would be included quite naturally from his point of view, which was to enumerate the languages used in this island *in the services of religion*. In D, the list stands unaltered; but E, who did not go to the original, but copied from (such as) D, not catching the idea, tried to make five

languages in the common secular sense, and therefore he resolved the **Bryt Wylsc** of D into two, **Brittisc** and **Wilsc**. The sense which he attached to this distinction was *Welsh* and *Cornish*. See 835 and foot-note. We find Wales called Brytland in 1063, 1086 (p 222). This alteration of E was followed by F.

**Book-Latin** is the usual but inapt rendering of **Boc-Leden**. **Book-language** would be a truer equivalent. Already, before the date of D, had the word **Leden** attained that 'Common-Noun' state, in which it equalled *language* in general, or *a strange, mysterious, learned language* in particular; and from which it was able to form its derivative **Latimer**=an interpreter. See Genesis xi. 6. Ðis is an folc and ealle hig sprecaþ an Lyden=This is one folk and they all speak one language. The determinative **Boc-** would not have been prefixed, so long as **Leden** was regarded as a Proper Name. In Chaucer, Squier's Tale, it is used of the discourse of birds.

p 3 h. **Scithiam**] Meaning *Scandinavia*, or as it is expressed in Smith's note in Beda i. 1. "Scythiam citeriorem." The tendency to transform names into those of classical celebrity is seen just above, where *Armenia* stands for Armorica.

p 3 l. **Scotta sum dæl gewat of Ybernian on Brittene**]= *Some of the Scots emigrated from Hibernia into Britain.* And that emigration proved the cause of transferring the national name. The name of **Scotland** appears to date from the eleventh century; previously it was 'Albania.' In the Saxon Chronicles we find earlier mention of the 'Scots' in the north of Britain, as at 684, 937; but we do not find 'Scotland' until 1066 (p 201). The 'Scots' in 891 are plainly those in Hibernia.

p 3 b. **Reoda . . . . . from þam heo sind genemnode Dæl Reodi**] The Irish authorities give a different account of this name. They say that British Dalrieda (a kingdom comprehending a large part of South-Western Scotland, namely, Argyle, Kantire, &c., founded by an Irish colony A. D. 503) was named from the territory of Dalrieda in Antrim, because its chiefs were from the Irish Dalrieda.

It was probably the Dalriedan king who gave Iona to Columbkille, and not the Picts, as stated by Beda. King's Hist. of Irish Church vol. i. p 85, referring to Lanigan ii. 159.

425 E. A Latin Chronicle, apparently Frankish, of which we have had instalments above, is incorporated from time to time. **Faramundus** in Frankish story is the traditional name of the founder of the monarchy. His personality was doubted by De Thou; and Sorel (*La Bibliothèque Françoise*, Paris, 1667, p 373) went so

far as to say: "On est fort peu asseuré si Pharamond fut jamais au monde." Buckle, Civilization, p 705.

*Patricius*]

430 A. **Palladius**] This mistaken correction by the interpolator *a*, was probably borrowed from some MS. like E, the only one that reads **Patricius**. It is the only notice of S. Patrick in the Saxon Chronicles. As to Palladius and Patricius, see some annals of Marianus in Monumenta Historica Britannica, p 523 foot. Also Nennius c. 55 and 56. The earliest authority is said to be Prosper, who was a contemporary of Palladius and Patricius. The date given for the preaching of S. Patrick is 431, the year after the mission of Palladius. The proximity of the dates, and the comparative obscurity of Palladius, led to the substitution of S. Patrick in his place. Prosperi Chronicon apud H. Canisium. Lect. Ant. vol. i. p 301. Ed. Basnage.

457 A. **Crecgan ford**] In margin of C is written in an Elizabethan hand: *nunc creyford non longe a dartford*—and at top of page, partly cut away in binding: *Crea fl intrat* [*?*] . . . . . *dartford, ejusque fons est ad orpyngton, super eam sunt seint Mary crey, powles crey, north crey, beckesley & creaforde.* This and some other notes, (chiefly topographical) in C, may possibly belong to the collection of material for Camden's *Britannia;* but the handwriting is unknown. See Introduction, description of C. Infra 477, 491, 577, 591, 648, 673, 679, 685, 752, 763, 822, 874, 875, 878, 880, 893, 894 (p 93).

477 A. **Cissa**] *ab hoc Cissa puto Chichester dictam Cissanceast'* **C marg.**: cf. note on 457 A.

477. **Cymenes ora**] Camden and, after him, Gibson say this place must have been near Wittering on the coast of Sussex. They rely on a Charter which Kemble (Cod. Dipl. 992) has marked as spurious, but which was no doubt constructed with a regard for probability. In it this name occurs as **Cumeneshora**, a form which countenances Ingram's guess that **Shoreham** is the place; quasi *Cymenes*horeham.

491 A. **Andredes cester**] *Hæc* (*ut puto*) *ab hoc Cissa post dicta est Cissanceaster* **C marg.** In Cod. Dipl. 1094 there is a **Cissan beorh**. The site of Andredes ceaster is discussed in Archæol. Journal, vol. iv. p 203; and decided in favour of Pevensey.

508. **Natan leod**] This is equivalent to **Naiton Rex** (Pictorum Beda v. 21) or **Nectanus Rex** in Annals of Tighernac 717 (Ann. Ulster 716). There is also a **Nechtain** Ann. Ulst. 709. The indices to the Irish Annalists will give sundry others in the seventh and eighth centuries. This name Natan, Naiton, Nechtain was evi-

dently a name frequently borne by Keltic princes. It entered also into names of places: **Dunnichen** near Forfar is identified with the **Duin Nechtain** of Tighernac 686 quoted below, note on 685 E. The word **leod** is identical with **clwydd** or **llwyd**=*prince;* which is seen in the Welsh compound Arglwydd=Lord: and which is so well known as a family name of Welsh extraction *Lloyd.* See Garnett's *Philological Essays*, p 329.

I copy from Mr. Hawker, Vicar of Morwenstow, the following Cornish illustration of this name: "In a rocky Glen, midway between the Castles of Bottreaun and Dundagel, there is a Fall of Waters into a hollow Cauldron of native Stone, which has borne for Ten Centuries the Name of St. Nectan's Kieve. He was the brother of St. Morwenna, and like her a famous Saint of this Northern Shore. He founded the Stations of Hartland and Wellcombe; and bequeathed his Name to other Sacred Places along the Sea, in the Former Ages of Cornish Faith." The Quest of the Sangraal. Exeter 1864. Appendix A.

Since the above was written I am glad to discover from a note on p 56 of Mr. Pearson's *Early and Middle Ages of England*, that Dr. Guest has already given this sense to **leod** in Philolog. Trans. vol. i. No. 2. He translates Natan-leod, king of the Nattas.

534. There was in the time of Edward the Elder, a barrow at Stoke near Hurstbourne (Hants) known as **Ceardices beorg**, the hill or (?) barrow of Cerdic. Cod. Dipl. 1077. For this remark I am indebted to an article in the Archæological Journal, July 1857—a posthumous paper of Mr. **Kemble**, who has rendered such services to our early literature and history by his Translation of Beowulf and other works; but above all by the invaluable store of materials he has brought together in the **Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici.**

556. **Beran byrg**] Probably **Barbury Camp** between Swindon and Marlborough. "This is a large camp, in excellent preservation. It is nearly circular, and girdled by a double ring of ditch and rampart; the inner very strong, sloping full 50 feet to the bottom of the ditch." Murray's Hand Book, Wilts.

577. This Annal with that of 584 record two important steps in the advance of the West Saxons upon the British population, bringing our ancestors, according to Dr. Guest, along the Severn valley, so far as Faddiley (Feþan leag) on the confines of the Vale Royal of Cheshire.

**Deorham,** where the battle of 577 was fought, by which the important triangle of Gloucester—Cirencester—Bath became Saxon, is identified with **Dyrham,** on the turnpike-road between Bath and

Gloucester. In Domesday it is written **Dirham**; and Gibson (Glos. ad Sax. Chr. *sub voc.*) says it was called **Durham** in his day.

**Commail, Condidan, Farinmail** may have been (as suggested by Dr. Guest) the princes of those three cities, and they may have made a stand at Deorham with their combined forces, against the aggressive Saxon.

M. de la Villemarquè has adopted the view of Sharon Turner, identifying Condidan with Kyndylan son of Kyndruyn, whose fall in the Saxon invasions is the theme of a celebrated Welsh Elegy by the cotemporary bard, Llywarch Hen. Dr. Guest, who makes that Elegy apply to 584, contends that this view is faulty, because Kyndylan in the Elegy is slain near Shrewsbury, whereas Condidan in the Chronicle falls at Deorham. But it is a curious coincidence, that among Kyndylan's companions in arms in the Elegy, there figures conspicuously Garanmael son of Kyndylan. *Goreu gwr Garanmael:* Bravest hero Garanmael. See *Les Bardes Bretons du vi^e Siècle*, par M. de la Villemarquè, pp 66, 107.

The 'many towns' and 'countless spoil' of 584 come out very well under the theory of Dr. Guest. For if **Feþanleag** is in Cheshire, the expedition passes through Powys-land, of which the capital was Pengwern (Shrewsbury). Of this district M. de la Villemarquè says: "Powis, ce paradis des Cambriens . . . . . ce pays de la poésie et de la renommée"—referring to the expressions of the Welsh bards. That the desolation of Uriconium may with high probability be referred to these invasions, has been shewn in a very convincing manner by Dr. Guest in the Paper so often referred to (Archæological Journal, No. 75: *On the English Conquest of the Severn Valley*); a remarkable example of approach to certainty in the twilight scenes of our early history.

These Annals, so distinctly original, were hardly penned before the events were on the verge of oblivion—therefore, if a transposition of names or other slight adjustment seems to be required by the Welsh remains, historical criticism could not object. The Saxons had arms, and the Britons arts.

577. **Cirenceaster**] *cyceter* **C marg.**: cf. note on 457 Ā. Gibson in his Glos. to Sax. Chron. spells it **Ciceter.**

591. **Woddes beorge**] *Wodebryg' in Suthfolk from Ipswych v myle* **C marg.** Again 715. Gibson says: Hodie **Wodnesburh** in agro *Wiltun.* Viculus fossæ cuidam admirandæ adsidens, quæ Wodnesdic appellatur, et totam eam regionem transversa intersecat. **E** has **æt Wodnesbeorge.**

603 Ā. **æt Ægesan stane**] The readings **æt Egisan stane BC**—

æt **Dægsan stane** (E) — *æt Dægstane* (*a*) — are pretty clearly identical in origin. The D form is according to Beda i. 34, in loco celeberrimo qui dicitur Degsastan id est Degsa lapis. So it would seem as if in the resolution of coherent dentals the D was lost, and hence the form in A B C. Gibson says: Dawston (Cumberland)—Ingram conj. Theekstone (Yorks. N. R.).

633. **Heðfelda**] Hatfield (with Hatfield Moor, Hatfield Chace) in West Riding of Yorkshire: cf. Beda ii. 20, Smith's note; Gough's Camden, vol. iii. p 273.

641 E. **Maserfeld**] This place is matter for conjecture. Smith (Beda iii. 9 note) produces a place of the same name in Lancashire. Gibson fixes it at **Oswestry** (Oswaldestre) because this name has *Oswald* in it. Ingram guesses **Mirfield**, Yorkshire West Riding.

643. **þa ciricean**] þa **ealdan** cyricean B C. For the importance of this insertion see the description of MS. B in the Introduction. In F it stands: Ðes cing het getimbrian þ mynster on Wintanceastre ón S̄ce Petres naman.

648. **Æsces dune**] *Aschedown foresta yn Suthesexe* **C marg.**: cf. note 457 A.

There are three other mentions of this same place, and all very significant. In 661, Wulfhere king of Mercia carries his ravages as far as this—in 871, Æðered and Ælfred fight with the whole Danish army on this down—and in 1006, we have the Danes passing from the neighbourhood of Wallingford "along Ashdown;" and we next find them at East Kennett, not far from Marlborough. Æscesdun is clearly that mass of chalk-hills between Wallingford and Marlborough, on which is the famous white horse of Berkshire, and on which a private residence, Ashdown Park near Uffington, preserves the ancient name. Here it was that king Cenwalh gave a large tract of country to his cousin Cuthred; probably with a view to make the position secure against the Mercians. It is remarkable that 661, when Wulfhere advanced to Æscesdun, is the year of Cuthred's death. Perhaps he fell defending his territory. Cuthred's father Cwichelm was also famous in those parts, for "Cwichelm's low" was somewhere near Ashdown (1006). Cf. Cod. Dipl. 693.

652 E. **Pendan**] An error of the scribe for "Peadan."

653 E. **æt Icanhoe**] æt **ycean ho'** B C; **on Icanho** F. Gibson supposes this place to be Boston in Lincolnshire, *quasi* Botulfeston.

654. **forþan þet ðær is an wæl**] Smith on Beda iv. 6 disputes this derivation *à fonte voraginoso*, and explains the name as *Locus habitationis in pratis.*

656. p 30 t. **wedbroðeres**] This relationship, whatever it was, must be understood as between Peada and Oswi—not Wulfhere and Oswi. The Northumbrian victory of 654 had broken the power of Mercia, and made it dependent on Northumbria. Peada ruled by Northumbrian favour, and as having a Northumbrian princess for his consort. It is the family alliance and pledged brotherhood between Peada and his father-in-law Oswiu that is represented in the word **wedbroðeres**: whether the writer of this slovenly interpolation so understood it or not. In Beda iii. 24 *fin.* it is said that Oswiu gave Peada the government of South Mercia *eo quod esset cognatus suus.* There was a double marriage between the families: Peada married Alchfled daughter of Oswiu, and Alchfrid son of Oswiu married Cyneburg sister of Peada. Yet we must not understand **wed-** by its modern association with *marriage:* but simply as signifying that a *covenanted* alliance existed between the parties, which made them bound to stand by each other like (or even more than) natural brothers.

Sir Frederic Madden (Laȝamon, vol. iii. p 354) has adopted the more usual explanation of this passage, *brother by baptism.*

656. p 30 h. **for hwi**] The Demonstrative to this Interrogative is **for þi**; e. g. p 256 t.

656. p 33 h. **þeonest men**] This appears like the Danish **tjeneste** =service; which also compounds with a noun of the person who serves, as, Tjeneste-dreng = serving-boy: Tjeneste-folk = serving-folk: Tjeneste-mö or Tjenste-pige=serving-girl: Tjeneste-qvinde= serving-woman. Molbech v. Tjeneste.

656. p 33 m. **undyde**] irritum redderet: *disannul.* It is not usual to find **undon** in this sense of καταλύειν, ἐξουθενεῖν, ἀθετεῖν: its prevalent use is that of opening what is shut, as below in the same page, of S. Peter with his keys *undoing,* opening the doors of heaven. Infra 1122, of the phenomenon of a cloud seeming to burst open, and divide into four parts (se wolcne **undide** on fower healfe). In Fragments of S. Swiðhun, p 6. line 17, þa eagan **undyde**=opened his eyes. In Ælfric's Homilies, vol. i. p 548, **undyde** his muð (=opened his mouth); otherwise expressed in the same page "geopenode his muð."

658. **æt Peonnum**] "*Pen,* an obscure village now, but antiently famous, being ordained by destinie as it may seeme to the overthrow both of Britans and Danes. For at this verie place Keniwalch a West Saxon, had such a day of the Britans, that they would scarsely ever after abide to come into the field against the English Saxons. And many a yeare after that, king Edmund surnamed Ironside,

gave there a notable foil to the Danes, as he pursued Canutus their king."

This is Penzlewood, or Penscellwood, i. e. Pen-Selwood, or head of Selwood, (locally pronounced **Zilw'd,**) on the confines of Wiltshire, Somersetshire, and Dorsetshire. The place is famous for the "Pen Pits," which are said to be the vestiges of an ancient British town. In the neighbourhood there is an earthen fortress of large area, known as "Keniwilkins's Castle"—a name which bears a strong resemblance to that of **Cenwalh**.

664. **Wagele**] This passage is from Beda (iii. 27), but the name of Tuda's burial-place is so different here from that which is found in the text of Beda, that it becomes a topographical question belonging to the Saxon Chronicles. In the Eccl. Hist. it is **Pægnalæch**: in the Anglo-Saxon version it is **Peginaleah**. Smith, the editor of Beda, thinks the similarity of name is enough to identify it with Pincanheal (now *Finchale* two miles from Durham), where a Synod was held in 788. Ingram, who brings forward another form of the word, **Vegnalech,** from Leland Bed. Collect. ii. 143. ed. 1774, conjectures that it is **Whalley,** or as he otherwise writes it (I know not whether upon authority or by way of etymology) Wayleigh. This **Whalley** is an extensive parish, lying in three counties, Lancashire, Cheshire, and Yorkshire, containing several towns, chapelries, and townships, with a fine Abbey Church—so that it is not unlikely to have been of ancient celebrity. But the identification of **Wagele** must after all be left to the local antiquarian.

671. **wæl**] *ruina* Æthelweard. *strages* Flor. Henry of Huntingdon and Roger of Wendover both make it a *battle* among the birds!

673. **Æþeldryht**] *alias etheldrythe* C marg.: cf. infra 679 note; and supra 457 note.

675. p 38 h. **onsting**] Cf. Mr. Baron's Edition of Johnson's Ecclesiastical Laws, vol. i. p 127 and note. Cod. Dipl. 843.

675. p 38 h. **hwilc abbot þe . . . . . hwilc man swa**]=what abbot soever . . . . . what man soever, &c.

675. p 38 l. **ge redd**] *read, published by reading.* For the sake of any reader who may not be familiar enough with his mother-tongue to perceive the comparative modernness of this and such like late insertions, this word is selected as a palpable illustration. Nowhere in the elder Chronicles will this verb be found in the modern sense of *ἀναγινώσκω, legere.* **Rædan** is to *plan, counsel, advise;* e. g. p 157, where the same participle **ge red** means *resolved upon.*

675. p 38 l. **Al swa ic beode þe Saxulf,** &c.] *And as on the one hand I ordain unto thee that (according as thou desirest) the minster be*

*free—so on the other hand do I forbid thee and all the bishops that come after thee in the name of Christ and of all His Saints that ye have no claim on the minster but according to the Abbot's will.* This pretension would appear to be set up as early as 656 (p 33 l), but the expression is not so distinct there as here. In this place the language is so distinct that no doubt can remain about the anachronism. The first *real* case of exemption of an English monastery from episcopal jurisdiction appears to have been that of Battle Abbey. Hallam's Middle Ages, vol. ii. p 165 note. Robertson, Church Hist. vol. ii. pp 103, 203.

675. p 39 m. **to ligge**ð] See Glossary to Ormulum, Ed. White, v. **Toliþ**.

675. p 39 m. **Bredune. Hrepingas. Cedenac**] See a Paper by Mr. Stubbs in the Archæological Journal of 1861, p 202.

678 E. **Eatan**] There is a life of this Eata in vol. viii of the Surtees Society Publications, entitled, "Miscellanea Biographica."

679. **Æþelþryþ**] æþeldriþ C. *fēt audrye* **C marg.**: cf. Gough's Camden's Brit. ii. 194, and supra 673 note. See E 963; and Halliwell, v. Tawdry.

685. *Cedwalla quondam Rex Southsexiæ fundator Cicestren' ecclesiæ* **C marg.** See note on 457 A. But as to the foundership which this annotator attributes to Ceadwalla, cf. Gough's Camden, vol. ii. pp 194, 195.

685 A. **Ecgferþ cyning mon ofslog**] E adds **be norðan sæ.** The commencement of his expedition against the Scotti is noticed in 684 E. The battle in which he fell is called the battle of Dunnichen, and is thus recorded in the mixed language of the Annals of Tighernac:—686. Cath Duin Nechtain [*i. e. The battle of Duin Nechtain*] xx die m. Maii Sabbati die factum est, in quo Ecfrit mc Ossu [*i. e. Ecgferð son of Oswiu*] Rex Saxonum, xv anno regni sui, consumata magna cum caterva militum suorum interfectus est la Brudhi mc Bili Rege Fortrein [*i. e. by Bruide son of Bili king of Fortren*].

685 E. **Agust'**] For Hagustaldesham (as above) or Hexham.

**Ceastre**] This means York. So again 762. Many places were locally called **Ceaster**; but with the progress of centralization it became necessary to keep up their distinctive prefixes, as *Win*chester, *Man*chester, &c. Only one great place has come to be known by the simple name of **Chester**; with obscure places such as *Caistor*, *Castor*, &c., it was more easy, and probably there are several of them in existence.

688 E. **under Cristes claðum**] Rex verò secundum votum infra

septem dies in albis mortuus est. **Hen. Hunt.** The ancient practice was to put off the white on the eighth day after Baptism. Bingham xii. 4. § 3. Cf. note on 878.

693 E. **Brihthelm**] The true name **Dryhthelm** is preserved only in D. This is the **Drycthelmus** of Beda v. 12; a Northumbrian thane of Incuneningum (prob. Cuningham) who died in the evening and woke to life in the morning, and remembered what he had seen in the other world, while out of the body. The narrative of his vision was long used in church teaching, and Wanley notices in his Catalogue five different volumes in which homilies or narratives of Drihthelm's vision are extant. Dr. Ingram (Appendix to Sax. Chron.) has pointed out that Dryhthelm's remains were deposited at Melrose according to Hugo Candidus (*ap.* Sparke, p 40)—and also that the wonderful vision of Charles le Gros, related by Malmesbury, Gesta Regum Angl. lib. ii, was probably founded on Dryhthelm's.

694. **xxx m̃**] Allen, Royal Prerogative, pp 177, 178, supposes that the **were** paid for Mul's murder by the men of Kent was 30,000 sceattas, and not shillings or pounds. Pearson's Early and Middle Ages of England, cap. ix.

694. Here F has an insertion which should have been put in the Appendix. It is "King Wihtred's Grant of Privileges" (as entitled in Johnson's Canons, Ed. Baron, Anno 692) made at the Synod of Baccancelde (Bapchild, Kent). "And sona ðas ðe he cing was. he het gaderian mycel concilium on ðare stowe ðe ys geclypod BACCANCELDE. On ðare was Wihtred sittende. Cantware cing. and se arceb' of Cantuarebyri Brihtwald. and se biscop Tobias of Hroueceastre. and mid heom abbodas and abbedessen. and manige wise menn ðar wæron gegaderade. ealle to smeagende embe Godes cyrcan bote ða beoð innan Cent. Nu agan se cing to specende. and sæde. Ic wylle þ ealle ða mynstre and ða cyrican ða wæron giuene and becweðene Gode to wyrðmynte be geleafulra cinga dagan. minra forengenglan. and be minra magan dagon. be Ægelberhtes cinges. and þara ðe him efter fyligdan. swa beliuan Gode to wurðmynte. and fæstlice standan. á to ecnesse æure ma. Forðon Ic Wihtred eorþlic cing. fram ðan heouenlice Cinge onbryrd. and mid andan ðare riht-

*atend*

wisnesse anæld. of uran ealdran fæderan gesetnesse ic habbe þ geleornod. þat nan læwede man nah mid rihte to stingan hine an annare cirican. na an an ðara ðingan ðe to cyrcan belimpð. And forði stranglice and truwlice we gesettað and demað. and on Godes naman þes ealmihtiges. and on ealra halgena. we forbeodað eallon

uron æftergengan. cingan. and ealdermannum. and eallan læwedan mannum. æure ænne hlauordscipe ouer circan. and ouer eallan heora ðingan. ðe ic oððe mine yldran. on ealdon dagan. giuan Xp̃e to loue on ece erfwyrðnesse. and ure hlæfdian Sc̃a Marian. and ðan halgan apostolan. Ac loc hwenne hit gewurðe þ biscop. oððe abbod. oððe abbedesse. gewite of ðysan liue. sy hit gecydd ðan arb'. and mid his ræde and geðeahte sy gecoren swilce wurþe beo. and his lif ðe man sceal to swa gedonne ðinge cysan asece se arb'. and his clænnesse. and . . . an nane wisan ne wurþe gecoræn nan. na to swa gedonan ðingan gehalgod. butan þes arb' ræde. Cyngas sceolan settan eorlas and ealdermen. scirereuan and domesmenn. and arb' sceal Godes gelaðunge wissian and rædan. and biscopas. and abbodas. and abbedessan. preostas. and diaconas. ceosan and settan. halgian and getryman. mid godan mynegunga and forebysene. þe læste þe æni of Godes heorde dwelie and losie." See more in the Latin version in Cod. Dipl. 996; and, with some variations, in Spelman, vol. i. p 189. After the place where F leaves off, Spelman's version continues thus: "Hoc præceptum statuimus hiis monasteriis quorum nomina hæc sunt annotata. Primum, primi Apostolorum principis Petri, id est, Vpmynster, Raculf, Sudmynster, Dofras, Folcanstan, Hymming (Lymming *Wilkins*), Stepeis & Hor. Hæc omnia interdicimus (sicut antè diximus) ut nullus habitus ex numero laicorum ad se pertrahat vel suscipiat nullum monasterium de hiis prænominatis."

699 E. In the Annals of Ulster this is entered under 697. Bellum inter Saxones et Pictos ubi cecidit filius Bernit qui dicebatur Brectrid. Tighernac 698.

705. Mit dem Tode Aldfrid's begann der Lichtpunct der Geschichte Northumbriens zu verbleichen. Lappenberg, vol. i. p 205. Compare note on 731.

710. **Gerente Weala cininge**] The name Gerent recurs in British history. In this place it is that **Gerent** king of **West Wales** (i. e. Devon and Cornwall) to whom Aldhelm, when Abbot of Malmsbury, addressed a letter or treatise (librum egregium adversus errorem Brittonum Bed. v. 18) about conformity to the Roman Ritual. Titled thus: *Domino gloriosissimo, occidentalis regni sceptra gubernanti, quem ego, ut mihi Scrutator cordis et rerum Testis est, fraternâ caritate amplector,* **Geruntio** *Regi, simulque cunctis Dei Sacerdotibus per Domnonia conversantibus, Aldhelmus, sine meritorum prærogativa Abbatis officio functus, optabilem in Domino salutem!* Aldhelmi Opp. Ed. Giles, p 83.

We know of an earlier Gerent, also connected with Devonshire, through an elegy upon his death by Llywarch Hen. It is the first

in M. de la Villemarquè's **Bardes Bretons**; and is entitled, *Maronad Gerent Mab Erbin*=Elegy of Gerent son of Erbin. This Gerent is almost of the times and cycle of Arthur: though M. de la Villemarquè would vindicate him for history by identifying him with the "swiþe æþelne monnan" who fell fighting the Saxons; above 501.

Mr. Pearson, Early and Middle Ages of England, p 35 note, says the mythical Vortigern is a transformation of that Gerontius, a native of Briton, who transferred the diadem from the usurper Constantine to the head of his friend Maximus.

**Gerrans** in Cornwall is connected with 'king Gerennius' by a very distinct and circumstantial tradition. On the highest ground in 'Roseland,' overlooking Gerrans Bay, is Veryan Beacon, or (in the Ordnance Map) Carne Beacon, a tumulus of the first magnitude. Tradition calls it the tomb of king Gerennius, who lived in a palace on yonder side of the bay, and his corpse was rowed across in a golden boat with silver oars, which were all buried along with him. This mound was opened in 1853 by the Rev. John Adams [Newdigate Prize-man 1847], the Hon. and Rev. J. T. Boscawen, and others; and a Report which appeared in the *Cornwall Gazette*, written by Mr. Adams, ought to be enshrined in some less ephemeral publication. The effect of the opening was to establish the sepulchral character of the Beacon; for after some days' excavation, they reached a *kist-vaen* of massive unhewn rocks, fit for the resting-place of a king. All within had mouldered to dust. Mr. Adams assigns a date to this interment, from a place in the Register of Llandaff, which says that S. Teilo on his way homeward from Brittany (whither he had retired during the prevalence of the *ictericia pestis*) visited Gerennius king of Cornwall, and attended his death-bed. The date of this event is A. D. 596 (Stubbs, p 156).

710 E. **Hæfe and Cære**] "Loca duo sunt in agro *Northymbrensi* decem plus minus mille passuum invicem distantia, *Carehouse* et *Heefeld*, paulum ultra vallum Pictorum. Etsi non ausim affirmare ea olim fuisse dicta Cære et Hæfe, videtur tamen illud suadere tum nominum antiquorum et hodiernorum similitudo, tum etiam locorum situs. Circa limites enim Pictorum et Northymbrorum præliatum fuisse, non est cur dubitemus." **Gibson.** "Heugh and Caraw" Thorpe.

Ann. Tighernac 711. Strages Pictorum in Campo **Monand** a Saxonis ubi Findgaine mc Deleroith immaturâ morte jacuit. Congressio Brittonum et Dalriadha for Loirgeclat [loingg ecclet. Ann. Ulst. 710] ubi Britones devicti. Ap. **Skene**, Collectanea de rebus Albanicis.

716 A. **þa ciriclecan scare**] *the ecclesiastical tonsure*, as A B C; or **Sancte Petres scære**, *S. Peter's tonsure*, as D E F: cf. 737 E, 757 E. This tonsure was circular like a crown, and was called the **corona**; whereas that in use in the Scotian Churches was crescent-shape from ear to ear. See Robertson's Church History, vol. ii. p 61.

Ann. Tigh. 718. *Tonsura Corona s. v. familiam Iea dat'*, which Mr. Skene renders, "The Coronal Tonsure imposed upon the community of Iona."

722. **Tantun**] Comparing this with 658 we measure the westward progress of Saxon dominion. Taunton was now its most advanced station. The Tone here passes through the gate of the country, as the Thames does at Reading. Taunton commanded the narrow plain between the Quantocks and the Wellington Pillar Heights. In the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society's Proceedings for 1853 is an excellent paper on the position, history, and present condition of Taunton Castle, with a plan and illustrations, by the Rev. F. Warre. It was placed in the angle made by a small stream flowing into the Tone.

728 A. **Ine ferde to Rome**] In a highly demonstrative epistle from Gregory II. to Leo the Iconoclast, quoted in Gibbon, c. 49, the Roman bishop makes a diplomatic use of the zeal and submissiveness of the converted barbarians of the West; and there is room to imagine (as the historian has done in a note) that this pilgrimage by king Ine was in the writer's mind.

731. **Ceolwulf** was king of Northumbria when Beda died; it was to him that he had dedicated his Ecclesiastical History (see foot-note supra, p 52): in the last chapter of which he left a sentence of gloomy foreboding as to the future prospects of his country. His foresight was justified by events, as may be seen by the divisions and crimes and instability marked in the Northumbrian Annals 757, 759, 774, 778, 789, 790, 794: cf. note on 705.

The turn of **Mercia** comes next: hitherto its conflicts had been with Northumbria, but now we see it expanding and becoming aggressive in the direction of Wessex (733); taxing Cuðræd's efforts (741, 752); in alliance with Cuþræd against the Welsh (743); fighting against Kent (773), and under the dread king Offa wresting Bensington from Wessex (777), who extorts from the Abp. of Canterbury a cession of part of the primacy, to render Mercia ecclesiastically independent (785); orders the king of E. Anglia to be put to death (792), and throws up "Offa's Dyke" (Asser). Under Ceolwulf they overrun Kent (796), and continue to hold the leadership in

Britain till the close of the century. But from the accession of Ecgberht (800), the power of Wessex begins to aim at the position which it ultimately attained.

740. *Ead*berht] Error of scribe for Cuð-: cf. 758.

745. Danihel] Daniel of Winchester, the correspondent and counsellor of Boniface, Missionary Bishop of the Germans. Robertson, Church History, vol. ii. p 95 sqq.

752 Ā. Beorg feorda] *Burford* C marg.: cf. 457 note.

755. In this circumstantial narrative the reader should bear in mind the arrangements of a Saxon residence. The chief building was the *hall*, around which grouped the other apartments, each entered from the court; the whole surrounded by a *wall* or rampart of earth, and therefore named a *burh*. The common external entrance was the gate (*geat*), which was an opening in the *wall;* but the entrance to any of the enclosed buildings was a door (*duru*). The description in this Annal seems to imply that the residence at Merton covered a considerable area.

The king was in the lady's chamber (*bur*—the '*bower*' of mediæval romance), and Cyneheard surprised him there (*hine þær berad*) by riding in unexpectedly through the outer *gate* into the court, before the king's attendants, who had retired to the hall, were aware (*ær hine þa men onfunden þe mid þam cyninge wærun*). Then the fight between the king and his foe takes place at the door (*duru*) of the lady's bower, and there the king was slain. And now the lady's screams had, for the first time, alarmed the king's guard in the hall. They hasted to the rescue, scorned Cyneheard's proposals, and fought till all but one were slain. Next morning the rest of the king's party came up, and found Cyneheard in occupation, and in a posture of defence (*þone æðeling on þære byrig metton*). His party had closed the outer gates (*þa gatu*), and meant to defend them. After a fruitless parley, they fought about the gates (*ymb þa gatu*) till the party inside was obliged to yield. See Mr. Wright's very interesting work, "Domestic Manners and Sentiments," p 13.

755. þone bur utan beeode] þa burh utan ymbeodan B; þa burh utan beeodan C; þone bûr utan beeodon D.

755. p 50 t. on þæs wifes gebærum] *by the woman's cries.* So gebærum Oros. iv. 10. § 2; Ed. Bosw. Psalm xxxiv. 15. In these two instances it might be questioned whether 'gestures' or 'cries' were the sense. In Oros. i. 12. § 1. *wifa gebæra* is vague. In our text it is clearly 'cries;' and so Sir F. Madden renders it in Glos. Laȝamon v. *i*bere.

The use of the preposition on in an instrumental sense was widely

spread, and is still in extensive provincial use. The expression 'along of' is but a modification of the genuine 'along on' to convey *cause* or *occasion*. Thus Chaucer (Canones Yemannes Tale):

> I cannot tell wher*on* it was *along*,
> But wel I wot gret strif is us among.

755. p 50 h. **alle lægon**] *all lay*, i. e. were corpses. No later inventions of human language have rendered death with more expression, than that which was the most obvious and probably the very oldest—the motionless prostration as of a felled tree. This thought produced πτῶμα and *cadaver*. In Job xiv. 10. it is put forward prominently, but our version has overlooked it. Renan: Mais quand l'homme meurt, il reste étendu. De Wette: Aber der Mann, stirbt er, so liegt er da. Compare Zosimas in Appendix to Swiðhun, p 110. l 7, þæt mægn þæs licgendan.

And as **licgan**=to lie, is used for the state of death; so **lecgan**, transitive, to lay or fell, is used of slaying; like occĭdere and occīdere. See Schmid, Gesetze Glos. v. lecgan.

755. p 50 m. **hiera agenne dóm**] *their own terms.*

755. p 50 l. **oþþæt hie þær inne fulgon**] *until they penetrated*, or *forced an entrance.* Grein seems to be right in rendering **felgan** simply *intrare*. Kemble v. **filhan**. The word is an obscure one, and perhaps was never in general use: so B avoids it by writing *wurdon;* and E has recourse to the wild substitute *flugon*, which is quite out of place.

761 E. **Florence** says: juxta Clivum Edwini, clitonem quendam nobilissimum Oswinum occidit. **Hen. Hunt.** is more ample: Mol rex Nordhumbre interfecit Oswine fortissimum ducum suorum, qui committens prælium erga dominum suum apud Eadwinesclive, jure gentium spreto, jure Dei occisus est. **Simeon Dun.** describes the battle-field as, juxta Eldunum secus Melros. Written *Eladunum* in **Hoveden** and **Chr. Mailros.** This word *El* with its variants *Al*, *Hel*, seem to have designated a height, rock, or mountain. Beda E. H. i. 12. has Alcluith, quod linguâ eorum significat *petram* Cluith. Helvellyn is rendered *yellow mountain*, on the authority of Dr. Guest, "as Rhiwvelen, that name so common in Welsh topography, meant yellow slope." Archæological Journal, No. 75. p 214.

763. **þone feowertegan dæg ofer midne winter**] *id est Candelmas day* **C marg.**: cf. 457 note.

773. **read Cristes mæl**] Hardly "a fiery crucifix" (MHB); but as Mr. Thorpe, "*a red cross.*" Literally, **Cristes mæl** means the sign or emblem of Christ. Florence has it, Rubicundi coloris sig-

num in crucis modum in cælo apparuit post solis occasum. Infra p 123 l, the cross of signature is called by this name.

778 E. **heahgerefan**] Kemble (Saxons in England, vol. ii. c. 5) thinks these *high-reeves* were no part of the ordinary machinery of government, but officers occasionally commissioned with extraordinary powers. Simeon of Durham calls them *duces* here and in 780. The title occurs again 1001 A (three times), and 1002 E. The only other light we get on the subject is from a little code on **Wergilds** (Thorpe's Ancient Laws, 8vo. p 186;—fol. p 79. Schmid, Anhang vii) in which the **heahgerefa** ranks with the **hold** (having the same wergild); above the thane, but below the bishop and ealdorman. In having a wergild at all, he is, as Schmid remarks, distinguished from other gerefan, who have no wergild *as* gerefan. In all other cases where gerefa has a prefix, it is a substantive, expressive of the province of his reeveship; e. g. Scirgerefa=reeve of the shire, sheriff; burhgerefa, charged with the maintenance of a fortress (burh); portgerefa, provost of a market-town; wicgerefa, village-reeve; tungerefa, farm-bailiff; swangerefa, supervisor of the *swánas* or swineherds, and controller of the forest-pasturage.

780 E. p 57. **Ælfwold cining sende man**] *man* delendum. As it now stands, it would mean that the king *was* sent &c. The odd thing is that the error is in D also, so that it may have pervaded several chronicles. Unless perhaps a sense can be found for it, which escapes me?

780. p 57. The Pallium recurs so frequently in our records, and is a symbol of such historical importance, that the following paragraph, dated April 20, 1863, cannot fail to interest the student of these annals:—

"The Archbishop of Paris received the Pallium yesterday from the hand of the Papal Nuncio, in the small church of the Lazarists, in the Rue de Sèvres. The ceremony was comparatively private, though a large body of clergy and several bishops were present. The religious papers tell us that the stuff out of which the Archiepiscopal vestment called the Pallium is manufactured, is made from the wool of ten white lambs, which have received the Apostolic benediction in the church of St. Agnes at Rome, on the day of the festival of that saint. These lambs are afterwards kept in a convent until the shearing-time arrives. The Palliums made from this wool, without any admixture, are then deposited on the tomb of St. Peter, and remain exposed there during the night preceding the *féte* of that Apostle. The next day they all receive benediction at the altar, and are despatched wherever they are required. The Pallium, in shape,

is composed of two woollen bands, about two inches in breadth, which hang suspended down the back and chest." *The Guardian*, April 22, 1863.

The chief points of interest in the history of the Pall may be readily seen in Dean Hook's Lives of the Archbishops, vol. i. p 27; where the main authorities are given. Originally it was an undefined mark of honour, but at length it acquired a special reference to the exercise of the metropolitan dignity, and as such it was defined in a Canon of the Council of Lateran 1215. The conventional shape of the Pall is seen in the archiepiscopal arms of Canterbury, Armagh, and Dublin.

785. **and Ecgferþ to cyninge gehalgod.**] Hen. Hunt. says, Eodem anno Egfert sacratus est in regem Kentensis provinciæ. There is no older authority for making Ecgferþ king of Kent: and it may be a confusion on the part of that chronicler with what happened in the dynasty of Wessex in the next century. But still the whole subject of the succession to the throne of Kent becomes at this period so obscure, and the pretensions of Mercia must have grown so absolute by the event of 773, that it would be unsafe to reject Henry's statement, which makes Kent an appanage of Mercia. Moreover, it is to be observed that the elevation of Eadbryht Præn (794) coincides with the death of Offa. The ultimate expulsion of the Mercians from Kent is recorded in 823. If E's reading 'gehalgode' is anything more than a blunder, and we attach any value to it, its meaning would be, that the new Mercian archbishop consecrated the royal candidate.

787. **se gerefa**] This is the **weard** or **landweard** of Beowulf 457, 3777 (Kemble). The incident was clearly a celebrated one at the time and long after: it is thus recorded in the magniloquence of Æthelweard: *Regnante Byrhtrico rege piissimo super partes Anglorum occidentales, jam innocentia protensi populi arvis sereno cum tranquillitate dabant squalidis sulco, et oneriferæ boum costæ proximo amore colla jugo subdebant; advecta est subito Danorum ardua non nimia classis, dromones numero tres; ipsa et advectio erat prima. Audito etiam, exactor regis, jam morans in oppido quod Dorceastre nuncupatur, equo insilivit, cum paucis præcurrit ad portum, putans eos magis negotiatores esse quam hostes; et præcipiens eos imperio, ad regiam villam pelli jussit; a quibus ibidem occiditur ipse, et qui cum eo erant: nomen quippe exactoris erat Beaduheard.*

Henry of Huntingdon gives it thus: *Brichtricus anno regni sui quarto, duxit in uxorem Eadburh filiam regis Offæ Merce: unde comfortatus est in regno et provectus in superbiam. His autem diebus vene-*

*runt Daci cum tribus puppibus in Britanniam prædationis causa. Quod præpositus regis illius provinciæ videns, occurrit eis debito securius, ut comprehensos ad regium duceret castrum. Nesciebat autem qui essent qui appulerant, vel cur appulissent. Statim vero immixtus eis occisus est. Hic primus fuit Anglorum cæsus a Dacis, post quem multa millia millium ab iisdem cæsa sunt: et hæ puppes primæ fuerunt quas huc Daci adduxerunt.*

This gerefa, weard, landweard, exactor regis or præpositus regis, affords an analogy for the office of the much discussed *Comes Litoris Saxonici*.

It appears from the Annales Cambriæ, that the south coast of Ireland was likewise visited by the Danish ships this year for the first time: "*Primus adventus gentilium apud dextrales ad Hiberniam.*"

787. **þa ærestan scipu Deniscra monna**] What these ships were like we may at some future time know better than we do at present. In a recent extraordinary find of antiquities at Nydam Moss in Denmark, there has been discovered a perfect ship, built for oars, 72 feet long and 9 feet in the beam. The planks are of oak, with large iron bolts, and clamps cut out of solid oak. The excavations being followed up under the eye of the late king, Frederick VII, they found another boat 44 feet long, of deal. Roman coins accompanying this find, the latest A. D. 217. For full particulars see the account in Gent. Mag., December 1863, by Professor George Stephens.

790 E. **eft feng to rice**] Not "proximè capessit regnum" (Gibson); nor merely "succeeded" (Ingram); nor "afterwards succeeded" (Thorpe): but "*again obtained*" (MHB). He returned to the throne from which he had been expelled (778), four years after his accession (774); where he is called **Molles sunu**, and here **Aðelwaldes sunu**. His father was **Moll Æðelwald** (759). See parallel cases in 828, 1046 (p 170). This is the special function of **eft**, to signify *iterum, denuo, rursus, re-*, abermal, πάλιν or αὖθις. See Dr. White, Gl. Orm. v. Efft. Its general, or base-meaning, is "afterwards;" but this sense almost vanishes in the prose literature.

At the early date of 685 there appears to be a clear case of **eft**= "afterwards;" that on p 12, ac hie eft on hie fuhton, is of later date, and "afterwards" is not an adequate rendering. Rather thus: "but they *afterwards turned and* fought against them."

In 797, of the two instances, one may be doubtful. In 838, and þy ilcan geare eft=and a second time the same year. In 894 (p 91 l), eft-ageaf = restored, gave back without ransom. In 918, and þa

aliesde Eadweard cyning hine eft; it is equivalent to the compound eft-aliesde = *redemit*. See p 5; also 633, 869, 937 (p 115), 1048 (p 180 *tw.*), 1068 (p 207).

F 796. p 58*. Here a *privilege* is inserted in F:—And Aðelard arb' of Cantwareb'. sette synoð. and getrymde and gefæstnode. ðurh ðas papan hæse Leones. ealle ða ðing be Godes mynstran. ða wæron gesett be Wihtgares dæge. and be oðra cinga dæge. And ðus cwæð. Ic Aðelard. eadmod arb' of Cantwareb'i. mid anmodan ræde ealles sinoðes. and mid ealra ðare gegaderunga ealra ðara mynstra. ðam be ealdan dagan frignesse was geauen fram geleaffullan mannum. On Godes naman. and ðurh his bifigendan dom. ic bebeode. swa swa ic hæse habbe of ðan papan Leone. þ heononforð nan ne dyrstlæce ceosan him hlauordas of læwedan mannan ouer Godes erfwyrðnysse. Ac eal swa swa hit ys on ðan gewrite ðe se papa hæfð giuen. oððe ða haligan weras gesettan. ðe beoð ure fæderas and ure lareowas be haligum mynstrum. swa hi beliuon unawemmed butan ælcre ánsæce. Gif æni mann ys þ þis Godes and uræs papan and ure bebod healdan nelle. ac farseoð and far naht healdað. witan hi þ hi sculon gifan gescead toforan Godes domsetle. And ic Aðelhard arb'. mid twelf biscopan. and mid þrim and twentigan abbodan. þis ylce mid rode tacne Xp'es getrimmað and gefæstnia.

797. The history of the case is in Gibbon, c. 49; but this legend is a transfer to Leo of the famous miracle of the African Confessors, which puzzled Gibbon (c. 37), and which Dean Milman (Latin Christianity, vol. i. p 332) calls the one post-apostolic miracle which appears to rest on the strongest evidence. In a note at the end of the volume he quotes a surprising parallel from a recent traveller.

Matth. Westm. (Flores Hist.) has here a very different story about this Leo having cut off his own hand, to avoid a certain contamination, and having originated the practice of kissing the foot instead of the hand of the pope.

800. **Cynemæresforda**] Kempsford in Gloucestershire; or Commerford in Wiltshire, concerning the claims of which latter place, see Camd. Brit. col. 106. (Stevenson.)

819. **Cenwulf Miercna cyning**] There is a leaden *bulla* of this king in the British Museum. It bears on the obverse ✠ LOENVVLFI REGIS; and on the reverse ✠ MERCIORVM. (Sir F. Madden, in Archæol. Journal, 1856, p 369.)

822. **Clofes hoo**] **Cleofes hóó** C; *doctor Hethes benyffyce* **C marg.**: cf. 457 note. See the Chronicles of **Abingdon** edited by **Mr. Stevenson** for the Master of the Rolls. Where it appears that the monastery of Abingdon was founded near a town called Scukesham or Seovescham or Sheovesham. The locality is central for Mercia and Wessex. Gibson (Glos. Sax. Chron.) maintains it is Abingdon; and unlike himself, growing warm in his argument, he deems that *haud facilè sanus quispiam . . . . in húc re hærere possit.* Ingram

silently, "Cliff at Hoo, Kent." In Cod. Dipl. 1034 the place is written **Clobesham**. Where may Dr. Hethe's benefice have been?

823. **Gafulforda**] Hodie (opinor) **Camelford** in agro *Cornubiensi*, quod oppidum alicubi vocari *Gaffelford* asserit Camdenus (Gibson). The substitution of F for M appears elsewhere, e. g. Boethius, c. xxxv. § 4: the name of Nimrod or rather Nemrod (Vulg.) is rendered 'Nefrod.' Semington (Wilts) has an *alias* 'Sevington.' Compare the variations *efn-* or *emn-*, *stefn* or *stemn*.

This seems to have been a check given by the Welsh of Cernyw to the advance of Wessex settlers, who probably designed to push beyond the Tamar by turning it high up—und so wenig verbreiteten sich die Angelsachsen über den Tamarfluss hinaus, dass dieser noch viele Iahrhunderte hindurch eine der merkwürdigsten Sprach- und Volker-Scheiden Europas geblieben ist (Lappenberg).

823. **and Cantware him to cyrdon . . . wærun**] The established translation of this passage runs thus: "And the men of Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Essex submitted to him (viz. king Ecbryht), for formerly they had been unjustly forced from his kin," (i. e. severed from connection with the Wessex family.) Such a connection is made out by Henry Hunt. in the person of Eadbert Præn, whom he brings into his rendering of this passage—"rex Ecbricht in dominium suscepit quos prius *cognatus suus Pren* injustè amiserat." This is one of 'die wichtigen Notizen' peculiar to Henry Hunt., on which Lappenberg here builds; and if it be accepted, all difficulty is obviated. To me it does not bring conviction. MHB emphatically questions Eadberht Pren's kinship to Ecgbriht, "sed de cognatione ejus cum Egberto adhuc quærendum" (p 733). Next it is to be observed that the grammar has to be stretched, and "him to" must be referred to Ecgbriht, over a distance which nothing less than certainty as to the sense could bridge over. In this state of the case, I will venture to propose a new translation which is a little speculative, but which may be worth trying where the old one stands on such dubious ground. "They drove Baldred the king over the Thames; and the Kentish men threw off their allegiance to him, as did Surrey, Sussex, and Essex, on the ground that they had originally been unjustly subdued by his family." The two words on which this great alteration of sense turns, are **to cirdon** and **from**. **From** instead of meaning *removal, separation, 'away from;'* is here made to be passival, and to mean '*by*' of the agent. This use, though archaic and uncommon, is well enough known, and need not be questioned if we can settle the other. It is **to cirdon**, which I venture to suspect may mean the very opposite of that sense

which ordinarily, and not groundlessly, has been assigned to it. The old rendering may be justified by many passages, e. g. Exod. xxxiv. 31, þa clipode he hig. þa *cirde* Aaron and þa yldestan men *to him*=Then called he them; then *turned* Aaron and the rulers *to him*. Notwithstanding, I think that **him to cirde** in our text is 'turned *from* him,' rejected him, cast him off. The 'to' is not the 'to' of adhesion; but the other, which means severance (Lat. *dis-*, German *zer-*). See compounds with *to-* in Glossary. A happy illustration is in E 1094 (p 230 t), 'hi þa mid mycelon unsehte to cyrdon'=cum gravibus inimicitiis discesserunt (Gibson); they parted with great dissension (Stevenson); they separated with great animosity (Thorpe). If my version is right, all the Latin chroniclers are wrong, which on the one hand gives a check to my confidence; but on the other, it would throw a great light on the history of the Language to recover a sense which to Ethelweard and his successors was remote and obscure.

The expression **genydde** (to which **anidde** in this place is probably equivalent) occurs repeatedly in Orosius, of *forced adhesion*, e. g. Book iii. c. ix. § 6. in Ed. Bosworth. "And siððan for on Cilicium, and þæt folc to him genydde; and siððan on Roðum þæt igland, and þæt folc to him genydde. And æfter þam he for on Egypti, and hý to him genydde." Also Book v. c. xii. § 4: and in Book v. c. xv. § 3. we have the inverse; "Germanie gesohton Agustus *ungenydde* him to friðe"=The Germans *voluntarily* besought the favour of Augustus.

827 Ā. **þus micel rice**] Hæfde ærest ðysses *gemetes* rice Ælle &c., Beda ii. 5.

827. **Dore**] near Sheffield, just within the border of Derbyshire. Again 942. Here, as there, it marks the verge of Mercia and the confines of Northumbria.

835. **Her cuom . . . winnende wæron**] Florence renders thus: Dani multa cum classe in Occidentalium Britonum terram quæ Curvalia vocatur, appulerunt; cum quibus Britones fœdus paciscuntur, et eos secum ducentes, fines regni Ecgbrihti regis depopulantur.

836. **iii gear**] ein Irrthum für dreizehn. (Lappenberg). Ecgbryht spent the time of his exile at the court of Charlemagne.

839 Ā. **Cwantawic**] Cantwarabirig C; Cantwic D E. See note in MHB.

840. This Annal looks rather like a repetition of 833; but both are found in all the Chronicles, Saxon and Latin.

851. **Æþelstan cyning**] brother of Æþelwulf and king of Kent. Chr. Melrose.

851 A. AND ÞY ILCAN] These capitals probably represent the national exultation at so novel and promising an event as a naval victory over the vikings. In B it is explicitly said, that they *fought in ships*—gefuhtan on scipum—and so also C D E, and even F, Æðelstan cing gefeht on scipe agean hæþenæ. Cf. Dean Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, vol. i. p 292.

852 E. græfan] This doubtful word was boldly rendered by Gibson as *mineral coal*, "duodecim plaustra carbonum fossilium;" and so all the Editors since ('coal,' Ingram, Stevenson; 'pit-coal,' Thorpe), except MHB, where it is prudently left untranslated. We have hardly an indication that this kind of fuel was known in Saxon times. Mr. Wright ("Domestic Manners," p 21) thinks he finds one in the Vocabularies, where *col* and *synder* are rendered *carbo* and *scorium*. The item reads very well as fuel in association with those before and after it; and a suitable etymology is obvious, as Mr. Stevenson has noted, from grafan, *to dig, mine, quarry*. But it may be asked, is it likely, if græfa had been once a word in Lincolnshire, Northants, &c., for coal; and if this article had been so well known that Peterborough Abbey received twelve loads of it every year from a single estate; is it likely that this name of a useful commodity would have quickly disappeared? Yet no trace of it is found anywhere.—Another consideration may influence our interpretation. Where should the lessee of Sempringham, as it is now called, in the south of Lincolnshire, procure twelve load of pit-coal? A glance at a geological map shews no coal measures nearer than Derbyshire! I conclude that the pit-coal must be given up, and that græfa was *gravel* for the annual repair of the dykes, embankments, and roads, so necessary a provision in the Fens. It is quite possible that the *wood* mentioned before, and the *fagots* or *stakes* which come after, may, one or both, have regarded the same service.

We find at a later date the representatives of the Abbey of Peterborough are held responsible for considerable works of this nature, as the following extract will shew. In an Ordnance of the Commission of Sewers for the Fens (A. D. 1616) it stands: "And that the Old Ea being another branch of the river Neene, from Claylake unto Middlehome, hard att Bulldyke End neere Peterborough, shall be roaded and cleansed to the old bottome and antient breadth, and all dames and other stopps therein shall be avoyded and utterly taken away by the Deane and Chapter of Peterborough or theyre tennants." Wells' History of the Bedford Level, vol. ii. p 45.

852 E. foðra . . . foður . . . foður] Either *horse-loads*, or else

some definite quantity by weight or measure. Halliwell v. *Fother*, says 19 cwt. It occurs in Chaucer, Prologue 532, where the reading is not *ylaid* (Tyrwhitt), but *jladde* (Bodl. MS. 3360).

852 E. **mittan**] In the Lindisfarne Gospels, sub modio Matt. v. 15, is rendered *under mitte* vel *under sestre;* and in Rushworth, *under mytte;* where in the WS. Gospp. it is *under cyfe.*

853. **domne Leo**] This form is found also in the Saxon Beda iii. 14. "min domne bisceop," for the Latin "domine antistes."

855 Ā. **Ādam. primus homo et pater noster. est Xp̃s.**] In this ascension from Adam to Christ, we have something like the train of thought by which Clemens Alexandrinus (Strom. vi. § vii. p 769) deduces the pedigree of Greek philosophy from Christ as the primæval source. Later philosophers being descendants of Zeno, Aristotle, Epicurus, Socrates,—these of Pythagoras, Pherecydes, Thales,—the parents of these again having been the Egyptians, Indians, Babylonians; the scale at length ascends to the original parents of mankind; and these received all their light from Him that lighteth every man that cometh into the world. Blunt, *Early Fathers*, p 174.

865. **him feoh geheton wiþ þam friþe**] See Dean Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, vol. i. p 291. The version of Asser (whose chronology differs by a year) is as follows: Anno dominicæ incarnationis DCCCLXIV Pagani hyemaverunt in insula Tanet, et firmum fœdus cum Cantuariis pepigerunt; quibus Cantuarii pecuniam pro fœdere servato reddere promiserunt; interea tamen vulpino more Pagani noctu clam castris erumpentes, fœdere disrupto, et promissionem pecuniæ spernentes (sciebant enim majorem pecuniam se furtiva præda quam pace adepturos) totam orientalem Cantiæ plagam depopulati sunt.

865. **up bestæl**] It is strange that the force of up should have been overlooked by the classical scholars who have laboured on the Chronicles, since it is exactly like the well-known use of ἄνω for going 'up the country' or inland, from the coast. The enemy was encamped on Thanet, but they stole a raid into the heart of the country. In 901, where the transaction is all inland, the same expression occurs without **up**: cf. also 876. Other instances are, uppe on londe, 897 (p 95 l); *upbecoman*=they landed, p 115; up eodon, 998; *upgang*=an inland expedition, 1009 (p 143): but the most decisive place is in 1046 (1), ægþer ge upganges ge wæteres. Compare Ælfric's Homilies, vol. i. p 312 (Ed. Thorpe); where, speaking of Pharaoh's pursuit of the Israelites into the Red Sea, Đaða he com

on middan ðære sæ, þa wæs þæt Godes folc upagán=By the time he (Pharaoh) had reached the middle of the sea, the people of God was *safe on shore.* Also **up on lande,** id. p 162.

866 A. **Æþered**] Æðelred E. The form Æþered is constant in A here and 868 and elsewhere, not only of this king, but also of the Archbishop Æþered, 888. So also B C D agree with A, and E is the earliest that introduces the form Æðelred. But at 888 all the MSS. down to F agree in omitting the *l.*

867. **ungecyndne cyning**] See Abp. Trench on "a *kindly* king," in *English Past and Present,* p 136. Cf. infra, p 126 h, . . . goda þurh gecyndne cræft=naturæ indole bonus (Gibson); and p 222 m, Normandige ƿ land wæs his gecynde=Normandy was his *birthright.*

867. **late on geare**] The word **late**=*serò,* is a word which the modern English possesses in common with the Low German dialects, where the Hoch Deutsch has **spät.** At Hamburg, you may hear the boatmen who have been in good time for a chance, call out to those who come up afterwards, that they are '*al to laat.*'

867. **to þam gecirdon þæt**] they resolved that they would fight &c., MHB; they came to the resolution that &c., **Thorpe.**

871. **wiþ alne þone here on Æsces-dune**] This is the Battle of Ashdown which the White Horse of Berkshire is supposed to commemorate.

871 A. **Meretune**] *Merantune* B; *Meredune* D; *Mæredune* E; *Merentune* F. Gibson says this is generally set down as **Merdon** (Wilts), meaning the place which is now written **Marden** near Devizes—but that others maintain it is Merton 3 m. from Bicester. He commends the enquiry to the attention of local antiquarians. Merton in Surrey, mentioned 755, Gibson does not bring in here. So generic a name is a poor geographical guide.

871. **sumor lida**] Miss Gurney translated this "summer pestilence" on the authority of Lye; and also because it appeared to her more probable than the *æstiva quies* of Gibson, or the *æstivus exercitus* of Æthelweard and Henry of Huntingdon. Mr. Thorpe, Translation of Lappenberg, vol. ii. p 45, pronounces Ethelwerd's version 'undoubtedly right.' Lappenberg (Geschichte, vol. i. p 312) would correct the text and read **sumor liða,** i. e. æstiva classis. But we find **yð lida** for a *ship* in Beowulf 395. The accompaniments of the root **liðan**=to go, cannot easily be separated off from those which belong to the German verb **leiden**=to suffer. Diefenbach (Gothisches Wörterbuch, vol. ii. p 131) throws them into one group, and remarks on the abnormal shifting of the dental, and also on the

confused intermingling of the two senses, 1. *going*, 2. *suffering*, which he is at a loss how to connect, save by the medium-idea of *fatigue*. He prefers after all to suppose that two distinct roots have run together.

871 Ā. p 76. **anlipig aldormon**] Only in Ā. In B C D E the adjective is dropped, and the substantive put in the plural. Gibson translates, *singulis ducibus*. MHB has, *single ealdormen*. Mr. Thorpe, *individual aldermen*. We have not in English a proper adjective which—like **anlipig** in Saxon and *singulus* in Latin—conveys the idea of *numerous* and *solitary* undertakings. Infra, p 218 b, 'an ælpig' represents only one of these ideas, 'one single.' In the parable where they received 'every man a peny,' and where the Gospel has 'syndrige penegas,' a Homily has 'þa underfengon hi ænlipige penegas.' Thorpe's Analecta, p 74. In the Paris Psalter, Ps. xiii. 2, it appears in the simple sense, 'no forðon anlepe'=non est usque ad unum. In Wiclif it appears as *oonlypi*, Luke vii. 12; viii. 42; ix. 38.

874. **Hreope dune**] *Rippon* **C marg.**: cf. 457 note.

874 Ā. **anum unwisum**] B C D E give the name, *Ceolwulfe* anum &c. Of this Ceolwulf II. of Mercia there is extant 'a beautiful and unique penny,' in the possession of Mr. Assheton. It is figured in Mr. Hawkins's account of the Cuerdale coins: Numismatic Chronicle, vol. v. p 10, 1843. *Jubilee Edition of the Works of King Alfred*, part ii. p 142.

875. **Hreope dune**] *Rypon non Rypton upon Trent* **C marg.** The annotator is mistaken. In Beda v. 1. we have the Saxon form for Rypon as 'Inhrypum.' This is rendered 'Repton' by MHB.

875. p 78. **eft hergade on Peohtas**] The correction of *a* **oft** instead of *eft* is supported by the other Chronicles B C D E, and justified by the sense. Here is a point in common with the Irish Annalists. Ann. Ulst. 874. Congressio Pictorum *for Dubgallu* (i. e. *against the Danes*) et strages magna Pictorum facta est.

876. **Her hiene bestæl se here into Werham Wesseaxna fierde**] In rendering this archaic passage, modern translators have gone wrong, first by taking Asser and Florence for their guides rather than the Saxon words; and, next, by a misapplication of the Latin. Thus the word **fierde** has come to be a *castle*. 'Castellum' in Ass. Flor. is (an *extra*, descriptive of Werham, but it is) not offered as an equivalent of **fierde**; he ignores the words 'Wesseaxna fierde.' The fact appears to be that the translator, whoever he was, of that

version which is common (or nearly so) to Asser and Florence, seems not to have found it convenient to render these words. It is of course *possible* that they were absent in his copy—the phrase would still be complete without them (e. g. 865)—but it is difficult to adopt this explanation when we find the said words in A B C D E. We have the less hesitation in thinking that the same difficulty was felt by the ancient as by the modern translators, because one of them, and he the earliest to whom a date can be assigned, viz. Æthelweard, has made the most romantic nonsense in his attempt to turn it into Latin.

The obscurity results from two causes. 1. The indistinctness of the case-ending of **fierde**. It is a *genitive*, in construction with a compound verb in **be-** privative. If it had been a conspicuous genitive like 'rices besciered' 821, no one would have mistaken it. Or again, if it had had its article before it, as 'bestælon þære fierde' = *stole away from the army* (Thorpe) in this same annal, it would have been a little clearer. But, 2. what has tended still more to obscure the relation between **bestæl** and **fierde**, is the awkward and, I suppose we may say, archaic and even *rude* collocation. In the case quoted from 821, as well as in the parallel case in this same annal, the genitive is inseparate from its verb. But the meaning certainly is: *Here the invading force deluded the national army and got into Werham.*

876. **aþas sworon on þam halgan beage] beah** is generally a *ring;* and thence particularly any circular ornament, frontlet, bracelet, necklace; all which notions may be seen condensed in its modern form *badge*. Those who are familiar with the collections of barbarian antiquities, such as are to be seen at Copenhagen or Dublin, know how largely primitive wealth was invested in ringed or spiral ornaments. The fashion survives in the 'crown' which is its most select example, and in the 'wedding ring' which is its most universal. These are still 'holy badges' upon which oaths are sworn. The Norsk name for the ring-oath was **Baug-eiðr**: cf. Egilsson in voc.

Other Saxon instances of the word may be seen, e. g. Cod. Dipl. 694—"anes beages is on syxtigum mancussum goldes"—apparently a golden *crown* 60 mancus-weight. In Ælfric's Homilies, vol. i. pp 416, 417, the martyr's 'crown of glory' is **wuldor-beah**; and he who is 'crowned with glory' is (p 52) said to be **gewuldorbeagod.** In Wright's Vocabularies, p 61, Dextrochirium=brad earm-beah; p 94, Umbo=rand-beah.

The French retain the word in *bague*, a ring; yet more significantly in the phrase *bagues et joyaux*, for valuables in jewellery; and *une bague au doigt*=a feather in one's cap.

876. **and ergende wæron and hiera tilgende**] "and were ploughing and *some of them* (?) were tilling." This **hiera** seems to be an archaic use of the genitive, in the sense of *some*=*ἐξ αὐτῶν*. The Asser-Florence version is founded on a confusion with **here**= army: "illamque cum suo exercitu coluit."

877. This annal is very awkwardly put together, but I do not now, as I once did, suspect a dislocation. The sequence of events is made clear, if we observe that "and se cyning Ælfred æfter þam gehorsudan here mid fierde rád" looks back to the movement of the mounted Danes at the close of the previous annal, and 'rád' may conveniently be regarded as a pluperfect=*had ridden*. The whole of this sentence down to ". . . to ne meahte" is parenthetical, and inserted here, because as the scene shifts from Swanawic to Exeter, it is necessary to report how Ælfred had come to Exeter. The treaty, hostages, &c., are not therefore *in consequence of* Ælfred's pursuit to Exeter, but *of* the disaster at Swanawic.

In Florence the whole narrative is omitted, which is strange, as it is unconsciously repeated in Asser; the first time more fully than in the Saxon, and a second time more meagrely. The two relations are given as of distinct events, and are connected by "Eodem anno." This delusion is partly sustained by the diversity of corruption which the name Swanawic has undergone. In one of the two accounts it is Gnavewic, and in the other Suanavine. The superior purity of the Saxon Chronicles appears here as at so many other places; for the modern name of Swanage bears testimony to the genuineness of 'Swanawic'=the village of swineherds. Swanage has been thus described by Mr. Kingsley: "A little semicircular bay on the E. of the Isle of Purbeck, its northern horn of chalk cliffs, and the southern of Purbeck marble. A quaint old-world village slopes down to the water over the green downs; quarried like some gigantic rabbit-burrow, with the stone-workings of 700 years. Land-locked from every breeze, huge elms flourish on the dry sea-beach, and the gayest and tenderest garden-flowers bask under the hot stone-walls." *Illustrated London News*, December 26, 1857; in connection with Mr. Beckles's geological diggings.

878. **buton þam cyninge Ælfrede**] "Four words very powerful in their plain simplicity" (Pauli).

878. **æfter wudum**] per sylvestria (Asser): cf. p 90 h, æfter þæm wealda. In Somersetshire they still say, going along '*after the wall*,'

'*after the stream*,' to signify following the line of. It is by transition from this usage, that we have the phrases 'After this manner,' and 'Deal not with us after our sins.'

878. p 80. **on West Seaxum on Defena scire**] Asser describes the scene of this decisive conflict by name, as '**Arx Cynuit**.' Various attempts have been made along the north coast of Devon to identify this Arx Cynuit. Mr. Kingsley, in the opening of *Westward Ho*, brings it in as one of the historical features of the neighbourhood of Bideford. His young hero, *temp*. Eliz., is on the high ground that overlooks the estuary of the Torridge. "Beneath him on his right, the Torridge, like a land-locked lake, sleeps broad and bright between the old park of Tapeley and the charmed rock of the Hubbastone, where seven hundred years ago, the Norse rovers landed to lay siege to Kenwith Castle, a mile away on his left hand; and not three fields away are the old stones of 'The Bloody Corner,' where the retreating Danes, cut off from their ships, made their last fruitless stand against the Saxon sheriff and the valiant men of Devon. Within that charmed rock, so Torridge boatmen tell, sleeps now the old Norse Viking in his leaden coffin, with all his fairy treasure and his crown of gold; and as the boy looks at the spot, he fancies, and almost hopes, that the day may come when he shall have to do his duty against the invader as boldly as the men of Devon did then." Such is the illusory effect of tradition, even in modern times, that a mere conjecture of Camden's has taken root as a local reality. One would suppose from the above, that there was a genuine 'Kenwith Castle,' which the writer identifies with the historical event alluded to. But Camden knew of no such name in his day. He says: "Hinc *Tawus* Towridgi aquis auctior Sabrinianum mare petit. An verò **Chimligh** illa sit **Kinuith** castrum cuius meminit Asserius, non facilè dixerim." A far more probable spot appears to me to be '*Countesbury*' near Linton; and possibly, if an elder form of that name could be found, it might approach nearer to 'Cynuit.'

878. p 80. **Ecgbryhtes stane**] Probably the judgment-seat of the district, and where the hundred-gemot or the scir-gemot was held, as æt Ægelnoðes stane. Cod. Dipl. 755. The name has been identified with *Brixton* Deverill near Warminster.

878 E. p 81. **Wealwudu**] All the earlier Chronicles have 'Selwood,' but we need not suppose this to be a mere blunder of E. The meaning of 'Selwood' is the 'great wood,' and the meaning of 'Wealwudu' (cf. 'Weallande,' 1040 E) is the 'Welsh wood.' Selwood was for a long period the barrier between the Saxon and the Welsh territories, and it is quite conceivable, that it may have been

purposely spoken of as Welshwood. At the risk of seeming to explain *ignotum per ignotius*, I cite 'Wychwood' as meaning 'Hwiccian wood,' if we may be guided by the spelling 'Hwiccewudu' in Cod. Dipl. 247.

878 A. p 80. **behinon sæ**]=on this side the channel. Infra, p 84, behienan Wendel sæ=this side the Mediterranean.

To this word answers the Latin *citra*, and that rare preposition of middle English, *behither*, which is found in Barnabas Oley's Preface to Herbert's *Country Parson*: "I have not observed any one thing (*behither* vice) that hath occasioned so much Contempt to the Clergy, as Unwillingness to take, or keep, a poor Living."

878. p 80 m. **Eþandune**] *Edyngton* C marg.: cf. 457 note.

This place and **Iglea** have been variously identified. Iglea has been fixed at *Clay* Hill near Warminster (Gough and Sir C. Hoare); *Leigh* near Westbury (Gibson); *Highley* Common near Melksham (Whitaker), which seems every way the most probable.

**Eþandun** has been identified with *Edington* near Westbury, partly because of its name, and partly because of its *White Horse* and *Bratton Camp*. Dr. Thurnam in Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Magazine, 1853, maintains the view of Mr. Whitaker, that it is *Yatton*, five miles N. W. of Chippenham. I am inclined to place it at *Heddington*, on the line of the Roman road from Bath to Marlborough; to which it was assigned by Milner, History of Winchester, 1798. Dr. Thurnam objects strongly to this opinion, because the place is spelt Edinton in Domesday.

878. p 80. **Alre**] **Aller** (Somersetsh.) locally pronounced **Oller.** Many years ago, a friend took me to view the place and to call on Dr. Young, then Incumbent of Aller. My eye was caught by a vase, looking like a rude font, erected at the bottom of the lawn. On enquiry, it had been got out of the deep moat-like pond, which is at the foot of the slope. From time immemorial this water had never been cleared out, till Dr. Young had it done, and then this font came to light. Everything about the present church betokens energetic restoration in Norman times, and it is natural to conclude that *then* this old font was thrown aside. Of course this *cannot* be the very font at which Alfred stood sponsor to Guthrum; for the simple and conclusive reason, that such a thing is too good to be true.

878. p 80 l. **crismlising**] chrismatis solutio. **Asser. Flor.**

This was a rite in use up to the Reformation, Maskell i. 36; iii. xxi. note.

Unction (χρῖσμα; in English, 'chrism' and later 'chrysom;' in French, 'le saint chrême') was used in Baptism, Confirmation, Coro-

nation. A linen band was then put about the head or other anointed part, and kept on for certain days. This was the *vestis chrismalis, pannus chrismalis,* or simply *chrismale.* The removal was done with ceremony, and in church ("tertia die vadant . . . ad ecclesiam ad chrismalia deponenda," Rubric in Maskell i. 36). This is the **crismlising.**

After Coronation it was not removed till the eighth day. "In the old account of the coronation of Henry VI. we find, after the anointing: 'And then they leyd a certeyn softe thynge to all the places so annoynted. And on his hede dyd a white coyfe of silk, and so he went and lay viij dayes. And the viijth daye they shuld wasshe it of hym.' Also in the *Devyse* for the coronation of Henry VIII: 'He shall put vpon the kyng's hed a coyfe, the same to be broughte to the grete chamberlayne: whiche shall contynuelly abyde on the kings hed to the viijth daye next folowing, at whiche viij dayes [end], after a solempne masse seyd by a Bisshop before the king, the seid Bishop shall take the coyf from the kyng's hed.'" Maskell iii. xxi. From a note on this page in Maskell it would appear that this passage of our Chronicle is the most ancient mention known to Ritualists of the deposition of the Chrismale.

De Quincey ("Essays") says that, to this hour, in our London bills of mortality, there is one subdivision headed, "*Chrysom* children," viz. those which have died within a month from birth. It was the custom to bury them in baptismal robes; to which the northern Spaniards (Biscay) add, "A happy garland of the pure white rose." The value anciently attached to *chrism* in baptism is traceable in the fact, that the word stamped itself on a whole round of objects. There was the *chrysom* itself, or act of anointing; the *chrysom*-oil; the *chrysom*-child; the *chrysom*-vesture.

879. **wicenga**] This Saxon form is less delusive as to its etymology than the Norsk form *viking*, which has suggested the erroneous connection with 'king.' Mr. Dasent has already pointed out that this word is a derivative from **vik**=a creek, *sinus maris,* which might well have been the basis of their designation, as they used creeks for piratical lurking-places. Possibly, however, a more general sense attached to the word; for **vik** was used also of the open sea, and **viking** might have been merely 'son of the sea,' one who lived by sea-plunder, a sea-rover.

880. **Ciren ceastre**] *cyceter* **C marg.**: cf. 457 note.

881. **ufor**] This is not merely 'further' (MHB), 'ulterius' (Grimm, Gr. i. 247), nor 'up' (Thorpe)—but as Ingram has it, 'higher up,' superius, *ἀνωτέρω.* It is the comparative of an old and lost **uf** (a

dialectic variety of **up**) extant in German in the prep. auf—but which in the Northern dialects faded into **of**, (as **ufor** into ofor (E 882), *unde* ofer, subst. adv. prep.) This modified or corrupt **of** came thus to be confusable with our modern preposition *of;* and hence one probable cause of the neglect of the former. But it is important to make acquaintance with this **of**, because though nowhere found alone, it continued in use in compounds. The A.S. verbs in *of-* have been ill understood, from the error of association with *of*=ab=ἀπό, instead of **of**=auf, with a force in composition much like that of **ofer-**. The simple positive **uf** or **ufe** we probably have in the proper name Ufegeat (p 140) [=Highgate]: also in Offa, Yffi (Bd. ii. 14, 20), Yffe (560), Uffingas, Ubii. Comparative **ufor**, in its adj. use in Bd. v. 2. on ðæm uferan dæle=in superiore parte: Jos. iv. 6. on uferum dagum, in days to come. Superlative, Gen. xl. 17. on ðam ufemystan windle=in the uppermost basket. Adverb of place, ufan =ἄνωθεν, desuper. In 882, feor (A) is probably a mere error for **ufor**, as appears from B C D.

883 E. **ælmessan to Rome þe Ælfred cing gehet þider**] F *Lat.:* Rex Ælfredus misit elemosinam quam voverat dum sederet contra exercitum cum paucis, cum multi essent inimici, Romæ.

F 884. An insertion misplaced by a hundred years: this Chronicle (F) has the death of Æðelwold again under its true year 984.

885. p 84. **Wendel sæ**] This name for the Mediterranean indicates a time when that sea was known to the northern nations through or in connection with the Slavonic people, who were formerly known collectively by the name Winidæ. See Professor Max Müller's *Lectures*, p 204.

886. **þe ær east gelende**] *qui antea in Oriente appulerant* (Gibson); *that before were bent eastward* (Ingram); *which before had drawn eastward* (MHB); *which had before landed in the east* (Thorpe). The reference is to the opening of 885, where the piratical army parts in two, "oþer dæl east"=altera pars Orientem versus. That division which had *then* moved eastwards, *now* reversed its course. This is plainly the sense; but the *word* is not easily accounted for. The same verb is used again below, p 92 t, in the participle, 'he wæs on hergaȝ gelend'=*he was gone foraging:* where it is a reiteration of the 'ut afaren on hergaþ' some lines above. I am not aware of any instance of this verb in the sense of 'to land, appellere,' which Mr. Thorpe has assigned to it in his Anal. Glos. v. *Ge*lendian. There is a 'gelende' on p 45 of the Analecta (Ed. 1846) which has to do with 'land' in the sense of *ager:* "Þa seofon mynstru he **gelende**

mid his agenum" = These seven minsters he *endowed with land* from his own property. As the counterpart of this 'gelende,' we have in Chronicle E (p 233 t) 'belende' = deprived of lands.

But this 'gelende' is quite foreign to our text, which has to do with *movement;* and if connected with 'land' at all, is so only in the vaguest and most general way. We have our word again in Orosius, Book iii. c. 1. § 4. Ed. Bosworth; "æfter þam Conon gelende to Ahtene;" where Professor Bosworth has justly rendered it, "Conon came to Athens."

I suspect a connection between this verb and the adjective **lang** = long; of which we have derivatives signifying *movement* of the desires; e. g. **langian,** *verlangen*—**langoð,** *desiderium*—**langung,** *desiderium*—**langung-hwil,** *tempus tædii:* and we still use the verb to *long* for the expression of urgent desire. I imagine then that 'gelende' is *quasi* 'gelencgde' a preterite of 'lencgan or lengan,' of which we have 'lengde' below 1072, only in the sense of *delay.* Whether the German 'lenken' is of this root or not, it is a very inviting word in this connection. *Sich rechts—links lenken* is just the notion required.

After five centuries we find it again, e. g. in "Cheuelere Assigne," *line* 5 (Roxburghe Club), not much modified in sense:

> For this I saye by a lorde was *lente* in an yle
> That was called Lyor, a lond by him selfe.

Also, compare Halliwell's Archaic Dictionary, v. lent; where is cited the following MS. instance:

> On a laund are thay *lent*
> By a forest syd.

886. **gesette Ælfred Lundenburg &c.**] *Interea obsidetur a rege Ælfredo urbs Lundonia: et quem ingenio quem occursu non superaverat civilis discordia sæva, hunc ut redemptorem suscepere cuncti, et maximè genus Saxonum, excepto Barbaræ gentis et his qui sub manu eorum tum captivi tenebantur. Etiam post manus catervæ confirmatas, ibi constituitur dux Æthred à rege præfato, custodiendi arcem.* Æthelweard.

*Ælfred Angulsaxonum rex, post incendia urbium stragesque populorum, Lundoniam civitatem honorificè restauravit et habitabilem fecit; quam genero suo Ætheredo Merciorum comiti commendavit servandam, ad quem regem omnes Angli et Saxones, qui prius ubique dispersi fuerant, aut cum Paganis sub* [*v. l.* sine] *captivitate erant, voluntariè converterunt et suo dominio se subdiderunt.* Asser. Flor.

*Rex Anglorum post incendia urbium stragesque populorum, Londoniam*

*permaximam civitatem honorificè restauravit et habitabilem fecit, quam Ethelredo præcipuo duci Merciorum commendavit servandam. Omnes verò, Angli et Saxones, qui prius ubi ubi erant dispersi cum Paganis aut à captivitate liberati, venerunt sponte ad regis præsentiam, sponte se suo domino inclinantes. Ipse autem ut erat clementissimæ mentis cunctis indulsit patrocinium suæ benignitatis.* Simeon Dunelm.

*Alfredus rex Londoniam obsedit, quia maxima vis Dacorum secuta fuerat Gallicanum exercitum, omnes autem Anglici statim ei subditi sunt et receperunt eum. Daci namque aufugerunt. Rex verò tradidit Ædredo duci civitatem in custodiam.* Henry of Huntingdon.

*King Alfred laid siege to the city of London and took it; the Angles flocked to him, and the Danes retreated. He entrusted Ethelred, the earl of the Mercians, with the restoration of the city.* Chron. Melrose (*tr.* Stevenson).

In these versions there is a manifest contradiction. According to some, London was desolate through the ravages of the wars (Asser, Flor., Simeon)—according to others, it was in a state fit to be besieged (Æthelweard, Hen. H., Melrose). Nay more, according to Henry Hunt. the opportunity to lay siege to it arose out of the abstraction of important numbers which had joined the army for Gaul; implying that its normal condition at that time was so populous and strong as to defy attack.

It is plain to see that these conflicting accounts have risen out of the text before us, and how they have risen. The divergence was caused by the different senses put upon the word *gesette*. This word means *founded, instituted, colonized, peopled* (Oros. B. i. c. 10. § 5. and B. iii. c. 5. § 2. Ed. Bosworth; also see infra 890, the intr. gesæt); but it seemed a strange thing to say of so ancient a city, that "Alfred founded it." Hence the explanations of Asser-Flor. &c. about the desolations of the wars, by which, in conjunction with a modified version of *gesette* (viz. *honorificè restauravit et habitabilem fecit*), the paradox of 'founding London' was eluded.

The other class of Latinizers could not by any contrivance bring themselves to admit a founding or even a refounding of London, and so they virtually changed *gesette* into *besæt*. Such a clumsy solution need not astonish us either in Æthelweard (cf. Introduction) or in Henry of Huntingdon (cf. p 113 note). They translated a word which means *he founded* by *he besieged*.

Yet with all this violence, they are able to render better justice to their original than the accommodating Asser-Flor. They are able at least to bring out a reasonable sense, without disturbing the *order* of the original. Which Asser-Flor. has not been able to do.

For what sense could there be in interposing a general adhesion of *all* Angli et Saxones *everywhere*, between what Alfred did for London, and what hands he left the place in? So Asser-Flor. has coupled the two latter items, and then appended the adhesion. Both classes have found it necessary to do violence to the text.

It is easier to see that the Latiners are wrong, than to supply the correction. I offer the following rather with the hope of stimulating enquiry, and particularly among local archæologists, rather than as expecting it will be received as final. London was a flourishing and opulent city, the chief emporium of commerce in the island, and the residence of foreign merchants. Properly, it was now an Angle city, the chief city of the Anglian nation of Mercia, but the Danes had settled there in great numbers, and they had numerous captives that they had taken in the late wars. Thus the Danish population had a preponderance over the Anglian free population, and the latter were glad to see Alfred come and restore the balance in their favour. It was of the greatest importance to Alfred to secure this city, not only as the capital of Mercia (*caput regni Merciorum* Malmesb.), but as the means of doing what Mercia had not done, viz. of making it a barrier to the passage of pirate ships inland. Accordingly, in the year 886, Alfred *planted* the *garrison* of London (i. e. not as a town is garrisoned in our day, with men dressed in uniform and lodged in barracks, but) with a military colony of men to whom land was given for their maintenance, and who would live in and about a fortified position under a commanding officer. It appears to me not impossible that this may have been the first military occupation of Tower Hill, but this is a question for the local antiquary.

All I would insist upon here, is this; that *Lunden burh* is not to be taken as merely equivalent to *Lunden*. I have counted 63 places in the Chronicles in which the latter occurs, but I have only been able to discover 13 instances of *Lundenburh*. In one of these, 896 *init.*, the Danes are said to have gone up the Lea and made a strong *work* 20 miles above Lundenburh. This description would be particularly appropriate, if Lundenburh occupied the site of the Tower. Also, one then sees why they should go up the *Lea*, viz. because their old passage up the Thames was intercepted. Upon this view, the whole sentence is in sense and order: *The same year Alfred founded the* burh *of London, and he was joined by all* Londoners *of Angle-race who were not compulsorily prevented by Danish servitude. And he committed the* burh *to aldorman Æðered to hold.*

I know not how much weight is to be given to the text of F in

this place, but it certainly has an appearance of being independent of the other Chronicles, and it rather lends countenance to the emphasis I have claimed for the word **burh**. *Her gesette Ælfred cing þa burh Lundene. and him eall Angelcynn to cyrde.*

It is a pleasure for once to observe that Æthelweard, against whom we have so much to say, is here (as the nearest in date ought to be) the best interpreter (e. g. *catervæ—arcem*), so far as his meaning can be discerned through the mist of his puzzle-headed rhetoric.

887. The deposition of Charles-le-Gros. His accession is given above at 885; both dates true. For the details of Carlovingian affairs, consult the voluminous "*Histoire Littéraire de la France*," by the Benedictines of St. Maur.

887. p 86. **to geboren**] *born to* the inheritance of the empire. The **to** here acts a semi-prepositional part, as in **to gehalgode** three lines above. But the compiler or copier of E in the twelfth century, though he understood **to gehalgode**, did not understand **to geboren**. The verbal prefix **to**, so largely used in our ancient language, had already begun to fade out of importance, in proportion as it extended its purely prepositional functions. Within the literary period since 1611, educated men lost sight (for a time) of the meaning of a verb compounded with this prefix, although it stood in a tolerably conspicuous situation, viz. Judges ix. 53.

887. p 86. **Æþelhelm aldor mon**] Æthelhelm comes Wiltunensium (Asser). At the record of his death, below 898, he is called in A, *Æðelm Wiltunscire ealdormon*. He is a person of mark, as the protector of the young Dane Odo, who was driven from his home for embracing Christianity, and who afterwards became Archbishop of Canterbury. Dean Hook, vol. i. p 362.

887. p 86; and 888. **lædde . . . ælmessan**] So in Yorkshire they talk of *leading* hay, *leading* corn &c. from the field, in carts and wagons. The modern phraseology is, 'to *convey* certain presents, &c.' Dean Hook, vol. i. p 364.

Chaucer's Ploughman in the Prologue, l. 532, was one 'That hadde i*lad* of dong ful many a fothur,' i. e. who had carried a-field a great many horse-loads of dung. This reading has been restored in the Edition of the Percy Society, by Mr. Thomas Wright.

891. **butan ælcum gereðrum**] Stevenson translates "without any rudder." Ingram, "without any oars." The Saxon comprises both. The rowage and steerage were not so distinct as now. The steering was done by oar over the ship's side, as may be seen in old illuminations. Hence the term 'starboard'="the steering side." In Ohthere's Narrative (Oros. i. 1) steorbord and bæcbord stand for

starboard and larboard. But perhaps Gibson's "sine ullo remige" is the best of all. In the Vocabularies we find *Remex*, reþra (Wright, p 48): *Nauta*, gereþru — as well as *Aplustre*, gereþru — (p 56): *Remex vel nauta*, reðra (pp 73, 88). By **butan ælcum gereðrum** was probably meant, *without any mariners* to navigate the craft.

891. **And Swifneh se betsta lareow þe on Scottum wæs gefor.**] The cast of this phrase implies the scholastic celebrity which Ireland at this time enjoyed among the nations. "Swifneh died, chief doctor in Hibernia, the Academy of Europe." Scotus Erigèna [Erin-born Scot], the beacon of learning and the ornament of the Frankish Court, was dead a few years earlier. Mr. Goldwin Smith says: "During the seventh and eighth centuries, and part of the ninth, Ireland played a really great part in European history." *Irish History and Irish Character*, p 28. It will please a philological eye to see these foreign names in their native form. Through the zeal of the Dublin scholars, the stores of Irish History are now open, and the distinguished names of each period are accessible. These four names are all found in the Index to the Annals of Ireland, by the Four Masters (Ed. O'Donovan), as borne by memorable personages about this date. The Irish forms are,

Dubshlaine,
Mac Beathaidh,
Maolionmain (Maelinmhain, *Mod. Irish*),
Suibhne.

The latter—the great teacher of Ireland—is identified in the Irish Obituary of 887. He is "Suibhne, son of Maclumha, anchorite and scribe of Cluain-mic-Nois." The Editor notes that the date 892 given in Sax. Chron. is the true year of his death, and that a tomb-stone inscribed with his name is still preserved at Clonmacnoise. He refers to Petrie's *Round Towers*, p 323.

Of the three pilgrims, it is possible that one of them is the "Maolionmain eccnaidh—ancoire Glinne da locha"=wise man and anchorite of Glendaloch; whose death is recorded in 953, sixty years after the present date. The probability is greatly heightened by the fact that this is the only individual of the name in the Index.

891. **same**] An archaism which has survived the handling of the copier in this manuscript only. All the others have altered it to **sume**, a foolish reading—as if there were two opinions, and "some men" held the identity of the comet with the *stella crinita*. It is either a relative pronoun="which same," ὅνπερ; or else an adverbial conjunction, meaning *likewise, withal, pariter, etiam*. The latter is rendered the more probable by Cædmon 397, swa some=

likewise; and by passages in Alfred's version of Boethius, where we have **swa same,** or **eac swa same,** i. e. 'likewise also.' In Orosius, p 45, Ed. Bosworth, women fight as well as (swa same swa) men; and in Apollonius, p 3, Ed. Thorpe, we read that he who rightly answered the riddle was led to execution **swa same swa,** i. e. *just the same as* he who interpreted it wrongly. This phrase is frequent in Old Saxon in the form **so same**; see Schmeller's Heliand, Glossary, v. *Same.* Also Ettmüller, Lex. Sax. p 625.

In another form it occurs in Orosius, cap. i. Narrative of Wulfstan, where a tribe of Esthonians is said to possess the art of making water to freeze, **sam** hit sy sumor, **sam** winter, just the *same,* whether it be winter or summer. Numerous examples of *sam-,* as a particle in composition, may be seen in Grimm, Gr. ii. p 764.

893 Ā. **Bunnan**] to **bunan** C; *Boloniam que et bononia, hodie boleyn* **C marg.**: cf. 457 note.

893. **swa þæt hie asettan him on ænne siþ**] Cf. 1001: swa ƿ hy upp asetton on ænne siþ . . . . . swa ƿ hy asettan him upp ón ænne siðe.

893 Ā. **liðe ut of þæm wealda**] *runs out of the weald.* **liðe** 3rd sing. pres. of **liðan,** *to go, to pass, to move;* from which came a family of words, mostly appropriated to navigation. See Ettmüller's Lexicon, p 190. Compare the following from a Copenhagen MS. (*communicated* in Archæological Journal, 1859): Se þe bið of earde and feor of his cyððe. hu mæg he ham cuman gif he nele leornian hu se weg lioge þe liðe to his cyððe? = He who is absent from his land and far from his people, how can he get home if he will not learn how the way lies that *goes* to his country?

893. **on þa ea hi tugon up hiora scipu oþþone weald. iiii mila fram þæm muþan utan weardum**] *They towed their ships up that river so far as the weald, four miles from the outside of the harbour.* So much has the coast changed in that part, that there is no river now to be found which would admit the Danish ships. (As to their probable size, see note on 787.) But there are three places where, in the early condition of this *shifting shore,* vessels may have passed up to what is now the high land N. of the shore. According to the present aspect of the ground, Rye seems the most likely spot, as indicating the former outflow of a large river; next in promise, comes Romney, where there must once have been a large estuary. When we search for the inland spot towards which they made their way, it is the gap between Appledore and Ebony Chapel that is selected alike by the explorer of the country and the explorer of the map. There is a line of fault in the deeper seated strata

from Tenterden through the alluvial plain by Appledore, and extending on towards Romney, which may indicate an old channel. Probably there were two or three outlets diverging by Appledore. The elevated ground of Appledore, Playden, Ebony Chapel, Kennardington, &c., probably once formed the actual coast-line. These were high lands in early British times, with inlets of the sea converging to the N. W., and receiving the currents of the Weald country. That there was once a capacious river crossing the plain, was proved not many years ago by the discovery of a large vessel which was dug out of the alluvial soil two miles E. of Newenden.

But neither Rye nor Romney will satisfy all the conditions for identification with the **muþa** of the text. Off at the eastern extreme of the plain we observe the name **Lympne**, which obviously claims connection with the ancient river 'Limen,' as well as with the harbour and Roman station 'Portus Lemanis,' which has been fixed in the Ordnance Map near Lympne. The question then rises, whether there was ever a river skirting that side of the plain and running out by Hythe. There is physical evidence to shew that the expanse of shingle between Hythe and Dymchurch is a very modern deposit, and that it is now gradually increasing. And there is some remarkable documentary evidence. In Cod. Dipl. 47 (A. D. 715) certain land is defined as lying "ad australem quippe fluminis quæ appellatur limin aea," the river being the N. boundary: and in No. 234 (A. D. 833) the river Limen or Limin is used as a S. boundary—"ab austro fluvius qui dicitur limin aee." In both these cases, the river is represented as holding a course E. and W. This evidence, joined with the other data, helps to the conclusion that in the eighth and ninth centuries a river ran from Appledore due E. towards Hythe, where was a harbour which is now represented by the shingle between Hythe and Dymchurch. The line of this river would be nearly the same as that of the new canal. It appears then that so late as the close of the ninth century, the river Limen flowing out by Hythe was the chief effluent of this Delta; but that the channel being silted up and the harbour filled with shingle, all superficial evidence of this river has disappeared. It seems that the next chief outlet was by way of Romney, perhaps not a great while after the Conquest. At length Romney harbour itself was stopped by a great storm about 300 years ago, which closed the inlet with shingle. Since that, the chief drain of water has been through the Rother to Rye, and this remains now the only extant channel of the three. At first, the three coexisted, though the other two may have been insignificant while the Limen was in full action. Of one we find

mention in Cod. Dipl. 1072, *flumen quod vocatur Rumenea*; and of the other we have evidence in the name *Rother*, which is an ancient river name, far older than the highest date contemplated in this note.

As to the shifting character of this district, Mr. Etheridge of the Geological Survey of Great Britain, to whom I am indebted for the materials of this note, says, that Lydd and New Romney once stood on the shore, and the coast is now increasing at the rate of eight yards per annum, the Lighthouse on Denge beach standing so much farther in every year. "I think the great alluvial plain of Romney Marsh and Walling Marsh covers up much of the early Physical History of that coast. There is no reason whatever why, in former times, there may not have been an extensive river running up to Appledore either from Romney or Rye or even Hythe."

There can be no doubt that **Æpuldre**, which is mentioned in the next paragraph, and again on p 91, as the station of the Danish ships, is identical with this Appledore. The clearance of the forest of the Weald has caused the rivers to shrink, as the clearance of the sides of the Apennines has made the Campagna suffer from drought.

894 t. **foregisla**] It is not clear what is the signification of the *fore-* here and at 877, 878. Whether it expresses the representative function of the hostages, as being *for* their nation, or whether it signifies hostages from the *fore*most persons. Asser *ad loc.* speaks of "electos obsides." Except this, there is nothing in the Latin historians to distinguish **foregislas** from the simple **gislas**. But in 877 and 878, where *hostages* and *oaths* are combined, the latter are in both cases magnified by the adj. **micle**, so that **fore** would appear to have a like effect on the former.

894 h. **oþþe on heora healfe an. Þa**] A too rigid adherence to the MS. has here led me into an impracticable reading. The testimony of the next MSS. is for the reading, *oþþe on heora healfe. Ond þa* &c.

894 h. **rymet**] *room, space, opening.* This uncommon word is found in Joshua i. 3, and it occurs repeatedly in Cod. Dipl. 594.

894 h. **bi swa hwaþerre efes swa hit þoñ fierdleas wæs**] The word **efes**, which we retain only for the *eaves* of the roof, seems to have been habitually appropriated to the *margent* of the wood: cf. Cod. Dipl. 209, to þæs wudes efese = to the wood's edge; 353, oð hit cimeð to ðære efese. ðonne á norð be wyrtwalan &c.; also 715, Hrisebyrgan be Cilternes efese = Risborough on the edge of Chiltern.

894 l. **here hyð**] *army-supplies, provisions.* See notes to S. Maria Ægyptiaca, p 115.

894 b. **igga**ð] *river-island*, 'eyot.'

**stemn gesetenne**] **stemninge gesetene** B C; **steminge gesetene** D. Here we have the participle of an *intransitive* verb in concord with its indirect object, which is rather super-grammatical. It seems to have been attracted into conformity with the 'mete ge notudne' that was coming, and which is quite normal, as 'mete' is, in technical grammar, an accusative governed by 'notian.' Chaucer has,

> It is ful faire a man to bear him even
> For al day meten men at unset steven. C. T. 1525.

In this passage the verb is *settan*=to appoint, *statuere;* but in our text it is **sittan**=to sit, *sedere*. For want of observing this distinction, Ettmüller (Lex. p 728) has wrongly rendered this place, *illi habuerunt tempus præstitutum*. It is, *They had sate out* or *served their term of service:* cf. 921, se fird stemn fôr ham.

894. p 91 h. **buton swiþe gewaldenum dæle easteweardes þæs folces**] *besides a very considerable body* moving *eastward*, but they were *of the people*, self-enlisted volunteers, and no part of the **fierd**. This distinction between *folc* and *fierd* appears again, p 107 b, 'gegadorode micel folc hit.'

894. p 92 t. **cumpæder**] The Latin word **compater**, which probably at this date was still understood in its etymological sense, of the relation subsisting between two men who were godfathers to the same child, or between a godfather and the natural father. Alfred and Æðered were both in this relation to Hæsten, as appears in the previous sentences. Cf. Cod. Dipl. 709, Eadrico meo compatri. The word soon became generalized; and in the *Lexicon Manuale Infimæ Latinitatis*, par Maigne D'Arnis, it is rendered "Sodalis, amicus; *camarade, ami.*" It began and ended much as our *gossip* (Sax. **God sib**, *quasi* coram Deo affinis).

Mary Queen of Scots, writing to the Constable de Montmorency, begins "*Mon Compère;*" in which case Miss Strickland says it was merely a term of familiarity. However, we find the feminine still in earnest use, in a letter of Melville to Queen Elizabeth, asking her to be *gossip* at the baptism of Mary's infant son James. For (says he) in England they call the *comers* (commères) gossips.

894. p 92 m. **Buttingtune**] Two places have hitherto contended for this site, viz. Boddington near Cheltenham and Buttington in Montgomeryshire near Welshpool. But Mr. Ormerod (Archæologia, vol. xxix; and *Strigulensia*, p 60) has put forward a claim for Buttinton in Tidenham, on the peninsula formed by the Severn and the Wye. There are traces of works here, though less considerable than

those at Buttington in Montgomeryshire. Mr. Ormerod grounds his claim mainly upon Matthew of Westminster's "paganos tam navali quam terrestri exercitu circumcinxit." No such thing appears in the text before us, but to the opposite effect. One is almost tempted to suspect that this '*Verwirrer der Geschichte*' (as Lappenberg calls Matthew of Westminster) caught sight of 'sciphere' in the next line and imagined the rest. But it must be allowed, Mr. Ormerod's position has its advantages. It does not, however, suit 'þa **up** be Sæferne,' if this means that they went up-stream, which would seem to be its meaning, though not in Florence.

894. p 92 l. **miclne**] The omission of the 'e' is not mere haste; B has **mycelne**. It is as proper a form as **micelne**.

894. p 93. **westre ceastre**] *Westch' civitas legion est* C **marg.**: cf. 457 note. *They reached a waste* or deserted *fortress in Wirrall called Legaceaster*. This is the true source of the name of "West Chester," which Richard of Cirencester, a contemporary of Chaucer, identifies with Deva, B. i. c. 6. § 27. All idea of this name having any connection with the 'West' is dissipated by this place in the Chronicle, for **west**=occidens, cannot take the inflection **westre**. That Chester was for a period desolate, like Uriconium or Silchester, may surprise any one to whom it is new, but it is no way contrary to the analogy or probability of history.

894. p 93. **on ælcere efeneh**ð**e**] *on every plain*, or pasture field. The substantive **efeneh**ð is the abstract of **efen**=even, smooth; and corresponds to the OHG forms **ebanôd**, *m.*; ebanôti, *f.*=*planities* (cf. Graff). This word both in England and in Germany has served for local names: we have it well preserved in *Emneth* near Wisbeach; and in Germany are found Ebnet, Ebnit, Breitebnet. *Die Deutschen Ortsnamen* von Ernst Förstemann: Nordhausen, 1863, p 62.

895. **on foran winter**] on forwerdne — B; on forweardne — C; on forweard — D.

896. p 94 h. **gerypon . . . . ripes**] In Mr. Wright's *Anglo-Saxon Vocabularies*, p 74, *Messor*, riptere; *Messis*, ge rip: cf. Matth. ix. 38. In Somersetshire 'reaping' is pronounced 'ripping.'

**gehawade**] *surveyed, inspected, reconnoitred*; perlustravit. In Zosimas Fragm. p 108. l. 22. to þære halgan Godes cennestran **hawiende**=intuens, *ἀτενίζουσα*. Paris Psalter xiii. 3. See the few words of this family in Ettmüller, p 485; who observes that its analogue is not found in the other dialects.

**Cwat brycge**] **Brycge** D; below **Bricge** B C, and **Brygcge** D. Gibson shews it to be Bridgenorth, which place in his day was still known as 'Brigge.'

896. p 94 m. **stæl wyrðe**] The rendering 'captu dignæ' of Gibson is based on association with the verb 'to steal,' which is incongruous here. This **stæl** is identical with the German **Stelle**=*place, room, station:* and ships are **stælwyrðe** which are fit for their place, worthy of their post, seaworthy, serviceable. An analogous compound may be seen p 95 m, 'nytwyrðoste;' and in Boethius xl. 1, 'nytwyrþe.' The first English translation of this word is by Mr. Thorpe, who renders it by a later form of itself, *stalworth.* The only form of this word known to modern English is the Scottish (?) form *stalwart;* or it may be the alterate of *stealweard,* custos loci, the keeper and maintainer of the position.

I am indebted to my friend Mr. Baron for some excellent illustrations of this hitherto obscure word. Wiclif in Dan. viii. 24, "and his strengthe schal be maad stalworthe"=et roborabitur fortitudo ejus (Vulg.)—other instances in the Glossarial Index of the Oxford Edition. See also references in H. Coleridge's Glossarial Index, v. *stalward* and following words. Mr. Baron gives me **Stallworthy** as an existing surname.

Since the above was written, I have been surprised to find that Miss Gurney (1819) has here the palm over all the translators before or since. Thus: *And all that were serviceable they brought into London.*

897. p 95 h. **geðungnestan**] Again 905. In Mr. Wright's *Vocabularies,* p 47, "*Emeritus, provectus,* geþungen."

897. p 95 m. **unwealtran**] less liable to roll; *unwaltier* as we may say now, since Longfellow has restored the word to literature, in "The Phantom Ship" (1858):

> But Master Lamberton muttered,
> And under his breath said he,
> "This ship is so crank and *walty*
> I fear our grave she will be!"

D has here the very beautiful and interesting v. l. **untealtran**=*less tilty.*

897. p 95 m. **uter mere**]=*outer sea, open sea;* as opposed to the creek or æstuary. Chaucer, *Cant. Tales,* l. 15966, has "to thin utter eyen"—which is rendered in the margin of one of the MSS. "exterioribus oculis" (Tyrwhitt). Troil. iii. 665. "And I wol in that utter house alone."

897. p 96 h. **cynges geneat**] "Lye understands this as meaning 'the king's neat-herd;' but 'geneat' signifies a companion, and is probably the Saxon representative of the Latin *comes.*" (Stevenson) **Geneat** is the German genoſſen. In the Laws of Ine, § 19, the

**wergild** of a cynges geneat is 1200*s.*, the same as that of a cyninges þegen, and the high rank of the title is apparent here from the fact of particular mention. See Schmid, v. *geneat*.

897. p 96 m. **Wealh gefera**] Wealhgerefa B C D, which Kemble (Saxons, vol. ii. p 178) adopts, without noticing the reading of A. The same variation occurs on the previous page, line 4; where B C D read **wicgerefa**. Kemble thinks he was a royal reeve to whose care Ælfred's Welsh serfs were committed; and is not inclined to think that he was a margrave, commissioned to watch the Welsh border. I must think the reverse, as I know nothing about Ælfred's Welsh serfs, and as there is evidence that the Welsh border was continually under surveillance. The king of Mercia had been wont to keep guard along the line of Offa's Dyke. The property in that neighbourhood was subject to an impost for the maintenance of this guard. In 855, Burgred, king of Mercia, gave land to the monastery of Blockley in Worcestershire, adding to his gift an exemption *à pastu et refectione illorum hominum quos Saxonicè nominamus Walhfæreld* (Cod. Dipl. 278), by which I understand the patrolling *corps* on the Welsh border. The same body seems spoken of C 1053, p188 of this vol.: "ðæra weardmanna"=the ward-men who were slain by the Welsh near Westbury. Whether we read Wealhgefera or -gerefa, I understand the commander of this force, charged with the defence of the border; and I prefer **Wealhgefera** because of its correlativeness with **Walhfæreld**=*Wallica expeditio*. At a later period, the line was fortified with castles. We read of William Rufus in 1097, *he be þam gemæron castelas let gemakian*.

In a genuine charter of the eighth century, Cod. Dipl. 95, one **Alda** signs as **cinges gefera**.

901. "Albrit rex Giuoys moritur" (Annales Cambriæ), i. e. *rex Gewissorum*.

901. **Ða gerad** . . . . **Þa rad** . . . .] Here is a good place for observing a special use of the prepositive **ge-**. It has not unfrequently the force of turning an intransitive verb, such as 'to go,' 'to ride,' into a transitive 'to go and get,' 'to ride and win,' or 'to win by going, by riding &c.' So here, Æðelwald *rode and secured* the **ham** . . . ., and thereupon the king *rode* with the militia till &c.

A strong instance is **gewinnan** (1090)=to **win**; which sense, now so intimately identified with this root, is not in the simple verb **winnan** until compounded with **ge**. **Winnan** is to toil, fight, contend: **gewinnan** is to *get by* striving, fighting, contending; i. e. in one word, to **win**: cf. 685.

901. **Tweoxneam**] "hodie, ab æde Christo sacra, **Christ-**

**church**; olim, quod inter amnes interpositum, Twinamburne, eodem planè sensu quo Italiæ *Interamna*. Hæc *Camd.* in descriptione agri Hamtunensis. Certe vox Saxonica Tweoxnea[m] (quæ *duplicem fluvium* significat [rather, *inter fluvios*]) antiquo isti nomini optimè respondet, nec, meâ quidem opinione, alibi quærendus est hic locus. Quod etiam confirmat *Winburnæ* (agri Dorsætensis oppidi) vicinitas; hæc enim duo, parvo temporis intervallo, dicitur Æthelwaldus in suam potestatem redegisse." **Gibson.**

901. p 98. **Þa berad mon þæt wif**] *The lady was arrested suddenly by surprise* on the part of those who claimed her. Those who had *might* to capture or imprison a legal adversary were allowed under certain conditions the *right* of doing so, in the Laws of Alfred (42, § 1); and in this concession the verb **beridan** occurs as descriptive of the process that would be used.

905. **Crecca gelade**] **Crac-** B; **Creacc-** C; **Creocc-** D. Below 1016, it is by C spelt Cregelade; by E, Crælade; by F, Crecalade. Now *Cricklade*. All these are varying forms of the British **cerrig**= a stone.

917. **Hocneratune**] Hocenertune BC; Hocceneretune D. In Gough's Camden ii. p 14. this is identified with 'Hocknorton or Hokenorton' (Oxon), now written Hook Norton. "The large round barrows of Tadmerton were probably cast up on this occasion by the Danes, and the smaller (rather square) at Hocknorton by the Saxons."

918. **Lidwiccum**] Cf. 885 (p 84). A strange derivation of this name is given in a (doubtful) passage of Nennius xxiii: "Britones namque Armorici, qui ultra mare sunt, cum Maximo tyranno hinc in expeditionem exeuntes, quoniam redire nequiverant, occidentales partes Galliæ solo tenus vastaverunt nec mingentes ad parietem vivere reliquerunt: acceptisque eorum uxoribus et filiabus in conjugium, omnes earum linguas amputaverunt, ne eorum successio maternam linguam disceret; unde et nos illos vocamus in nostra lingua **Letewicion**, id est *semitacentes*, quoniam confusè loquuntur." Whatever this be worth, it illustrates Ethnic Names of the *βάρβαροι* type. See a collection of these in *Words and Places*, by Rev. Isaac Taylor, c. iv. Camden says: "Hæc regio primum *Armorica* dicta erat, i. ad mare sita, deinde Britanicè *Llydaw*, i. littoralis, Latinè *Letavia* apud nostros mediæ ætatis scriptores, unde Letos fuisse suspicor quos in Gallia nominat Zosimus, postremò *Britannia Minor* à Britannis nostris:" p 57. Ed. 1594. Is it possible that the corrupt 'Lemovices' in Cæsar's Catalogue of the Armorican States (B. G. vii. 75) may be our 'Lidwiccas' in disguise? Mr. Thorpe (Lappenberg,

vol. ii. p 95) thinks the form 'Lidwicingum' in 885 (C D), and in the Traveller's Song, would countenance a derivation from **lid**, *ship*, and **wicing**, *pirate*. It is not at all improbable that these words may have had an *after-influence* on the Saxon form of the name, in the way of what the Germans call Volksetymologie.

918. **be þam sæ**] Instead of **sæ**, B C D have **staðum**. The text of A appears imperfect as it stands; the intended expression was probably **be þam sæ riman**; as in p 95 m, and E 991, 994. We should hardly expect to find **sæ** masculine at this date, and even if the gender were not a difficulty, the expression is at best a strong solecism.

Of the word **staðum** we have a dative-singular, p 95 h, be þæm suðstaðe. The change of the inner vowel æ in the singular, and **a** in the plural, depends on the principles of what Grimm (Deutsche Grammatik, Bk. i) has named *Umlaut* and *Rückumlaut*. This fine point of orthography had vanished by the time of Laȝamon: "uppen Seuarne staþe," l. 7. And the word itself has quite dropped out of standard English. But it still retains a good local hold; see Halliwell's Archaic Dictionary, v. **Stathe**. In Aldhelm's Psalter xxii. 2 (our xxiii) it stands: And fedde me be wætera staðum.

918. **Cameleac**] Cimeliauc bishop of Llandaff. Stubbs, p 156.

**Ircinga felda**] "Fortasse ab *Ariconio* veteri oppido, cujus in hoc tractu meminit Antoninus, inquit *Camd.*" (Gibson). Ariconium seems to have been either at Ross or at Weston-under-Penyard, 2 m. from Ross. Was **Ircinga feld** an old name of the Forest of Dean or of an open tract at the north of it? The name implies an open wild or forest country, as in the Norwegian 'Dovre Fjeld;' and as in the 'fells' of Cumberland. The modern use of 'field,' *ager*, had not yet come in. The word for this was *æcer* (1130), as in German also Acker.

918. **pearruc**] This word is quite a curiosity, to appear here in an Englisc text of the tenth century. It is one of the few Keltic words which continued to hold a place in the language of the Anglo-Saxons. At their first occupation of the country they adopted many words from the older inhabitants. But these borrowings were local, and rarely came to the surface of general literature. This word lay for centuries in obscurity, till it came to light in the modern *park*. It still exists in spoken British. In French-Brittany it is the most common word for a small close or paddock near home. Also, in Devonshire, small fields near the farm-house are often named, Little-Park, Great-Park, Higher-Park, &c. See Halliwell's Archaic Dictionary, v. *Park*. The modern and grandiose use of the word *park*

is apt to mislead us, unless we observe the fundamental idea of a (little) inclosure of ground from the open country. The *inclosure* is the point in the text; the enemy once in it were as in a trap. There is an interesting parallel in Boethius xviii. 2, where the *comparatively* small area of the habitable world (*ἡ οἰκουμένη*) is dwelt on. In the previous chapter it was **swelce an lytel cafertun**= like a little court. But in cap. 2. it is **on ðisum lytlum pearroce.** I think Förstemann (Ortsnamen, p 83) is mistaken in identifying *Park* with ahd. *pferrich*, nhd. *pferch*=a hurdle, pen for cattle; except in so far as it may have got *blended* with the Keltic word.

918. p 104. **hæfde funden þæt**] effecerat ut. In the Lindisfarne Gospels, Matt. xiii. 22, efficitur=gefunden bið.

918. p 104. **ætswummon**] D has **oðswymman mihton.** The prepositional prefix **æt** bears here and in some other compounds the notion of *escape, exemption, deprivation;* they swam *away*, got away by swimming. So likewise **ætbregdan**; e. g. Sy ðam arleasan **ætbroden** seo gesihð Godes wuldres *is the rendering of* Tollatur impius ne videat gloriam Dei (*verbally thus:* Impio auferatur visio Dei gloriæ), Ælfric, Hom. i. p 300. — **ætberstan**: **ætfleon**: **ætwindan**: e. g. ætfleon ne mihte=could not escape, Joshua x. 35— in Job i. the repeated phrase, "and I only am escaped alone to tell thee," is thus variously rendered in the A. S. version; and ic ana **ætbærst** þæt ic þe þis cydde . . . . . ic ana **ætwand** . . . . . ic ana **ætfleah** (Thwaites, Hept. p 165). See also below in the Glossary, vv. *ætbærst, ætbræd.*

921. p 106 t. **Wiginga mere**] We must not stray across the country to fix this place, as Gibson does, at Wigmore in Herefordshire. Mr. Thorpe (*ap.* Flor.) says, "Supposed to be Waymere Castle, on a small island near Bishop's Stortford." This at least keeps to the right side of the map. Yet in his Index to the Saxon Chronicle, Mr. Thorpe has gone back to Wigmore in Herefordshire! If we consider the whole *list* of fortifications, which Eadweard established between 913 and 924, we see that they must be regarded as a *series*, and identified with one continuous line of country: Hertford, Witham (Essex), Buckingham, Bedford, Maldon, Towcester, *Wigingamere*, Huntingdon, Colchester, Stamford, Tamworth, Nottingham, Thelwall, Manchester, Nottingham (the south burg), Bakewell.

921. p 106 h. **hlafmæssan**] What the origin of this **hlaf** is, has puzzled many. Macpherson, in his Ed. of Wyntoun, conjectured that Lammas was curt for "S. Petri ad Vincu*la mass.*" This may seem too ingenious to be true, but there is no better explanation as yet. We do find this feast spoken of by the abbreviation of "Ad

Vincula," e. g. in Mr. Shirley's *Letters of the Reign of Hen. III.*, No. xxxiii: "nona die ante Ad Vincula." If this is the derivation, the H and F have come in on a false understanding, and the later form 'Lammas' is the better.

921. p 107 m. **wicinga . . . . . æsc manna**] Both translated *pirates* by Florence: "Quod Dani East-Angliam incolentes graviter ferentes, suamque injuriam ulcisci cupientes, cum *piratis* quos in auxilium sibi contraxerant ad Mældunam profecti sunt, et eam tamdiu obsidentes impugnabant, quoad Anglis de finitimis locis auxiliarii venissent; quos cum Dani adventare vidissent, ab urbis impugnatione recesserunt. Hoc viso, Angli illos magno impetu persecuti, multa millia et de *piratis* et de cæteris prostraverunt, reliquos verò fugaverunt."

921. p 107 m. **ge wrecan hira teonan**] suamque injuriam ulcisci cupientes, **Flor.** The phrase lived on into the fourteenth century—it is found in the Tale of Gamelyn, which is included in the Canterbury Tales in some editions, but which is somewhat older than Chaucer. "Gamelyn overtook the porter, and his teene wrak." Chaucer, Ed. R. Bell, vol. i. p 249.

921. p 107 l. **Passanhamme**] "Hodie **Pasham** in agro *Northamtunensi*," **Gibs.** But in A. K. Johnston's General Gazetteer (1850) it is "**Passenham**, 8 m. S.E. Towcester. It has an entrenchment, supposed to have been raised by Edward the Elder, to defend the passage of the Ouse against the Danes."

922. **Howel**] This is the favourite name in Welsh history, as Alfred in English. In the *Brut y Tywysogion* 948, he is described as *Howel da, vab Kadell, penn a molyant yr holl Vrytanyeit* = Howel the good, son of Cadell, chief and glory of all the Britons.

923. p 110. **on ufan hærfest**] 'late in the harvest,' Ingram: 'after harvest,' MHB: Florence has simply, autumnali tempore. I am inclined to believe that it means 'before harvest' or 'in the *early* part of the autumn.' The usual phrase for 'after harvest' would be 'ofer hærfest.'

924. **ægþer ge Englisce ge Denisce ge Norþmen ge oþre**] A peculiar interest attaches to this passage because it indicates that the terms '**Denisce**' and '**Norþmen**' were not equivalents. This feature has not been brought out by the translators with the distinctness which is due to it; save Gibson, who renders with fidelity, "sive Angli, sive Dani, sive Normanni, sive alii [quicunque]:"—*whether English or Danish or Northmen or others.*

937. p 114 t. **cread cnea ren flot**] This reading of A is corrupt, but the next MSS. give good help. See the foot-notes. I

would correct the passage thus: **cread cnear on flot,** i. e. he (the king) thrust out his bark on the deep; *crowded* his *knar a-float*; or, in modern nautical phrase, *shoved her off*.

The modern idea of *crowding* is *thronging*, ὄχλος—but at this date it was *thrusting onwards, driving forwards*, ποθέν ποι. In Cod. Exon. 384, 15, we have it in 3rd sing. pres. indic., þonne heáh geþring on cleofu crydeð = when the high swell dashes on the cliffs. In Norfolk and Suffolk they talk of *crowding* a wheel-barrow, or, as it is also called, a *crowd*-barrow. See Forby and Halliwell, *in voc.* This illustration must not give the word an ignoble aspect, for in early times it is found in dignified associations; as in the text. It occurs three times in Chaucer's Man of Lawes Tale, which is written in the grand style. It figures twice in one stanza containing a majestic apostrophe to the firmament, regarded astrologically as the ruthless engine of human destiny (Tyrwhitt's Ed. l. 4716; Ed. R. Bell, vol. ii. p 16):

> O firste moving cruel firmament,
> With thy diurnal swegh that *croudest* ay,
> And hurtlest al from Est till Occident,
> That naturally wold hold another way;
> Thy *crouding* set the heven in swiche array,
> At the beginning of this fierce viage,
> That cruel Mars hath slain this mariage.

Further on in the same tale (l. 5221, Ed. Tyrwhitt; p 33, Ed. R. Bell) we find a more exact parallel to our text:

> But in the same ship as he hir fond,
> Hire and hir yonge sone, and all hire gere,
> He shulde put, and *crowde* fro the londe,
> And charge hire, that she never eft come there.

**Cnear** occurs again on the next page in dat. pl. **cnearrum.** In both cases it is used of the ships of the Northmen; and in both places the errors of the scribes attest the strangeness of the word. In MS. D, 'nægled cnearrum' is transformed into 'dæggled on garum.' Icelandic **knörr** and also **knarri** = navis. See Mr. Dasent's Article in *Oxford Essays*. In a historian of the eleventh century we get the word in a Latin guise: Ordericus Vitalis, Lib. viii. c. 23, anno 1095, says: Quatuor naves magnæ quas **Canardos** vocant, de Northwegiâ in Angliam appulsæ sunt.

**Flot** is the right word here, and **flod** in the next line. The former regards the surface, and is represented by the modern *afloat*: the latter regards the aggregate of water, as still in *flood*.

937. p 115. **on dinges mere**] Wheloc: *in procelloso mari.*

But what is 'dinges?' It recalls the onomatopæia of *πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης*.

937. p 115. **Difelin secan**] Worsaae (in "Danes and Northmen," p 317) gives a List of Norsk Kings in Dublin, from Lindsay's "Coinage of Ireland," among which is "Anlaf, 934." In the Appendix to "Danes and Northmen" is figured a silver coin, which had before escaped notice, with the legend (as read by the author), "Oolaf i Divielin," i. e. "Olaf in Dublin." He decides that this coin was struck in Dublin in the tenth century. The chief positions of the Danish princes in Ireland, were Dublin, Limerick, and Waterford—the last a town of their own founding. Robertson's Church History, vol. i. p 430.

937. p 115. **saluwig padan**] Not in apposition to **hra** (as Thorpe), but of the raven. So in Cædmon, 1443 (p 87. Ed. Thorpe), **salwigfeðera** is used of the raven that Noah sent out of the ark. Compare a striking parallel in Judith, § 11:

| | |
|---|---|
| Þæs se hlanca gefeah | Thereof fain was the lank |
| wulf in walde, | wolf in the wold, |
| and se wanna hrefn | and the wan raven |
| wæl-gifre fugel; | carnage-fond fowl; |
| wistan begen | wist they both |
| þæt him ða þeod-guman | that the sons of men |
| þohton tilian | were minded to give them |
| fylle on fægum; | a spread of fate's victims; |
| ac him fleah on laste | next in their wake flew |
| earn ætes georn, | eagle corpse-eager, |
| urigfeðera | dew-be-gemmed |
| salowig pada | sable-robed |
| sang hilde leoð, | he sang battle-pæan, |
| hyrned nebba. | horny-cheeked. |

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**Saluwig-pad-an** means one that possesses (**-an**, *nom.* **-a**), a jacket (**pad**), which is dusky (**saluwig**).

The word **pad** appears in Anglo-Saxon nowhere out of composition, but its simple form is found in the kindred dialects. In Gothic it is **paida**, which occurs five times in the Gospels: also there appears a Gothic verb ga-paidon=*ἐνδύειν* in Ephesians vi. 14 (Loebe's Glossary to Ulfilas). Other dialectic forms are given in Grimm's Grammar, vol. iii. p 447; among the most interesting is that from the Heliand (a Gospel-Narrative in Old Saxon), in which **peda** is the word for the seamless *coat*.

942. **Dor**] No doubt the same as above 827, and it may safely be identified with Dore 5 m. from Sheffield. It was probably so called because it was the *door* or *entering in of* Northumbria from Mercia,

πύλαι. It is associated with "hwitan wylles geat" = Whitewell's gate; and not far from Dore we find Whitewell, and both of them on the verge of the shire. Indeed, this word **dor** seems to have been used as a common noun for a mountain pass, as we see in Cod. Dipl. 570 (p 79) that in a description of bounds a **dor** occurs between two brooks, "of secgbroce to ðan hean dore; of hean dore to brydbroce."

**scadeþ**] *divides*, i. e. the waters, and likewise the nations. It is from this word that we have the 'water-shed,' in the sense of a *line* of division. Physical Geography has lately brought this word forward out of its provincial obscurity. See Wilbraham's Cheshire Glossary, v. *Shed;* Miss Baker's Northants Glos. v. *Sheth.* In Wright's Vocabularies, p 183; discrimen, *shade of the here.* So in Jamieson, to *shed* hair, is to separate it so that it fall to either side.

942. **nyde gebegde**] Here we have a case of *transition* from the verb which was anciently established in this connection, to a substituted modern verb of proximate meaning. The old verb is preserved in B C D. Above 937ˣ, we have the old verb in A, but the genuine orthography is only found in B C D. The old verb is **gebædan** = *to compel*, from an obscure word **bad**, found only in the compound **nyd bad** = *exaction, toll, compulsory payment.* Cod. Dipl. 95; Schmid, v. *bad.* The verb is found so often with the adverb **nyde**, that **nydegebædan** might almost be regarded as a compound = *ἀναγκάζειν.* Grein, v. *gebædan.*

The new verb is *gebegan* = flectere, transitive of *gebugan* = to bow.

962. **man bryne**] Contrary to all the translators from Gibson downwards, who understand by this word an epidemic *fever*, I take it for a great and disastrous *fire* in London. In many places of Cædmon, *bryne* is *incendium;* see Bouterwek. And *færbryne* = terrible burning of the sun's heat, Cæd. 3001. Mân-bryne is a *bad* or *destructive* fire; according to the analogy of mân-bealo, malum perniciosum (Bouterwek).

One cannot but be struck with the singular parallelism between this annal and the events of A. D. 1665, 1666.

963. p 123 m. **messe hacel**] mass-hackle, i. e. mass-vestment, *cope.* In the West of England the word *hackle* is specially used of the conical straw roofing that is put over bee-hives. Also, of the "straw covering of the apex of a rick," says Mr. J. Yonge Akerman, *Glossary of Wiltshire Words*, v. Hackle.

963. p 123 l. And he macode fyrst þa wealle abutan þone mynstre. geaf hit þa to nama **Burch**. þe ær het Medeshamstede.]

Though the language here is of the twelfth century, yet this statement is apparently authentic. The great fortifying era in England had been initiated by Edward the son of Alfred. Fortified monasteries became common, and Peterborough was probably one of the earliest instances. Fortification changed the character and the moral aspect of the monastic institution, and the change of name was a natural consequence. The irregular cluster of humble edifices, which shewed like any other "*homestead*" of the open country, was now encircled with a *wall*, like one of the fenced cities. Henceforth it is no more *Medeshamstede* or the *Meadow-homestead;* but **Burh** or **Burch**, the garrison and capital of a dependent region. The fortified place became also the market-place of its district, and hence it reaped commercial advantages, direct and incidental. Laws of Edw. i. 1. Athelst. ii. 12. Cod. Dipl. 575.

963. p 123 *last line.* **and heold þa hwile þe he þær wæs**] *What* did he hold? Gibson's version is as follows: "easque devexit ad Burch, et consecravit omnes sancto Petro uno die, *retinuitque quamdiu ibi esset.*" The Mon. Hist. Brit. renders, *and observed it the while that he was there.* Mr. Thorpe, *and held it the while that he was there.* Plainly Gibson means that he retained possession of the forenamed *relics* of saints, and did not part with them. The MHB version is equally plain, that Abbot Ælfsi, in succeeding years, made a point of keeping the *day* of the Translation of the Relics as a high-day. Mr. Thorpe's rendering is verbal. Gibson's version appears to me preferable, both as most suitable to the language (as far as anything can be rested on it, where the construction is so lax, as throughout this piece), and also most apposite to the habits of the age in treating relics as merchandize. In adverse times, an embarrassed abbot made ready money of his relics, just as kings of Judah got out of their difficulties by cutting off the gold and silver of the Temple. Ælfsige was not a seller but a buyer of such treasures, when he met with impoverished abbots, as may be read below, anno 1013.

973. **on ðære ealdan byrig Acemannes ceastre**] I do not think this ancient name for Bath is rightly explained by reference to the sufferings alleviated by the Bath waters, *quasi* **ache**-manchester. **Ake-** seems to be simply a corruption of the Latin *Aquæ;* like *Aix*, *Ax*, *Dax* (=de aquis), and the German Aachen. Whether the next part **-man-** meant *homo*, appears to me highly doubtful. The genitive given to it in the tenth century ('-mannes') must not weigh much with us; any more than the uncritical form in Florence,

*Acamanni civitas.* In ancient British, **man** signified *place;* and this would make a suitable appendage here.

973. **sigora frean**] Cf. p 126 m, Sigora waldend. A good deal of doubt hangs over the interpretation of this word **sigora**. It seems to be a *gen. pl.*, but of what subst. is not clear. The phrase may mean either *lord of victors* or *lord of victories:* cf. Bouterwek, *Glossar,* vv. sigor *and* sigora.

978. **up floran**] "*Solarium,* up flor;" Semi-Saxon Vocabulary, Ed. Wright, p 93. Upflora; Ælfric Hom., Ed. Thorpe, vol. i. p 314: upfleringe, *id.* pp 296, 314.

979 E. **æt Corfes geate**] This subsequently slid into the acceptation of "the gate of Corfe Castle;" and hence the picture of the arched gateway, and the horseman stabbed while drinking. Gibson, though dissatisfied, could not mend the conventional rendering. He says, "Est autem **Corfe** castrum vetustum in medio Insulæ *Purbecke* dictæ, in agro *Dorsætensi;* cui 'geate' adjectum videtur indicare, Ælfritham Eadweardo Regi insidias struxisse in ipso castri vestibulo, sive via ad castrum ducente." It did not occur to him that there *was* no Castle there at that time. The name Corfes geat or Corf geat (F) signifies the singular cut or cleft in the line of chalk hills, wherein Corfe Castle has since been pitched, on a minor eminence. The 'geat' is a gate, not of art, but of nature; as above 942, 'hwitanwylles geat.'

982 C. **Sarcena**] This is not the earliest mention of the Saracens in Saxon literature. See Bede's E. H. v. 23, where the genitive plural is **Sarcina.**

991. **ƿ man geald ærest gafol Deniscan mannum**] This tallies exactly with the dates of Anglo-Saxon money found in Denmark and Sweden; in both which countries it has been exhumed in large quantities, but especially in Sweden. The dates range from Æðelred to Edward Conf.; and coins of some of the intermediate reigns have been found in Denmark and Sweden in larger numbers than in England. *Anglosachsiska Mynt i Svenska Kongl. Myntkabinettet* af Bror Emil Hildebrand. 4to., Stockholm, 1846.

992. **gif hi muhton þone here ahwær utene betræppan**] v. l. utan betreppan C D; gif man mihte betræppan þane here ahwar wiþutan F. Cf. Ælfrici Colloquium (Thorpe's Analecta, p 25), where the bird-catcher takes birds mid treppan=decipulâ. The project was to environ the hostile force by surprise. Florence says, "ut, si quo modo possent, Danorum exercitum in aliquo portu circumvallando comprehenderent." And Henry of Hunt-

ingdon, "rex Dacis insidias molitus est . . . . . ut interciperent Dacos."

**utene** is not to be joined with *ahwær=anywhere without* (Ingram), *anywhere abroad* (Thorpe), as if **utene** meant "out at sea," "out on their cruise," "out about the coasts"—but it goes almost into one word with **betræppan**=to take or catch the foe by surrounding him *on the outside*. **utene-betræppan**, or (better) **utan-betreppan**, is to *beleaguer*. Florence had the same Saxon before him as we have, and he renders it word for word fully and faithfully. ahwær=in aliquo portu : utene=circumvallando : betræppan =comprehenderent. MHB's "anywhere betrap the army about" is admirable. **utan** (*utene*) is ἔξωθεν, not ἔξω. See the Glossary, v. *utan*.

994. **and hi ahredde**] *and rescued them.* We retain this verb in our Bible; "*rid* me and deliver me out of great waters." Ps. cxliv. 7, 11, and lxxxii. 4.

994. **Æðelward ealdorman**] This is supposed to be the historian "Patricius Consul Fabius Quæstor Æthelwerdus." See MHB in Pref. p 81.

995. This Annal is prolonged in F as follows :—And Ælfric. Wiltunscire b'. wearð gecoren. on Easter dæi on Ambresbyri. fram Ægelred cinge. and fram eallen his witan. Ðes Ælfric was swyðe gewis mann. þet nas nan snottere man on Engla lande. Ða for Ælfric to his arcestol. and þa he þider com. he was underfange of þam hades mannum þe him ealra uneaðest was. þat was of clerican. And sona ef s . . ealla þa wisuste men he awar gecneow. and swylce æfter ealdan mannum. þa cuðan þat soðuste seggan hu ælc þing wearð on þis lande be heora yldran dagan. to eacan þan he sylf geleorned hæfde on bocan. and at wisen mannum. Him tealdan þa swyðe ealde menn. ægðer ge gehadode ge læwede. heora yldran heom tealdan hu hit was gelagod sona syþþan S. Augustinus to þisan lande com. Ða þa Augustinus þone b'. setl fenge hæfde on þare burh. þa was he arceb' ofer ealles þes cinges rice Ægelberhtes. swa hit ys geræd on Ystoria Anglorum . . . . ne setl wyrcan be þes cinges fultume on . . . . . ealdan Romaniscan wearde onginnon. sa . . . and forð to sprytanne. Of þam geferscipe wæran þa fyrmestan. Mellitus. Iustus. Paulinus. Rufianus. Be þysan sende se eadiga papa þone pallium. and þarto gewrit. and tacnunge. hu he b' halgian. and an hwylcum stowe on Britane hi settan scolde. And þam cinge Æ . . he sende gewrita. and manega woruldgiua of mistlicum þingum. And þa cyrican þe hi gegearcod hæfdan. he het halgian on Drihtnes naman hælendes Cristes. and sancta Marian. and himsylfum þar eardungstowe sette. and his æfter filigendum eallan. and þat he *scolde* þar innan settan þes ylcan hades menn þa he þeder to lande sende. and þa he sylf was. and eac þat ælc o*þer b. scolde beon mu*nec hades mann þe þone arb'stol gesæte an Cantwarebyri. and þat scolde beon æfre gehealden be Godes leafe and bletsunge. and be S. Petrus. and be ealra þa æfter him coman. Ða þeos sand angean com to Ægelberhte cinge. and to Agustine. hi wurðan swyðe bliðe þurh swilce wissunge. And se arb' þa halgode þat mynstre on Cristes naman and S. Marian *on þam* dage þe ys gecweden twegra martira mæssa dæi. Primi et Feliciani. and þar binnan munecas gelogode eal swa Sče

Gregorius bebeod. And hi Godes þeowdom clænlice beeodan. and man nam of þan ylcan munecan biscopas to gehwylcre *stowe*. swa þu ræddan miht on Ystoria Anglorum. Ða was Elfric arb' swyðe bliðe. þat he swa fela gewitnesse hæfde *þara þe* mihtan betst to þam timan wið þone cing. Gyt þa ylcan witan þe mid þan arb'. wæran cwædan. Ðus eal swa we *geteald* habbað þurh wunedan munecas on Cristes cyrican on Agustines dage. and on Laurenties. Mellites. Iustes. Honor*ies*. *Deus*dedit. Ðeodores. Brihtwoldes. Tatwines. Nothelmes. Cuthbertes. Bregwines. Ianbertes. Aðelhardes. Wulfredes. Felogild. Ac þes ea . . . geares. þa Ceolnoð com to þan arb'rice. wearð swylc mancwealm þat na belaf binnan Cristes cyrcan butan fif munecas. To eallan his timan. wearð gewinn and sorh on þysum lande. þat nan mann ne mihte þencan embe naht elles butan . . . . . Nu Gode þanc ys hit on þas cinges anwealda and on þynum hwæðer hi leng þar binnan lengre beon motan. forþon na mi*hte man* hi næfre ut bet bringan þonne man nu mai gif þas cing' willa is and þin. Se arb' þa butan ælcre lettinge mid eallan *þam wis*um mannum ferde anan to þam cinge. and cyddan him eall ealswa we her beforan tealdan. Ða wearð se cing swiðe bliðe þ*issere* tidunge. and cwæð to þam arb' and to þam oðran. Me þinð ræd þat þu ealra ærost fare to Rome æfter þinon *ærce and* þu þam papan cyðe eal þis. and syþþan be his ræde far. And hi ealle andswaredan þat þat was se betsta ræd. Ða *þa preostas* þis gehyrdan. þa ræddan hi. þat hi naman twegen of heom. and sendan to þam papan. and budon him mycelne garsuman and sealfer. wið þan þe he scolde gifan heom þone erce. Ac þa hi to Rome coman. þa nolde se papa naht þat don for hi ne brohtan nan gewrit. naðer na of þam cinge na of þan folce. and het hi faran loc whar hi woldon. Sona *swa* þa preostas þanon gecyrred wæron. com se arb' Ælfric to Rome. and se papa hine underfeng mid mycelan wurscipe. and het hine a morhgen mæssian at S. Petres weofode. and se papa sylf dyde on his agene pallium and hine swyðe wyrðede. Ða þis was gedon. se arb' ongan to tellende þam papan eal embe þa clericas. hu hit gefaran was. and hu hi binnan þan mynstre at his arb'rice wæran. And se papa him agean gerehte hu þa preostas to him cuman wæran. and mycelne gærsuman budan. for þi þat he scolde heom þone pallium gifan. Ac cwæð se papa. far nu to *Engla*lande angean. mid Godes bletsunge. and S. Petres. and minre. and swa þu ham cume. do into þinan mynstre þas *ylcan* hadesmenn. þe beatus Gregorius bebead Augustine þar inne to londe. be Godes bebode. and S. Petres. and minre. Se arcebisceop þa mid þysan gecyrde to Englalande. Sona swa he ham com. he gesæt his arb'stol. and siþþan to þan *cinge* ferde. and se cing and ealle his leode Gode þancode his angeancumes and þat he swa geærndod swa þan ealra leofuste wes. He þa eft to Cantwarebiri ferde and þa clericas ut of þam mynstre adraf. and þar binnan munecas sette. eal swa se papa him bebeod.

Iste fuit prudens valde, ita ut illo in tempore nullus sapientior haberetur in Anglia. Recedente itaque inde rege, Ælfricus pergit Doroberniam. Ubi cum venisset, receptus est, a tali ordine clericorum, a quo minus vellet. Cogitavit igitur et multum secum tractans, quali modo possit eicere eos, quos sciebat in Ecclesia Christi injuste mansisse. Ut supra diximus, valde fuit prudens, et ecclesiasticis disciplinis plurimum instructus. Itaque præcepit congregari omnes quos sciebat prudentiores per totam Angliam, et maxime senes. Ad quem cum pro reverentia viri *festina*nter venissent, requisivit ab eis si quid aut ipsi a suis antecessoribus de Ecclesia Christi Cantiæ audissent, aut ipsi in aliquo loco *legi*ssent, quis ordo in prædicta ecclesia Deo servire debuisset, clericorum aut monachorum, aut quis eo tempore postquam Augustinus Angliam ingresset, ibi locatus esset in initio. Ipse vero multa a multis antea inde audivit, et in libris legit. Tunc

seniores et prudentiores narraverunt ei, quod inde a suis patribus audissent. Postquam Deus, inquiunt, per beatum Augustinum aperuit cor regis Ædelberti ad suscipiendam fidem Christi, ipse Augustinus elegit sibi sedem in civitate Dorobernia *quæ e*rat caput totius regni Ædelberti regis, ubi invenit quoddam opus inceptum Romano opere, quod auxiliante rege statuit perficere. Quod dum perfectum *esset* rex Ægelbertus cœpit consilium quærere ab Augustino et a cæteris consiliariis suis, quem ordinem monachorum vel clericorum convenientius in illa ecclesia *ad* serviendum Deo constituere potuisset. Qui omnes dederunt consilium, ut rex ex sua parte mitteret nuntios suos, et Augustinus monachos suos cum nuntiis regis Romæ, ad papam Gregorium, et ejus consilio sicut antea idem Augustinus venit in Angliam, ita et ecclesia jam nominata dedica*retur* et ordinaretur. Quod et factum est. Nam rex statim paratis nuntiis suis, misit Romæ, et Augustinus nichilominus suos. Cum autem venissent ad papam, et nuntias*sent* quod Angli suscepissent fidem Christi, gavisus est valde. Auditis itaque omnibus quæ a rege et Augustino mandata fuerant, statim remisit nuntios, cum quibus hos viros misit Augustino ut essent ei in adjutorium ad fidem Christi confirmandam ; Mellitum, Justum, Paulinum, Rufinianum. Per istos etiam misit Augustino pallium, *atque* in quo loco deberet episcopos co-ordinare, et ponere mandavit ; ecclesiam quoque quam fecerat in honorem Jhesu Christi, et S. Mariæ matris ejus, præcepit dedi*cari, ejus*demque ordinis quo ipse Augustinus, et alii quos ipse sibi misit, erant, in eadem ecclesia ad serviendum Deo ponere, sibique ibidem sedem archiepiscopalem et omnibus suc*cessoribus* suis statuere, omnesque archiepiscopos sibi succedentes monachos esse debere, ex parte Dei viventis, et beati Petri, et ex sua, et omnium suc*cess*orum præcepit. Cum autem nuntii reversi, venissent ad regem, et ad Augustinum, gaudio maximo repleti sunt pro tali mandato. Tunc Augustinus festinanter *dedicavit* ecclesiam illo die quo festum sanctorum Primi et Feliciani, v. Idus Junii, habetur, posuitque in ea monachos sicut papa mandavit ; et ex ipsis ordinabantur episcopi per Angliam *sicut* ipse legisti in Ystoria Anglorum. Itaque cum ista Ælfricus archiepiscopus audisset, et tales testes habuisset, qui illo tempore maxime in consilio regis erant, gaudio repletus est. Addiderunt adhuc prædicti viri : Ita sicut diximus, permanserunt monachi in ecclesia Christi Cantuariæ, tempore Augustini, Laurentii, Melliti, Justi, *Hono*rii, Deusdedit, Theodorii, Brihtwaldi, Tatwini, Nothelmi, Cuthberti, Bregwini, Janberti, Athelhardi, Wulfredi, Feologildi. Illo vero primo anno *quo* Chelnodus suscepit archiepiscopatum Cantiæ tanta mortalitas facta est, ut in Ecclesia Christi non remanerent nisi v. monachi, et ideo pro tali necessitate idem C. archiepiscopus accepit de *clericis* suis presbiteros, qui quousque restauraret ecclesiam monachis, juvarent paucos monachos qui remanserunt. Nunc autem est in potestate regis et tua, si diutius vultis ut ibi clerici . . maneant, quia postquam pro tali necessitate ibi positi sunt, non potuerunt levius eici quam modo. Tunc archiepiscopus cum magna festinatione cum his omnibus quos secum ibi habebat, perrexit ad regem Ægelbertum, et indicavit ei per ordinem hæc omnia. Tunc dixit accepto consilio rex : Hoc videtur mihi melius consilium, ut eatis Romæ pro pallio vestro, et indicetis apostolico omnia, et secundum suum consilium per omnia fieri concedo. Dixerunt omnes optimum esse consilium regis. Archiepiscopus autem paratis rebus suis perrexit Romam. Statim vero ut clerici audierunt consilium regis, paraverunt duos ex ipsis qui irent Romæ, portantes secum multum auri et argenti, quod darent papæ pro pallio. Sed nuntii archiepiscopi præcesserunt. Nam cum clerici pervenerunt ad papam, respondit se nolle illorum verba suscipere, quia nullum signum nec a rege nec a populo terræ secum haberent. Discedentibus clericis, venit archiepiscopus ad

papam, qui suscepit eum cum magno honore. In crastino fecit eum celebrare missam ad altare beati Petri, et ipse imposuit ei proprium pallium suum. Cum hæc ita facta essent, archiepiscopus cœpit dicere papæ de clericis, et de Ecclesia Christi sicut supradictum est, et papa ei de clericis quomodo venerint ad eum, et quod obtulerunt sibi magnam pecuniam pro pallio; et adjecit papa: Redite in Angliam cum benedictione Dei, et Sancti Petri, et in ecclesia tibi commendata, ejusdem ordinis in ea ponite quem papa Gregorius Augustino præcepit, et hoc tibi præcipio ex parte Dei et beati Petri, et nostra. Tunc archiepiscopus ita rediit. Cum autem revertisset in Angliam, statim adiit ecclesiam suam, et post adiit regem, et lætatus est rex, et omnis Anglia, *de* reditu suo et quod omnia secundum voluntatem regis peregit. Post hæc reversus ad sedem suam, et ejectis clericis, locavit ecclesiam monachis sicut papa illum imperaverat, secundum quod B. *Gregorius* præcepit Augustino facere in primordio ecclesiæ. *F Lat.*

997. **Penwiht steort**] steort, *tail*, is the Saxon addition. The Keltic name is represented by Penwiht, which C gives Penwiþ, and D **Penwæd**. The latter appears nearest to the Welsh, from the following passage of the Brut y Tywysogion: "King Henry collected an army against Gwynedd and Powys *o'r van eithiaf o Gyrnyw lle gelwir* **Pengwayd**, *hyt y vann eithiaf o Brydyn lle gelwir Penblathaon;*" i. e. from the land's end of Cornwall, which is called Pengwayd, to the land's end of Prydyn, which is called Penblathaon.

1001. **Tegntun**] Locus in agro *Devoniensi*; . . . . sed è pluribus in isto agro hujus appellationis locis, quis sit nescio (Gibson). One among many instances of his scrupulous fidelity. His successors, Ingram and MHB, retained the name unaltered in their translation; but Mr. Thorpe has tacitly given it as Teignmouth, first in his Translation of Lappenberg (vol. ii. p 162), and since in his Edition of the Chronicles for the Master of the Rolls. Both name and site speak for Kingsteignton, three miles up the estuary of the Teign.

**Peon hó**] Now *Pinho*, three miles N. E. of Exeter, and a favourite walk with residents of the western capital. It is near the Clists, one of which is here indicated by the name 'Glistune.'

The composition of the name **Peon ho** is tautological; the latter being a Saxon translation of the former part, which is British. Gibson (strangely) confounded it with æt **Peonnum**, 658.

1003. **gebræd he hine seocne**] *feigned he himself sick:* cf. Laȝamon, vol. i. p 284, þe king hine breid seac.

1004. **ac hi abruðon þa ðe he to þohte**] "but they in whom he trusted failed to do it," MHB; "but they whom he trusted in failed him," Thorpe. This passage may help to justify the reading of the manuscript of Laȝamon (vol. i. p 82. Ed. Madden):

al heo tileden
ase heo to þohten

=*they tilled whatever they set their minds on*—where the Editor has

suggested an emendation. In Ælfric Hom. vol. i. p 268, ac we sceolon biddan þ God us gescylde, þ we ne abreoðon on ðære fandunge=but we must pray that God would shield us, that we fail not in the trial: *mox*, swa he oftor on ðære fandunge abryð, swa he forcuðra bið=the oftener he fail in trial, the more desperate he will be. Below 1101, æt þære neode abruðon.

**abruðon** is the pl. pret. of **abreóðan**, well illustrated by Grein, *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie*, Glossar s. v.

1006. p 140 m. **Ða hit winterleohte**] winterlæhte C D. *When it became winterly or winterish.* This verb seems to be formed from an adj. **winterlic**; **sumorlæcan** from sumorlic, &c. So in OHG, **nalihhon, ga-ebanlichon** are ranged by Graff under **Lih**=*similis*. But æ does not often present itself as an alterate of i; and Grimm is embarrassed by the unconformability of the verbs in -læcan. Deutsche Grammatik, vol. ii. pp 119 and 283.

The following list is taken from the first volume of the Homilies of Ælfric (Ed. Thorpe):

| | |
|---|---|
| ge-anlæhte . . . . . | page 318. |
| ge-cneordlæcende . . . . | 436. |
| ge-cuðlæhte . . . . . | 388; cf. Laȝamon, vol. iii. p 492. |
| ge-dyrstlæcð . . . . . | 456. |
| ge-edlæhte . . . . . | 28, 296. |
| efenlæcendra . . . . . | 396. |
| ge-ferlæhte . . . . . | 132, 414, 494, 496, 532, 544. |
| ge-lomlæcendum . . . . | 578, 614. |
| nealæcan . . . . . | 584. |
| ge-rihtlæcon . . . . . | 494, 578, 618. |
| sumorlæhð . . . . . | 614. |
| ge-þwærlæcð . . . . . | 518, 548, 616, 700. |

To this list may be added from the Vocabularies (Ed. Wright, p 54), "Venusto, ic cyrtenlæce:" cf. Ettmüller's Lex. p 386. Also, geþryst l[æhte] in the fragment of Zosimas, p 104, l. 17, in the Appendix to my Swiðhun. Ettmüller (Lex. p 184) gives wiðerlæcan=*privare;* but I cannot verify his reference.

1006. p 140 m. **to his fryð stole to Wihtlande**] C D omit the second **to**; F has, to his friþ stole into Wiht; *ad Asylum nempe Vectam* (Gibson). A metaphorical use of **friðstol** is found also in the Paris Psalter, Ps. lxxxix. 1, xciii. 21: and of **friðstow**, Ps. xvii. 1; where the Latin version has, in all three cases, *refugium*. The literal friðstol was a seat in a privileged 'sanctuary.' "In several English churches there was a stone seat beside the altar, for those who fled to the peace of the church. One of these still remains at Beverley, another at Hexham. To violate the protection of the

friðstol was not to be compensated by a pecuniary penalty; it was *bot-leas*." Prof. Cosmo Innes, *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, p 195. The **friðstol** in Hexham Abbey would grace a more advanced position—if one may criticise arrangements which appear to be ruled by good taste and good feeling.

1006. p 140 m. **to heora garwan feorme**] There is a bitter pleasantry about this, of which the point is, that the pirates regarded the well-stored farms of Berkshire and Hampshire as so much provisions laid up for their own winter entertainment. It is not easy to devise a modern form of words which shall reflect the spirit here manifested—it is somewhat of this kind: *at Christmas they made a progress to those hospitable quarters where they knew they were always welcome.*

1006. p 140 m. **Cwicchelmes hlæwe**] E. S. E. of Wantage is "Cuckhamsley Hill or Cuchinslow, a large barrow on a wide plain overlooking White Horse Vale." Gough's *Camden*, i. 225. In Cod. Dipl. 693, we have a scirgemot æt **Cwicelmes hlæwe**.

**beotra gylpa**] This would have been in the text of E but for an accidental omission, which has been supplied in the foot-note from C. It is a genuine Saxon idiom=*out of insolent bravado.* It is a sort of genitive absolute, a good example of which may be seen in a Charter communicated by the late Mr. Kemble to the Archæological Journal, No. 53 (1857), p 60; **ungebetra þinga**=*without having mended matters.*

**and sona þet wærod on fleame gebrohtan**] ⁊ hi ðar þ Englisce folc a fleame brohtan F.

**rancne**] prutne F.

1008. This tantalizing annal prompts a conjecture that the annalist had access to public accounts which he cared little to understand, and contented himself by making a hasty extract. The formality of the paragraph, with its *videlicet* (þ is þonne)—the ἅπαξ λεγόμενον **sceg**ð—the allusion in the next annal to *books* which can hardly mean published books—might thus be accounted for.

In this rating of land for raising a navy, the numbers are so unconformable to the statistical numbers preserved elsewhere, and so incommensurate with each other, that they must be received with suspicion. All the texts agree, except D, which, of all extant texts, is probably the nearest to the source. In the confusion of the text of D, may possibly be found materials for a future emendation.

But, taken at its worst, the annal is rich in interest. We learn the curious fact, that it was incumbent on each of the landed subdivisions, to provide the king with a ship and its armour. The

government did not levy ship-money, but required each county to find its quota of ships. This would apply as well to the inland districts, as to those on the sea-bord. And here we find the explanation of an otherwise inexplicable bequest of good Abp. Ælfric, who died two years before this date. He gave one ship to the folk of Kent, and one to Wiltshire. The will is in Cod. Dipl. 716. Doubtless, in each of the cases, the bequest was intended as an alleviation of the heavy imposts under which the people groaned. His gift being to the shire, is an argument that the assessment was by shires. It appears to me probable that each shire had to furnish one ship for every three **Hundreds** contained in the shire. Thus a shire containing thirty Hundreds would have to furnish ten ships. (Accordingly, D may be right: of þrym hund scipum: ?=of three Hundreds, Hundertſchaften.) This burden would fall upon the whole body of the people, according to their rating. But the wealthy landowners had a special burden besides. He who had property up to or over the extent of ten hides, would have to furnish a **sceg**ð—and every thane under ten hides, had to furnish a helmet and breastplate.

**feastlice**] fæstlice C D; *intentè* Flor.

**sceg**ð] Wright's Vocabularies, p 47, *Scapha vel trieris*, litel scip *vel* sceigð; p 56, *Trieris* sceið; p 63, *Trieris* scægð. See Schmid, Glos. v. Sceiðman; and Cod. Dipl. 755, Winsig scægðman. This word appears to have been borrowed from the Northmen: Skeið, *navis cursoria*, Egilsson.

1009. p 143. **lencten**] Here it is seen by the relation in which *Lencten* stands to *Winter*, that the original sense is not *Lent*, but Spring; as *Lenz*, still used in poetic German:

> Und Lenz wird kommen,
> Und Winter wird gehn.
> Wilhelm Müller's "Trockne Blumen."

And this is the sense in which it entered into 'Lent-lilies,' Old English (now provincial) for daffodils.

In like manner **hærfest** originally meant *autumn*, like the German **Herbst**.

1011. p 145. **þ wæs unasecgendlic ænigum menn**] *inenarrabile verò cuiquam* (Gibson); *it was impossible for any men* [man] *to say* (Ingram).

**ræpling**] This rare word occurs but this once in the Saxon Chronicles. It is found in Genesis xxxix. 20; Ps. lxviii. 38, Ed. Spelman: in both cases of prisoners, *vincti*. Above in the same page is **ræpton** from **ræpan**=ζωγρεῖν, they seized, took captive. See the family of words in Ettm. p 267, who connects it with **rap**,

*rope.* Henry of Huntingdon has caught up the sound of this lament: Videres autem spectaculum horrendum, faciem urbis antiquæ et pulcherrimæ totam in cineres redactam, . . . . . caput fidei fontemque doctrinæ Anglorum *vinculis mancipatum* opprobriose pertrahi.

1012. **hryðera**] "Horned beasts are still designated in Dorset, and in other parts of England, *Rother Cattle;* likewise in Stat. 3 and 4 Edw. vi. c. 19, mention is made of 'Rother beastes, as oxen, steres, noutes, kyen, heighfers and calves.' Piers Ploughman describes the husbandman driving his team of *foure rotheren.*" Archæological Journal, 1860, p 157.

1012. **and his halige blod on ða eorðan feoll**] Elphege was martyred at Greenwich, whither he had been conveyed from Canterbury by Sandwich. An old triforium window in the north choir aisle of Canterbury Cathedral represents, in three compartments, the story of Elphege: 1. The siege; 2. The embarking at Sandwich; 3. The martyrdom at Greenwich, when Thrum, whom the Abp. had baptized, put him out of pain by a blow of his axe (*'impietate piâ'*).

Elphege is buried in the Cathedral at Canterbury on the N. side of the ascent of steps towards the high altar, under the spot where now is the altar-tomb of the late Archbishop Hooley. Opposite to Elphege, at the other end of the same steps, is the resting-place of Dunstan, where are still remains of the fret-work of his shrine. In the midst of the ascent is the site of the grave of Odo, predecessor of Dunstan.

The scene of the martyrdom was Greenwich, and probably the very site on which Greenwich church stands;—they would no doubt have wished to plant the church on the identical spot, and would have taken pains to ascertain it. The church is dedicated to St. Ælfheah. See Osborn's Life of Alphege in Anglia Sacra 147; also Acta Sanctorum, Ap. 19 and 21.

1013. p 149. **byre**] Only this once in the Chronicles. It is not 'time,' so much as *favourable circumstance, occasion, opportunity,* καιρός. The word seems to be at home in the North, where **byrr** is *ventus secundus* (Egilsson), and analogous in its derivative meanings to οὖρος. Connected with this is the Norsk impers. verb **mer byrjar,** *me decet;* and the corresponding Saxon **hit gebyraþ,** *it is seasonable, appropriate.* The only other case of **byre,** which I find in Saxon, is in the Lay of Byrhtnoð 121, Ed. Grein: Thorpe's Analecta, p 135, þa he byre hæfde=when he had opportunity.

1014. **Candel mæssan**] The Purification, February 2. For the history of this Festival, which is not one of the ancient ones, but traced back only to the times of Justin or Justinian, sixth century,

see Suicer, v. Ὑπαπαντή: Bingham. Bp. Sparrow, *A Rationale of the Book of Common Prayer*, quotes S. Bernard for the Procession and Candles. This last feature has stamped the day in several modern languages; in French, *La Fête de la Chandeleur*. And in Swedish I find *kyndilmässo* (Bonaventuras Betraktelser, cap. 10).

1016. **Crœcilade**] Above 905, in the older form, **Crecca gelade**. The second part is **lad, gelad**, a ford or ferry, a passage of a river. It is seen in the sister-name of Lechlade, and other names in Gloucestershire, as S. Mary Lode, Abload, Evenlode, Framilode. The first part, which is now shrunk up to **Crick-**, is probably **Cerrig**, the British word for *stone*, which is still an important element in names, not only in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, but also in England and France. In Ireland the common form is Carrick, e. g. Carrick-fergus &c., also Creagh; in Scotland, Craig, e. g. Craigmillar &c., or Craw, as Crawford; in Wales, Cerrig, Craig, Crick, e. g. Crick-howel (i. e. Howel's stone) &c. In England we have Crichton, Crick House, Craik (Co. Durham), repeated instances of Crawley, Cray, Creake, which occur in divers counties. In France there is "La Crau" near Arles, which is the Λιθῶδες or Stony Plain of Strabo iv. 7. Camden was the first to point out this derivation: . . . "Gallis hodie *la Craux* dicitur. Nominis tamen rationem nesciunt, at lapides *Craig* Britannica lingua nominantur."

1016. p 154. **eall be westan**] This phrase filled out full, would stand thus—"**be westan dæle**;" and Gibson has rendered it excellently, *per plagam occidentalem*. Of the English translators, none has surpassed Ingram's "all by west"—the later version of MHB and Thorpe, "all to the west," being no improvement.

1016. p 155. **Georius**] Georgius C D; Georgies F. Concerning S. George, an Anglo-Saxon Poem of about this date, or a little later, was edited by Mr. Hardwick for the Percy Society, 1850. The Preface shews that this Saint was well known in Saxon times, and that his celebrity did not rise out of the Crusades. But his quality of Patron-Saint of England does date from that period.

1016. p 155. **gan dagum**] So D; C and F have the usual form **gang dagum**. The Rogation days before Ascension Day, in which litanies were sung in procession round the fields. The petition of the litanies was for the *kindly fruits of the earth*. This is the *going* to which the etymology of the word points. A faint image of the procession still survives in the annual custom of beating the parish bounds at this season.

1016. p 156. **æt Sceorstane**] ". . . . *in Wiccia, in loco qui* Scearstan *nominatur*, Flor.; i. e. (interprete Camdeno) *Comitatus lapis*.

Putatur enim lapis esse terminalis qui quatuor Comitatus, *Oxoniensem, Glocestrensem, Wigorniensem, et Warwicensem* distinguit" (Gibson). Mr. Thorpe *ap.* Flor. Wigorn. *ad loc.* has an ingenious method for bringing about an identification of this place with Chimney in Oxfordshire.

1016 C. p 158. **Dær ahte Cnut sige. and gefeht him ealle Englaþeode**]=*There Knut was victorious and conquered all the English nation.* In D it stands 'gefeaht him *wiþ* ealle,'—to the confusion of the sense. A new hand begins at 'gefeaht' in the middle of the sentence, and hence probably the error.

1016. p 159. **and þa cyningas comon togædere æt Olanige**] Here the manuscript D has a noticeable amplification: **æt Olanige. wiþ Deorhyrste. and wurdon feolagan and wedbroðra. and þæt gefæstnodon &c.** The locality is still more distinctly indicated by Florence: . . . *ambo reges, ad locum qui Deorhyrst nominatur, in unum convenerunt: Eadmundus cum suis in occidentali ripâ Sabrinæ, Canutus verò in orientali cum suis consedit. Dein uterque rex in insulam quæ Olanege appellatur, et est in ipsius fluminis medio sita, trabariis advehitur; ubi pace amicitia fraternitate, et pacto et sacramentis confirmata, regnum dividitur.* Gibson says, "Hodie The Eight, insula in agro Glocestrensi, quam Sabrinæ fluminis aquæ sese diffundentes efficiunt." There is hardly any doubt that it is *Alney Island*, close to the city of Gloucester; whether this be *The Eight* of Gibson or not. Either the description "near Deerhyrst" must be a mistake, or "Deerhyrst" must be other than the place of that name near Tewksbury. The MS. D and Florence are too nearly allied to strengthen each other's statement.

This meeting of Cnut and Edmund is represented as a *duel* by a great majority of later historians. Sharon Turner gives the following list of authorities for the duel: Henry of Huntingdon; Matthew of Westminster; The Peterborough Chronicle, *ap.* Sparke; Knyghton; Brompton; Higden; Rieval; Radulf Niger (MS. Vesp. D. 10, p 25); *Anglo-Saxon History*, vol. iii. p 267, note 13. In Malmesbury and the *Encomium Emmæ*, Cnut is said to have declined battle. The following authorities make no mention of duel or challenge: Saxon Chronicles; Florence; Simeon of Durham; Hoveden; Knytlinga Saga.

It became in the course of time one of the established sensation scenes of History. Speed, Baker, and Grafton describe the wager of battle circumstantially, with stand-up speeches, after the manner of the early books of Livy. Camden adopts the Monomachia. Hume does not notice it. Turner relates it with a precise comparison

of authorities. Lingard introduces it guardedly thus: "To account for the final success of Canute, it was said that the two kings fought in single combat in the Isle of Olney, &c. &c."

The question was elaborately stated and examined by Mr. Hogg in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, vol. v., New Series; and the conclusion was in favour of the Single Combat. This view is moreover supported by the Rev. S. Lysons of Hempsted Court, the Archæologist of Gloucestershire, to whom I am indebted for many curious particulars in illustration of the locality.

The name of the island in which the kings met, is found in a late historian spelt **Holenghege**, and this has seemed to countenance the combat view. The Northmen had a custom, when great issues were to be decided by single combat, to choose for the arena a river-island, to which the principals repaired, accompanied only by their seconds, while the other supporters waited the event on the opposite banks. This was called **Holm-gang**, *Island-going*. Mr. Hogg and others, who support the combat view, see in the late form **Holenghege** some touch of this Holm-gang. But it is really only an aspirated form of spelling **Olanige** or **Alney**.

Another circumstance has been urged as bearing upon the question. The strand of the Severn, opposite to the Island, is now called *Coggins*, and was *temp.* Edw. I. known as *Cockayne;* a word which Du Cange renders *querelle, disputation, contention.* But perhaps this spot, which lay between the Castle of Gloucester and the river, was the public exercising ground, and thus the continual scene of an *emulative* 'contention.' (But cf. Mr. Lysons in Gent. Mag., June 1861, p 631.)

It appears to me that the combat owes its existence in history to a single expression in the Saxon Chronicles, viz. **comon togædere.** There is no doubt from the context that the intention of the Saxon Chronicler is to relate an amicable conference. But in employing the words **comon togædere** he inadvertently gave occasion for a misunderstanding, inasmuch as this is *also* used (like ὁμόσε ἰέναι) of hostile meetings: cf. 992, 1001, p 158. Orosius, p 416. Ed. Thorpe: iv. 10. § 2. Ed. Bosworth. In the Coke's Tale of Gamelyn, l. 236, "Whan Gamelyn and the champioun togider gon to goon."

1021*. D *alone adds*, And Ælfgar b'. se ælmes fulla forð ferde on Cristes mæsse uhtan.

1022. swa se papa him tæhte] *instructed* can hardly be the word for this place, as the later translators have rendered it. It sounds too much like partisanship in the judge.

Better follow Gibson: "et ipsum ab omni crimine purgavit, cujus

(ut à Papa didicerat) fuerat insimulatus; testante Archiepiscopo, et toto comitatu qui apud eum aderat."

But this is not satisfactory. The word **tæhte**, if it signify any help that Leofwine obtained from the Pope, it can only be help in the way of *directions* as to the requisite process for his clearance. We should thus say, "as the Pope *directed* or *enjoined* him." And this sense seems to be borne out by Cod. Dipl. 693, where the word is thus used once if not twice. The only other possible meaning seemed to be "as the Pope pronounced to him, in the presence of &c.," viz. that he had successfully cleared himself.

1025. **to þā holme æt ea þære halgan**] The river-name "**Helge-Aa**" is here translated, "*at the holy river.*" This river is *now* in Sweden, with the town of Christianstad on one of its lakes. But it was *then* the boundary between Sweden and the Danish possessions, and was accordingly liable to witness conflicts between Danish and Swedish leaders.

But the accuracy of this record has been questioned because of a more famous disaster for Cnut which took place two years later than this date. In 1027 king Olaf of Norway discomfited Cnut's navy by an ingenious stratagem at the river "Helge-Aa." The similarity between the two events has led to the suspicion that they have grown out of one. Yet there are some distinct features in this entry, which speak for its genuineness. There is the 'holm,' and the names of the leaders on the Swedish side, Ulf and Eglaf, which Munch finds agreeable to the Swedish history of the time. This is not "Ulf Iarl," brother-in-law of Cnut—but Ulf and Eglaf were two sons of Ragnvald Iarl, who had been in the service of the king of Sweden. Munch's *Norske Folk's Historie*, vol. ii. pp 733–735.

1028. **ge ahnode him þet lande**] *vindicated to himself that land*, made good his claims. This is the proper meaning of the verb; see apposite quotations in Schmid, Glos. vv. agnian, agnung: Grein, vv. agnian, geagnian. Cf. Cod. Dipl. 693. Cnut had hereditary claims to the sovereignty of Norway.

1031 A. **Her com Cnut agan**] Cf. Luke xix. 15.

1036 C. **hættode**] ? *scalped:* it can hardly be *flayed?* cute capitis abstractâ, Flor. In Cnut's Laws, repeated theft is punishable by certain mutilations, and among these **hættian**, a word which Grimm did not know and would have altered: cf. Schmid, v. *hættian* and v. *Strafen*. His quotation from Cod. Colb. leaves little room for doubt: corium capitis cum capillis (auferatur) quod Angli dicunt *behættie*. It would be connected with Germ. *haut*=skin; our *hide*.

1036. p 165. **ongean wealcan**] *contra moliri;* as Ettm. Lex. p 78, who prints the two words in one, as a compound. The old High German preserves the elementary idea of this word in **Walkan** =volvere, q. v. in Graff. Above, p 95 m, unwealtran=unrolling-er, is from a collateral form, with T instead of C. In Ælfric's Homilies, vol. i. p 448 m, **weolc** the preterite, in the transferred sense of *revolving* in the mind. Here it is of bringing a powerful agitation to bear on a political question, for which the word was well prepared by the familiar phrase, **yða gewealc,** *fluctuum volutatio,* the rolling swell of the waves. See *reff.* in Bouterwek, Glos. Cædm. To the same effect F says, *Godwine eorl and ealle ða betstan men on Westsexan wiðcwædon. ac hi naht ne gespeddan. and he was þa fullice cing ofer eal Englaland.*

1036. **Englalandes * * him and his broðer**] Though the MS. shews no lacuna here, there is reason to suspect one. Malmesbury's text is here akin to ours, and he supplies the sentence of which we have only the latter end in E: "Angli diu obstiterunt; magis unum ex filiis Ethelredi, qui in Normannia morabatur, vel Hardecnutum filium Cnutonis ex Emma, qui tunc in Denemarchiâ erat, regem habere volentes."

1039. **hamulan . . . . hamelan**] This being a dative feminine, the nom. must be **hamule, hamele;** at first perhaps signifying a *rowlock-strap,* and so symbolizing some subdivision of the crew. There is not money enough to give eight marcs to every rower. Cf. Ettm. p 466. Egilsson, v. *Hamla.*

1040. **of weallande**] from abroad, from foreign parts, from exile. See note, page 65, and below on 1048, p 178 m.

1046. p 173. **þe se cyng him geunnen hæfde**] **him** is *sibimetipsis,* to *them* the pleaders, Harold and Beorn, who urged that Swegen *must not be invested with any of the things* (offices or possessions) *which the king had already granted away to themselves.* The expressions of C are more distinct.

1050 D. p 173. **and se cyng þa sende æfter þam scypum þe he ofsendan mihte. þe ær ham wendon**] *and the king then sent after such ships as he could overtake* (of those) *which recently went home.*

1046. p 174 t. **Ða scyfte man Harold eorl up þæs cynges scipe þe Harold eorl ær steorde**] The confusion of this passage will be remedied if we suppose the first **Harold** to be an error for **Beorn.**

1046. p 174. **tealde**] This and **tealdon** (1086) are to be noted as probably the earliest extant instances of their use in a sense

identical with the modern 'tell, told.' Before this the verb **tellan** is used for "to count numerically, to enumerate, to account as &c.;" but it is a step in the history of the word when it appears as the mere equivalent of "to say." It seems less like a developement in direct line, than an introduction from a collateral dialect, or from provincial or colloquial usage. Yet **telle, tellanne** in 1085, where the sense is to *recount, narrate*, may represent the connecting link.

1048. p 178 t. **to- þære burge -weard**] When we call this **Tmesis**, as we were taught to do in reading Homer, we speak *præposterè*, inversely to the order of facts. We are familiar with **toward** as one word, and therefore we regard it as a severance of that which has been coherent, when we find it written as two words. Here, we see that the two parts have *become* coherent as a consequence of their being frequently brought near together. We still keep them apart in certain phrases, as, *to the east ward—from the north ward*—where the practice of writing *east-ward, north-ward*, as compounds, is a mistake of the syntax. Examples from the Authorized English Bible are given in my Swiðhun, p 115. To those may be added, wið heofenas weard, Ælf. i. p 46. 296; to mynstre weard, *id.* p 336; wið Petres weard, *id.* 376. An example of older growth is the compound preposition **between**, which we only just catch a glimpse of in its earlier state, in the poetical phrase **be sæm tweonum**=*between seas*. The accidental and local character of this compound is seen in the fact, that the analogue in Dutch and German is simple, viz. *tusschen*, zwiſchen=tween.

1048. p 178 h. **of sænde**] Not 'sent off,' but 'sent *for*, sent *after*,' μετεπέμψατο. Compare Laȝamon, vol. ii. p 235, þat he ofsende Magan, þ wes a selcuð mon, i. e. *that he should* send for *Magan, who was a marvellous man*. Again, p 324 (where we accept the Editor's emendation as unquestionable), ofsendeð biscopes, and boc-ilarede men, i. e. send for *bishops, and book-learned men*. The renderings are Sir Frederic Madden's. Cf. Ælf. Hom. i. p 400, 'of-arn ðone ðegen Náámán'=*ran after* the thane Naaman. So in our text, above p 98 t, 'ne mehte hine mon of ridan'=*they were not able to ride him down, to overtake him*, equitando assequi. Gen. xiv. 13, 'and efste wið þæs heres oþ þ he hig of rad'=*and pursued the army till he overtook them*. The verb **ofahsian** (*or* ofaxian) is interesting. Meaning etymologically 'to ask *after*, enquire;' it came like πυνθάνεσθαι to mean 'get information, be told, learn, hear of;' and in 1016 (p 158) C and D have **ofahsade** (ofaxade) where E and F have **geherde secgan**, *heard say*. Cf. below, notes on 1050 D; and on 1098, 'of eode.'

1048. p 178 h. **sceolde**] This verb has here a force still known in the dialects, and in high activity in German. It characterises the statement as being *merely* the version of Eustace.

1048. p 178 m. **þa welisce menn**] This means simply "the foreigners;" as also below, **þa wælisce men**: in both cases indicating the Normans or Frenchmen. See note, p 65, and on 1040. In Devonshire the walnut is called 'French nut,' in Somersetshire it is 'Welsh nut,' but the signification is the same in the two cases, both alike meaning foreign nut. At the time when the English name of the *juglans* was fixed in Somersetshire, the current word for foreign was *Welsh*—when, at a later date, it was fixed in Devonshire, the common adjective for foreign was *French*, which it may almost be said to be still.

1048. p 180 h. **ealra þæra þegna**] Qu. þinga?

1048 E. *ad fin.* **Oddan**] He is named again p 182, and his death is recorded 1056 D with a character. There is a slab among the Arundel marbles at Oxford, which was found in 1675 near Deerhurst Church in Gloucestershire. It bears the following inscription in letters of Saxon times:

✠ ODDA DVX IVSSIT HANC
REGIAM AVLAM CONSTRVI
ATQVE DEDICARI IN HONO-
RE S⁻ TRINITATIS PRO ANIMA GER-
MANI SVI ELFRICI QVE DE HOC
LOCO ASV̄PTA EALDREDVS VERO
EP̄S QVI EANDEM DEDICAVIT II IDI-
BVS AP̄L XIIII AVTEM ANNOS REG-
NI EADWARDI REGIS ANGLORV̄.

The death of the said Ælfric, brother of Odda, is recorded 1053 D (p 189). The quaintnesses of the inscription are partially reproduced in *Parker's Glos. of Architecture, Companion*, p 26.

1052. p 183 h. **hasæton**] *rowers. Norsk* hásætan: cf. Mr. Dasent's Article on Iceland, in **Oxford Essays**.

1052. p 183 m. **wandode**] *he hesitated not, was not shy of, shrunk not from*, the risk of foraging: cf. Gospels, Matt. xxii. 16, þu ne wandast for nánum menn: Dich um Niemand kümmerſt. De Wette.

1052. p 185. **Norð muðan**] Nothing has been done for the identification of this place since Gibson: Hodie, opinor, ostium *Medwægi* quod vocatur the buoy in the Nowre. Putarem esse North-Foreland nisi muð adjiceretur, quod semper *ostium* designat. Ingram: the Nore. Later Editors, verbally, Northmouth.

1052. p 185. **to Middeltune þæs cynges**] This can be no other than the ancient town of *Milton* (*Royal*), situated on "Milton Creek," landward of the Isle of Sheppey. The associations at 892 and 894 shew that the **Middeltun** there is also the same place, viz. in Kent. Gibson says, 'Middleton in Essex;' but I cannot find any such place that is passable here.—The **Middeltun** of 964 is *Milton Abbas*, near Blandford, Dorset: "Ibi enim hujus nominis locus est, ubi vetusti cœnobii parietes conspiciuntur, quod Æthelstanus Rex fundavit, ut fratris sui manes expiaret" (Gibson). A document, N°. 375 in Kemble's Cod. Dipl., appertaining to this foundation, is of later date, and otherwise suspicious-looking.

1052. p 187 h. **unwræste scipe**] *a crazy, unsafe, unseaworthy ship*. The simple adj. is **wræst**=*firm, steady, secure;* (Ettmüller, Lexicon, p 155) as in the paraphrased Psalter, Ps. li. 6, on his welan spede **wræste** getruwode=in the multitude of his riches he *firmly* trusted. Other examples in Bouterwek, Glos. v. **vræst**. **Unwræst** occurs in E three times. The second time is at p 220 b, where it is used morally: "Alas, how delusive and insecure (unwrest) is this world's riches!" In the third place, p 260 t, Abbot Henry is represented as searching for some device which shall never profit him: an unwreste wrenc=some *lame* pretence, or *bootless, desperate* imposture. At Laȝamon's date, this forcible adj. retained only the faded and vague sense of *poor, wretched, weak, wicked;* and from the repeated blunders of the scribes in writing the word, it appears almost obsolete in the thirteenth century: cf. Madden's Glossary to Laȝamon, v. **unwræst**; and White's Ormulum, Glos. v. **unnwræste**.

From Grosseteste's "Castell of Loue," I am enabled, by the kindness of Mr. Weymouth, who is engaged in editing it, to cite the line, "And for vre speche vnwreste and vyl" (l. 1149). In some other instances one of his manuscripts has rejected the word as obsolete. Instead of *vnwreste* (l. 335) the said manuscript substitutes *gret synne—vnwresteschipe* (l. 1141) is replaced by *gret gult—vnwrestliche* (l. 1464) by *unkyndely*.

1055. p 190. sc̃e **Æðelbryhtes mynster**] This is Hereford Cathedral. The name thus honoured is that of the East Anglian king, who was killed by order of Offa, as related above 792. He was regarded as a martyr, and the brief reign of Offa's son was deemed a vindication of the innocence of king Æthelbriht: —— quin et Deus adeò evidentibus signis sanctitatem ejus prodidit, ut hodieque sedes episcopalis Herefordi sub ipsius nomine consecretur. Nec ineptum debet videri aut incongruum quod antecessores nostri, probi et religiosi viri, vel taciturnitate toleraverunt, vel auctoritate

roboraverunt. William of Malmesb., Gesta Regum ii. § 210. The Cattle Fair at Hereford on May 20, is still called St. Ethelbert's Fair.

1066. p 201. **butse carlas**] *ship-men, mariners.* This **butse** is probably the same word as the East Anglian **buss** for a *boat*, as used by the fishermen of Yarmouth, who speak of their *herring-busses.*

1066. p 201. se **Norrena** cyng] This is the Norsk adjective itself: cf. Egilsson, "Lexicon Poeticum Antiquæ Linguæ Septentrionalis," v. **Norrænn**, *Norvegicus.* This king was not Harold Harfagera, as stated in MS. D, and by Florence both here and above 1048 (where see note, Ed. Thorpe); but Harold Sigurdson, *alias* Hardrada. The time of Harfagr is earlier, he died in 936.

1066. p 203 m. **eam**] *uncle.* The native word, which the Germans have kept in their Oheim, has, after a struggle, been displaced by the Latin *avunculus* in its French form *oncle.* In Spenser we find *eme* and *uncle* used of the same relation in continuous stanzas. Faerie Queene, B. ii. C. x; Stanzas 47 and 48. The banished word has left its genitive case behind in the family name EAMES.

1067 D. p 205 m. **Hwitan Sunnan dæg**] Probably this was not what we now call Whitsunday, but the First Sunday after Easter, called *Dominica in Albis,* because the White Garments of those who had been baptized on Easter Day were worn on the Octave for the last time. How this name should have been transferred to Pentecost is a curious question, about which there was an active debate in the *Guardian* in 1859. Some held that, like the German *Pfingsten*, our name is really a corruption of Pentecost, passing through an intermediate form Whingsten to the modern Whitsun, and that therefore it is Whitsun-Day and not Whit-Sunday. Mr. Baron (Aug. 17, 1859) demolished this theory by quoting this place of D, and by references to Laȝamon (v. Glossary), to prove the high antiquity of the name White Sunday.

But one thing was still unexplained, viz. why the name was transferred from after Easter to Pentecost. The solution may be, that Pentecost, being a few weeks later in the year, was preferable in our climate for Baptism; and accordingly that it bore away the name of *White*, which continental practice had associated with Easter Tide.

1070. þa **Densca huscarles**] "Hus-carls were the 'King's Own,' the body-guard of the Danish Sovereigns. They were retained after the restoration of the Anglosaxon line, and then they seem to have formed a class of Thanes . . . . The great Earls had Huscarls, like

the King." "They were also called *Hirdmen*." Palgrave's English Commonwealth, p ccclxxxi.

1070. **cantelcapas**] *Chanters' capes or copes.* In Cod. Dipl. 940, there are "iii cantercæppa:" cf. Laȝamon, Glos. v. Cantelcape.

**þ he dyde eall be þære munece ræde**] *quod fecit omninð monachorum consilio;* and not as Gibson, "se autem hæc omnia fecisse Monachorum consilio." All the translators, except my friend Mr. Stevenson, have followed Gibson, and have fixed a most unmerited stigma upon the worthy churchwarden's name. Even Mr. Stevenson's translation betrays an uncertainty, which in such a scholar is almost stranger than oversight. He translates, "and that he did all by the advice of the monks;" leaving it open for the reader to take **that** as a conjunction to the dishonour of Yware, or as a relative pronoun which would mark the churchwarden as a true man, honoured with the confidence of his fraternity. If Mr. Stevenson had only adhered to the rule he seems to have set himself, and translated verbally, he would have avoided the ambiguity which now attaches to his version, through the intrusion of the conjunction "and."

Had there been an 'and' in that place of the original, it would have appeared to assert the conjunctional dependence of **þæt** upon **sægde.** But even then we should have had a means of correcting the mistake by the expression just above, **and swilce litles hwat** =*and such like trifles.* It is plain the removal of these objects was no treachery, but in the interest of the society, when the chronicler could thus speak of it. The Peterborough monks were not more disposed than others to make light of their wrongs. This may be seen a few lines further on. In this place the writer is evidently regretting that the churchwarden could not have included in his parcel the crown of beaten gold, and the bracket of red gold, and many other valuables, enumerated on p 209, which became the prey of the outlaws.

**sceolden cumen**] *were expected to come, were said to be coming.*

1071. **arhlice**] *basely, cowardly, dastardly.* Compare **earhlice ofslogon**, p 223 h: rancne here and unearhne, p 140 l; þone ungemetlice eargan=*the excessively timid.* Boethius, Ed. Cardale, p 298 h.

1072. **æt þam Gewæde in lædde**] D. ferde inn ofer þ Wæð. Gibson treated this as an error for 'Tweed.' The annalist of Waverley appears to have read 'Scodwade.' David Macpherson, "Geographical Illustrations," conjectured that it meant the "*Scottewattre* or *Wattyr of Forth.*"

The *Wattyr of Sulway* was specially known as *Scottis-se* or *Scottiswath;* and Macpherson quotes from Snorro (Hist. Reg. Norweg.

c. 21), "Þeir fóro yfir á nockra, þar sem heitir Skiótans-vad edr Vapna-vad" = *They passed over a certain river at a place called* Skiótans-ford *or* Weapon-ford. Hence it may be supposed that the term *vad, wath, wæth,* was generally applied to the friths or fiords of Scotland; and the Gewæde or Wæð may have been the Frith of Forth.

A word of this sort, signifying *ford* or passage, must once have been widely used. In a grant to Shap Abbey (*temp.* Hen. II), brought to my knowledge by Mr. Albert Way, "totam terram quæ fuit Karl, scilicet per has divisas, de vado de Karlwath &c." Several local names of Waithe seem to belong here, e. g. Waithe near Great Grimsley, Waith Common at Ewerby near Sleaford.

According to Florence, William penetrated to Abernethy, and therefore left both the Tweed and the Frith of Forth in his rear.

1075 D. **hearma**] *Ermine.* Wright's Vocabularies, p 22, "*Netila,* hearma." Shall we call this a *gen. pl.* or suppose it stands undeclined in composition? In fact it was a mere foreign sound, and had acquired no grammatical attributes in English. This delicate fur coming from N. Asia by Armenian merchants was called in Italy **Armellino**; and the word passed, along with the article, through the courts of Europe. Diez, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Romanischen Sprachen.*

1075. p 214. **ge niðrade**] pessundati (Gibson), subdued (Ingram, Stevenson), crushed (Thorpe): **niðerian** is in its etymological and original sense, e. g. Luke xiv. 11, *to put down, deprimere;* but its prevalent use was "**to condemn**," e. g. Matt. xii. 7, 37, 42, xx. 18; Luke vi. 37. The former seems preferable here, as the translators have taken it.

The narrative of D preserves the tragic lines in a less mutilated form than E. Among them occurs "sume getawod to scande," which has been the subject of some debate. The word **scande** needs little elucidation. It is Germ. Schande, *disgrace.* In Wright's Vocabularies, p 21, we find *Ignominia,* scande. In the Laws of Hloðhære and Eadric, § 11, scandlice gretan, is to insult a person with opprobrious epithets; or, as they would be called in Devon, *scandalous!* More apposite is Laȝamon, vol. iii. p 176:

> preostes he blende
> al þis folc he scende.

The verb 'to shend' is not uncommon in Elizabethan poetry, e. g. in Spenser's *Prothalamion:*

> . . . . . these twain, that did excel
> The rest, so far as Cynthia doth *shend*
> The lesser stars.

and Fairfax, Tasso i. Canto vi :

> Tortosa won, lest winter might them *shend*,
> They drew to holds, and coming spring attend.

In Shakspeare the preterite or participle *shent* occurs several times.

The verb **tawian** will be best understood by a view of the group to which it belongs, as collected and illustrated in Ettmüller's Lexicon, p 528. It appears to have been, in its *proper* sense, associated with rude manufacturing operations, such as dressing hides; and hence its fitness for expressing *shameful handling*, when applied to humanity. Compare as a kindred phrase " to sceame tucode," Judges xv. 8. The details of this shameful handling are stated in Florence thus : quosdam erutis oculis vel manibus truncatis deturpavit.

1076. **Vithele**] Vitalis, Abbot of Westminster. His monument, in the Cloisters of Westminster Abbey, is the earliest English tomb with an *effigies;* according to Mr. Westmacott, in the *Archæological Journal*, 1860, p 304.

1077. **forbarn Lundenburh**] This fire of London is found in no Saxon Chronicle except E; nor do I find it repeated by any of the Latiners.

1083. " Amongst the causes of this new sort of war, one of the chief was the zeal of Thurstan the abbot to introduce the Norman service, or rather the way of singing begun by William a monk of Feschamp, and to thrust out that of Gregory the Great, which had before been commonly used by the English monks." Inett, *History of the English Church*, part ii. c. 3. § 6. vol. ii. p 90. Ed. Griffiths. Quoting Malmesb. de Antiq. Glaston. Eccles. p 331. Coll. Gale, [p 114. Ed. Hearne.]

1083. **mistukian**] This seems to signify the infliction of some irregular and capricious punishment : cf. Ettm. p 534, and Glossarial Index by Herbert Coleridge, v. **Tuke.** Gibson was so far influenced by the parallel narrative in Florence, as to render *perperam docere*, explaining it of the abbot's attempt to substitute a modern chant in place of the Gregorian,—by which means he obtains but a poor harmony, and does violence to the word **mistukian.** Compare " to sceame tucode," Judges xv. 8.

1085. p 218 l. **lett agan ut**] *scrutari*, Gibson; marking well the inquisitorial character of the proceeding. Some doubt may be felt about this word **agan,** what it is. I take it for a compound of **gan** or gangan = to go; and identical with gegangan, **gegan,** of which the pret. ' geeodon,' p 2 m; ' geyde,' 617, conveys the notion of *invasion*

and conquest. So here, there is the sense of acquiring statistics by invasion of the Englishman's home; expressed below in other words, *Swa swyðe nearwelice he hit lett utaspyrian.* An admirable illustration occurs in the Laws of Æthelbirht, § 29: Gif friman edor gegangeð =If a freeman enter (violently or intrusively) a habitation, &c.

1085. p 219 h. **teale**] *incrimination;* complaint with or without ground; declining rather to the latter aspect, so that the word often stands as equivalent to *calumnia, βλασφημία.* Thus it is used by Ælfric, who writes it according to the standard form **tál.** The forms **tæl** and **teal** are provincial; e. g. Ælc synn and **tál** bið forgifen behreowsigendum mannum, ac þæs Halgan Gastes **tál** ne bið næfre forgifen. Þeah ðe hwa cweðe **tallic** word ongean me &c.= All sin and *blasphemy* shall be forgiven to repentant men, but *blasphemy* of H. G. shall never be forgiven. Even though one utter *injurious* language against me &c., Hom. i. p 498.—And ða Iudeiscan boceras mid hete þæt **tældon;** ac heora **tál** næs na of rihtwisnysse, ac of niðe=And the Jewish scribes *censured* that with warmth, but their *censure* was not of justice, but of envy, Id. p 338.—Þeah wære Godes rihtwisnys eallunga **untæle**=Yet would God's justice be quite *unassailable,* Id. p 112. The prevalence of **tælnys,** *false accusation,* is one of the cotemporary evils complained of in a passage about to be quoted from a Homily on the Life of S. Neot, which has been thought to belong to this date. The present Annal closes with a tale of distress which in the next year swells into a long and loud wail of lamentation. In the same general strain, and agreeing with it in several particulars, is the peroration of this Life of S. Neot. Mr. Duffus Hardy has said (Catalogue, p 539) that this Homily must be assigned to one of the two epochs of murrain and general distress, 986 or 1086. He prefers the former, because of the supposed approach of the end of the world. If this apprehension ceased at 1000, this single feature of the Homily is enough to decide its date, and it must belong to 986. But all the other features coincide so much better with the narrative of our Chronicle at certain later dates, e. g. 1085–6; or 1116; or again 1131: that I am inclined to suppose the miseries of the eleventh and twelfth centuries may have tended to prolong the anticipation of impending doom. And it appears to me that not only is the good time of Alfred's reign here commemorated; the loss of a native dynasty is touched in accents not loud but deep. It must be admitted that the earlier date represents very bad times, a weak government, want and distress, conspicuous crimes, Danish ravages. The passage is as follows: Eac is to wytene þ se king Ælfred manega bec

þurh Godes Gast gedyhte; and binnen twam and twentig gearen his cynerices and (?) þiss eorðlice lif forlet, and to þan ecen gewende, swa him God geuðe for his rihtwisnysse.

Eala mæn þa leofe, þa wæron gode dages on þan gode time, for Cristenes folcas ge earnunge and rihtwisra heafod manna. Nu is æighwanen heof and wop, and orefcwealm mycel for folces synnen, and wæstmes æigðer gea on wude gea on felde ne synd swa gode swa heo iu wæron, ac yfeleð swyðe eall eorðewæstme. And unrihtwisnysse mycele wexeð wide geond wurlde, and sibbe tolysnysse, and tælnysse; and se þincð nu wærrest and geapest þe oðerne mæig beswican, and his æhte him of anymen. Eac manswereð man mare þone he scolde, þy hit is þe wyrse wide on eorðe, and beo þan we mugen understanden þ hit is neh domes dæge. Ne spareð nu se fæder þan sune, ne nan mann oðren, ac ælc man winð ongean oðren, and Godes lage ne gemeð, swa swa me scolde. Beo þan we mugen ongyten þ þiss wurld is aweigweard, and swyðe neh þan ænde þysser wurlde. Eale gesælig byð se þe hine sylfen on time gebyregeð. Uten nu bidden georne Seinte Neoten and oðre halgen þ heo ure þingeres beon to þan heofon kinge, þ we næfre ealles to yfelne time ne gebiden on þyssen earmen life, and þ we moten æfter forðsiðe to ecere reste becumen.=You should know also that the said king Alfred was the author of many books by the Spirit of God; and within twenty-two years from the settlement of his kingdom, he left this earthly life, and went to that which is eternal, by divine favour, for his righteousness.

Ah, brethren, those were good days, in that good time, for the Christian life of the people, and the blessing of just rulers! Now it is a groan and a cry on every side, and huge murrain for the people's sins, and the fruits of the wood and the field are not so good as they were formerly, but all the fruits of the earth are seriously damaged. And injustice is vastly on the increase far and wide, and dissolution of amity, and slanderous accusation; and that man is now thought shrewdest and cleverest who can betray another and defraud him of goods. Men perjure themselves too, even when they are not under pressure, and this makes it worse, all the world over, and thereby we may understand that it is nigh doom's day. Now, the father has no mercy on his son, nor one man on another, but each man is at strife with his neighbour, and God's law is not respected, as it should be. Thereby we may learn that this world is on the wane, and that it is very near to the end of this world. But withal, he shall be saved that taketh heed to himself in time. Let us entreat S. Neot and other saints, that they be our advocates

with the heavenly king, that our lot be not cast on too utterly bad a time, and that we may after death attain to everlasting rest. MS. Cott. Vespas. D. xiv. f. 148.

1085. p 219 m. **corn and wæstmas wæron ætstandene**] segetes etiam et arborum fructus segnius maturescebant (Gibson), corn and fruits were at a stand (Ingram), corn and fruits were left standing (Stevenson), corn and fruits were at a stand (Thorpe). The only other case of **æt-standan** that I find is in Beowulf 1776 (Kemble, 891 Grein), where it is used of the sword-blade that has passed through the dragon's body. But whether the verb **æt-stod** in that place signifies that it *stood out* conspicuous, or that it *stuck in* to the wall beyond, is doubted. Kemble takes the former, and renders **æt-standan** by *exstare:* Thorpe the latter; and also Grein, if I understand his German,

——— das Schwert durchdrang
den wunderbaren Wurm, daß an der Wand es anſtund.

If Kemble is right, **æt-standene** might signify cereals *sprouting* in the ear.

1086. p 220 b. **unwrest**] Cf. below, the note on 1131 (p 260 t).

p 221 m. **wurðful**] majestic, *worshipful*, dignified, kingly.

p 221 b. **fyrmest toeacan þam cynge**] the most prominent, *the first man next to the king.*

p 222 h. **sona he forleas &c.**] This was law in Saxon times; cf. Alfred's Laws, 25, § 1; and still in Bracton.

p 222 m. **werscipe**] "and if he might have lived two years longer, he would have won Ireland by his *valour*, and without any weapons" (Stevenson). Gibson, Ingram, Thorpe, substantially the same. But one may ask, What is this antithesis between *valour* and *weapons?* How should his valour act without weapons? If it be answered, By the terror of a great military renown—then we reply, that this cause is speedy in operation, and is not helped by the lapse of time; why then the words "two years longer?"

Plainly, *werscipe* is, by a negligent orthography, for **wærscipe**; and has nothing to do with **wer**=*vir*, but with **wær**=*pactum, fœdus, cautela.* So *wes* for **wæs**, *weron* for **wæron** (see Glossary). Then a clear sense comes out: *if he might have lived two years longer, he would have won Ireland with his* wary negotiation, *and without any weapons.*

"It (the Conquest of Ireland) was simply the sequel of the Norman Conquest of England." Prof. Goldwin Smith, *Ireland*, p 45. "Ireland was struck by the last languid wave of a deluge of conquest, which had overwhelmed all the neighbouring nations." *Id.* p 47.

p 223 t. **for leon**] *sic* MS. for fleon, Gibson, Ingram, Thorpe.

p 223. **Eac wearð on Ispanie &c.**] The only notice of Spain in these Chronicles. But though Spanish affairs generally were not much heard of at Peterborough, yet the struggles of Spain at this date, which agitated the heart of Christendom and produced the Cid el Campeador, might well come to the knowledge of a historian who had lived at the Conqueror's court.

In 1085, Toledo was wrested from the Moors after they had held it 372 years. This was achieved by Alphonse VI, king of Castile and Léon, the "**Christian king Anphos**" of our text. Here was the first step in the Christian Reconquest of Spain.

So startled were the Emirs, that they rashly invited over Youssouf ben Taschfin, *parvenu* king of Fez, who readily came with his formidable Almoravides. The terror of this army roused France to make common cause with the Christian states of Spain. The confederates met the Africans at Zélaca, near Badajoz, and suffered a tremendous defeat. But this victory was turned by the ambitious Youssouf against his own allies. He subjugated the Mussulman governments, and established the sway of the Almoravides. Toledo remained in the hands of the Christians.

In the next generation the struggle was continued. Another Alphonse drove the son of Youssouf from Saragossa, and made that city the capital of Aragon (1118). This Alphonse ("the warrior") even marched an army into Granada (1125), and attempted the work that was reserved for Ferdinand. His romantic expedition, though disastrous, shed lustre on the Christian cause.

It almost looks as if our chronicler wrote this paragraph late enough to have heard something of all this, otherwise his closing words are loose and incorrect.

1086. p 223 b. **to ælcen mynstre . . . . . and to ælcen cyrcean uppe land**] This is a good passage to illustrate the early relations between the minster and the country church. The religious organization is here seen to repose upon the minster as its unit and base, where we should now put the parish church.

1087 m. **Rodbeard amundbræg**] A Saxon corruption of the name **De Mowbray**: cf. Flor. *ad annum.*

1087 b. **Đe b' Odo þe þas cyng ofawócan**] Here 'cyng' is a blunder for 'þing;'=*The bishop Odo with whom these things originated.*

1087. p 225 h. **heora wudas and slætinge**] *sylvas suas et venatus*, Gibson: *their woods and chaces*, Ingram: *their woods and* [*the right of*] *killing* [*the deer*], Stevenson: *their woods and liberty*

*of the chace*, Thorpe. See Halliwell, v. *Slate;* and Herbert Coleridge, v. *Slating*.

1090. **Albemare**] Mr. Thorpe identifies this with *Aumale* on the Brêle, formerly called the Eu, the boundary between Picardy and Normandy: quoting Mr. Stapleton's Paper in Archæologia, vol. xxvi, which I have not the opportunity of consulting. Moreri, *Dictionnaire*, gives *Albamala* as the Latin form of Aumale.

1091 h. **þes eorles unþances**] It is not enough to render this "Comite invito" (Gibson)—"against the will of the Count" (Thorpe). **Unþances** is the adverbial genitive of **unþanc**, or more properly **ungeþanc**, of which the meaning is "mala intentio" (cf. Grimm's Gr. ii. 777. for the force which the prefix **un-** imparts), "an adverse, hostile purpose." Hence the expression in the text means "to the detriment or prejudice of the count; or, in pursuance of hostile designs against the count." It would appear to have been by retroaction upon the simple **þances**, that the latter grew to signify *gratis*, *ultrò*, gratiâ, &c.; and in this movement we discern the pivot of transition from *think*, cogitare, to *thank*, gratias agere.

1091 b. **ut of Scotlande into Loðene on Engla land**] Malcolm moved out of Scotland into Lothian, which was in (the Engles' land, or) England. Here we see that 'England' was at that time bounded by the Frith of Forth, and Lothian was in 'England' and not in 'Scotland.' Cf. *Geographical Illustrations of Scottish History*, by David Macpherson, 1796, v. *Louthian*. But it must be observed, "Engla land" here, is purely an ethnological and not a political term. As to government, it appears to have been held by the kings of Scotland under the crown of England, and to have been one of those districts which made it a confused question how far the Scotch throne was feudatory to the English.

Mr. Thorpe renders "into the district of Leeds," because Flor. has "in provincia Loidis."

1091. p 228. **to hwurfon**] *they separated, parted, took leave of each other*. The verbs in **to-** have so much lost their ancient character, that the investigator of the English language *as it is*, naturally takes this **to** to be a preposition, and supposes an ellipse of the governed substantive. In the old language there were the compound verbs to-bræcan, to-sceotan, to-tæran, &c.; but now we hear of 'breaking to pieces,' 'tearing to shreds,' &c.: and Dean Alford says, 'that in the expression "shutting *to*," it is the preposition, and not the adverb, that is used; that *to which* the door is shut being omitted.' *The Queen's English*, p 32.

1093. **þe ær on his agenre hand stód**] *which before was in*

*his own tenancy.* William Rufus was the first sovereign who kept bishoprics and abbeys vacant for the sake of their revenues. Queen Elizabeth was the last. Mr. Griffiths *ad* Inett, part ii. c. iv. § 3. Stephen's Commentaries, book iv. part i. c. vii.

1094. p 230 h. **læhte**] Of this root we have the *latch* of a door, and the verb is preserved in full use in Norfolk, where men say of a cricket-ball, "If yo'll hull it, I'll latch it," i. e. *If you will throw it, I will catch it.*

1095. p 232 m. **ær þære tide . . . . . to tide wæron**] Gibson took 'tide' in these places for *festival, season*, as we still speak of Christmas-*tide*, Whitsun-*tide*. This is surely right, and it is not easy to see why the modern translators have not followed him. His version is as follows: Eorum aliquos Rex *ante illud festum* jussit in custodias tradi; et postea admodum minaci edicto per totam hanc terram [misso] jussit omnes qui à Rege terras tenebant, modò pace dignos haberi se vellent, adesse suæ Curiæ *in festo.*

**gemahlice**] In Wright's Vocabularies, pp 50, 55, **gemah** is put for the Latin words *procax, pervicax, importunus;* and **gemahnys** for *procacitas, pervicacia.* See quotation in note on 1098.

1096. p 233 t. **hine on orreste overcom**] *vanquished him in* (judicial) *combat.* **Orrest** is a Danish word, which was probably well understood in the neighbourhood of Peterborough. Egilsson, Lexicon Poet. Septent. v. **Orrosta,** *prælium*—and, **Folkorosta,** *prælium acie commissum.* I am not aware that the word is found elsewhere in the Saxon remains. Ettmüller, Lexicon Anglo Sax., p 41, gives **orrestscipe,** *ignominia,* on the authority of a Cotton MS. Vocabulary. I have searched Mr. Wright's Edition of the Vocabularies for it in vain. On p 21 there is "*Ignominia,* scande." If Ettmüller's instance is not a pure error, the word can hardly have anything to do with our **orreste**—it would probably be a compound of **or** and **estscipe.**

The genuine Saxon term would have been **on gefeohte;** but as the verb **gefeaht** had just preceded, the variation is useful. Already we see the language profiting by the commixture of different national elements.

1096. p 233 h. **þæs cynges aðum**] Eude, earl of Champagne, had married William's half-sister, and on this ground he is called the king's **aðum,** a term which commonly means *son-in-law.* In Wright's Vocabularies, we have *Gener,* aþum, p 52; and *Gener,* oþam, p 88. It is not found that language produces a special term to denote each grade of family relationship, until after a long and elaborate discipline in jurisprudence, such as that which the

Latin passed through. The vagueness of the term 'brother' in Hebrew is well known; our word 'nephew' formerly denoted two different relations, and 'cousin' in our own day is still found convenient to express indeterminate kinship. It is therefore a very moderate deflection of **aðum** from a *daughter's husband* to a *sister's husband*. The same use is found above, 1091 m.

1096. p 233 m. **and eall Normandig æt him mid feo alisde, swa swa hi þa sehte wæron**] There is nothing to add to the translations of Gibson and Stevenson, the two who have understood the passage, except that **alisde** ('mercaretur,' Gibson; 'purchased,' Stevenson) is identically our modern verb *leased*. In Latin documents it was represented by *redimere*, and reversely this Latin word was supplied in Anglo Saxon theology by the verb **alysan**. Ps. lxix. 7, Alysend=Redeemer: cf. Ps. xlix. 16. Ælfric's Hom. i. p 138, God bebead, on þære ealdan æ, his folce þæt hi sceoldon him offrian ælc frumcenned hysecild, oððe **alysan** hit ut mid fif scyllingum=God bade his people, in the old law, that they should offer to him every first-born male child, or *redeem* it with five shillings.

It may seem strange that this verb should be used for an act which is almost the opposite to redeeming, viz. the taking as pledge or security. But this migration of a word is not hard to parallel; and we still hear the verb *to lease* used both of lessor and lessee.

1097. p 234 t. **sum þæra wæs Caduuagan gehaten**] *one of them was named Cadwgan*. All the translators agree here in translating **sum**=*one*; and this rendering might be advantageously extended to many other cases. Thus in 605 E, **fiftiga sum** is not 'with about fifty' or 'some fifty,' but simply '*one of fifty*.' So 626 E, **twelfa sum**=*one of twelve*: 794 E, **heretogena sum**=*one of the leaders*: 894, p 92 m, **sum dæl**=(not 'some part,' but) *a part*: 911 A, **sum hund scipa**=*one hundred ships*. There are doubtless instances in which nothing but the modern 'some' can be used to express it, but these are less numerous than is supposed. How nearly it is equivalent to the numeral 'one' may be seen from Mark iv. 8, where it alternates with **an**; 'and án brohte þrytigfealdne, sum syxtigfealdne, sum hundfealdne.'

1097. p 234 h. manige men **leton** þæt hit cometa wære. . . . . ——————— m. þæs þe men **leton**] many men *supposed* . . . . . as men *surmised*.

The verb thus repeated here, is not found else in the Chronicles, and it may be doubted whether it is preserved in any other Anglo Saxon text. The law of Eadgar about burying in the church (Wilkins, p 84, § 29) seems to contain, not this verb, but the well-known lætan,

*to permit, allow, grant, let:* þæt man innan circan ænigne man ne birige, bute man wite þæt he on life Gode to þam wæl gecweme *wære* þæt man ðurh þæt læte þæt he sy ðæs legeres wyrþe=that within the church they bury no man, unless they know that in life he so pleased God, that upon this ground *concession be made* of so honourable a resting-place.

But leton in our text has nothing to do with lætan. It would be vain to look for its infinitive, and other parts, for it is simply a Danish word. The Danish verb Lede is to seek minutely for an obscure thing, from corner to corner. Man kan ikke 'lede' efter et Skib paa Oceanet; i. e. this verb 'lede' is not used of looking for a ship on the wide ocean. Molbech, v. *Lede.* In Swedish it is Leta, which is in abundant use, and has various applications, all branching from the sense *to search, enquire.*

The root of this verb is found also in the southern branch of the Gothic family, but in the opposite voice. Instead of bearing the active sense, of *searching, peering into;* it bears the passive sense of *being seen, seeming,* videri. In Platt-Deutsch we find Laten rendered by auſſehen, ſcheinen, gaſtaltet ſeyn. *Bremisch-Nieder saechsisches Woerterbuch,* Bremen, 1768. So in Cheshire, Leeten means, you pretend to be; e. g. you are not so mad as you leeten you. Grose and Pegge's *Provincial Glossary.*

Both of these senses spring out of that train of ideas which is associated with wlite, *the human face.*

1098. p 235. of eode] This word, which signifies *attainment, acquisition,* answers in a general way to the English verb *to obtain.* Gibson's *impetraverat* goes beyond the original, and conveys that it was obtained by simple request. This is not in of eode, nor does history supply it. In Cod. Dipl. 594, the word is used for acquisition by involuntary purchase. It is not very clear how the elements of this compound should have led to the sense which it obviously bears. Mr. Thorpe is at fault upon this word (Glossary to Analecta, v. ofeode and ofgangan). Ettmüller omits it. Under these circumstances some illustration is desirable. "We sceolon þurh gehyrsumnysse and forhæfednysse and eadmodnysse, ânmodlice to urum eðele stæppan, and mid halgum mægnum ðone eard ofgan, þe we ðurh leahtras forluron;" i. e. "*We should, by obedience and continence and humility, resolutely march to our inheritance, and with holy virtues* attain *that congenial land which by our vices we lost.*" Ælfric's Homilies (Ed. Thorpe), vol. i. p 118. "Soðlice gemâgnys is þam soðan Dêman gecweme, þeah ðe heo mannum unðancwurðe sy; forðan ðe se arfæsta and se mildheorta God wile þæt we mid gemâg-

licum benum his mildheortnysse **ofgán**, and hê nele swa micclum swa we geearniað us geyrsian;" i. e. "*In fact, importunity is pleasing to the true Judge, though it is offensive to men; for it is the will of the just and merciful God that we with importunate prayers* obtain (=conquer, win) *his mercy, and he will not be angry with us according to our deservings.*" Id. vol. ii. p 126.

Other verbs of motion, compounded with **of**, give this sense of *assequi*, **adipisci**; viz. **ofridan**, 877, 901; **offaran**, p 157. Cf. Thwaites, Heptateuch, Joshua ii. 5. Cf. note on 1048 (p 178 h), 'of sænde.'

1100. **swa swa mænige sædan þe hit geseon sceoldan**] *as many said who professed to have seen it.* This clause has occurred a little before, 1098. By the word 'sceoldan,' the writer is exempted from all share in the statement, like Herodotus so often, e. g. vii. 152: Ἐγὼ δὲ ὀφείλω λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαί γε μὲν ὧν οὐ παντάπασι ὀφείλω.

1100. p 236 t. **tyrwigende**] *distressing, harassing, oppressing.* This verb tyrwigan, tyrigan or tyrian, is not found in any other place of the Chronicles. But it occurs in Ælf. Hom. i. p 562: Þa gelamp hit þæt sume þa hæðenan wurdon mid andan getyrigde &c.= Then it happened that some heathens were disturbed with envy &c. Other examples in the Lexicons, Ettmüller, p 522.

1100. p 237. **be wæddade**] *wedding* meant *betrothal,* and was not, as now, another word for marriage. There is a highly interesting chapter in the Saxon Laws, entitled, **Be wifmannes beweddunge**, which Mr. Thorpe has put among the Laws of Edmund (vol. i. p 254); but Schmid has given separately, Appendix vi. The various legal steps in the process, from the enquiries preliminary to betrothal (weddian) down to the religious forms that are to be observed at the marriage (æt þam giftan), are stated very distinctly. Below, p 243, we have the expression for marriage, "for his dohter gifte," i. e. *giving away:* cf. "Who *giveth* this woman &c.?"

1101. **þe mid unfriðe hider to lande fundode**] "who came here to this land in a hostile manner," Stevenson: "who was meditating a hostile invasion of this land," Thorpe. It is not easy to find in modern English a simple rendering for **fundian** in this place. It is not exactly the act of coming or the intention of coming, but the **impulse** of coming, the *move,* the *start* of the expedition. Perhaps it would be best translated, "*who started for this country with hostile intent.*" The word was selected here, to express by anticipation the abortiveness of the project. Above 1085, fundode hiderward may be rendered *huc proficisceretur, was preparing*

*to advance against this country*. To say that Cnut *meditated* an attack on England, would have been almost superfluous, from what was known of his position and character. Munch, *Det Norske Folks Historie*, vol. iii. p 399 sqq. To say that he *came*, would contradict the sequel.

The verb does not occur in the Chronicles more than in these two places; but we have 1106 (p 241 t) the expression "on his fundunge ofer sæ," which means, on the eve of his departure, or when he was in actual motion to depart over sea. The verb **fundian** is related to the poetical adjective **fûs**, *ready to set off*, identical with OHG **funs**=*pronus, promptus*, Graff.

The poetical examples of **fundian** have been collected by Bouterwek and Grein. Some of the best prose examples are in the translation of Boethius, where it is rather a frequent word, e. g. to þæm gode ealle þa gesceafta fundiaþ ðe heora gecynd healdaþ=to that good (viz. the *summum bonum*) all the creatures *tend*, that keep true to their nature, xxxv. § v. p 256, Ed. Cardale: gif twegen men fundiaþ to anre stowe=if two men are setting out for one place, xxxvi. § iv. *init*. Probably there are not many languages that could furnish a precise match to this verb; ὁρμᾶσθαι is that which most readily offers itself.

1101. **abruðon**] See above, note on 1004.

1103. **swa swa him and þam cynge gewearð**] *sicut ei et regi convenit*, Flor. This is the right meaning, *according to agreement between him and the king*. But how is the simple and vague **gewearð** with a dative (ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς) able to convey this idea? Perhaps this is an instance of that readiness to adopt an elliptical phraseology, which is of the genius of the English language. Above, p 151 t, we have the original and full expression, "gewearð him and þam folce on Lindesige **anes**"=*an agreement was made between him and the folk in Lindsey*. This sentence could be rendered verbally in Latin or Greek or any cultivated language almost; but perhaps we should search far without finding an idiom such as this, with the main and most significant substantive (**anes**=*covenant*) omitted. Cf. Dean Alford, *Queen's English*, p 65. In Cod. Dipl. 1302, are repeated and strongly marked examples of this idiom.

1104. **gebroiden**] quisque sub alio collocatus, Gibson; each described under the other, Ingram; who in his note takes a severely mathematical view of the passage, but very happily quotes Matth. Westm. "albi, picti, et mirabiliter implicati." It cannot be doubted that Matthew's words are derived from the Saxon here before us. Thorpe translates "each twined under the other." This **gebroiden**

is the word, when mention is made of braided or *broided* hair, as it ought to stand in 1 Tim. ii. 9, instead of 'broidered hair.' See Trench, *English Past and Present*, p 198.

**swylce hi gemette wæron**] *quasi essent picti*, Flor. A painting is **meting**, as in the following interesting passages from Ælfric: "On oðre wisan we sceawiað metinge, and on oðre wisan stafas. Ne gæð na mare to metinge buton þæt þu hit geseo and herige: nis na genoh þæt þu stafas sceawige, buton þu hi eac ræde, and þæt andgit understande"=*There is a difference between the way in which we look at a picture, and the way in which we look at writing. For a picture, you have only to see and praise it, but it is not enough to take a view of writing, unless you also read it, and understand the meaning*. Hom. i. p 186. In the other passage he is saying that though in heaven the saved will command a view of the woes of the lost, yet it will not diminish their felicity; "ac heora tintrega becymð þam gecorenum to maran blisse, swa swa on metinge bið forsewen seo blace anlicnys, þæt seo hwite sy beorhtre gesewen"=*but their pains will have the effect of enhancing the bliss of the elect, in the same manner as in a picture a dark figure is put in, that the fair one may shew the brighter.*

1106. p 241 m. **sac leas**] *unimpeached, unaccused.* Sometimes it means *innocent*, e. g. nanne sacleasan man forsecgan=inculpate no innocent man. Laws, Æthelred iii. 4. And so it is used by Sir Walter Scott, "whether she was sackless o' the sinfu' deed." *Heart of Mid Lothian*, cap. v.

1110. p 243 h. **and on cweow**] It would be quite an innovation on the part of an Editor of the Saxon Chronicles to pass this celebrated difficulty over without note or comment. But before a new remedy is proposed, the previous suggestions should be reviewed.

Lectio fortasse vitiosa; certè vocabuli significatio me latet. Gibson.

Ingram translates, "who held Maine in fee-tail of Henry;" adding the following in a note: "That is, the territory was not a *fee-simple*, but subject to *taillage* or taxation; and that particular species is probably here intended, which is called in old French '*en queuage*,' an expression not very different from that in the text above."

Mr. Stevenson provisionally adopts Ingram's translation, adding: "The rendering here adopted is that of Ingram, which is allowed to stand, though unsatisfactory, no better explanation having as yet occurred."

Mr. Thorpe proposes, instead of "on cweow," to read "Angeow,"

translating it thus, "who held Le Maine of king Henry and Anjou;" and adding the following note: "If the reading of 'Angeow,' for the senseless 'oncweow' of the text, be well founded, it shews that Hélie held of both princes, of Henry as count of Normandy, and of the count of Anjou."

No one will think that Mr. Thorpe's emendation, either for its historical or philological probability, is worthy to displace that of Ingram, which has at least the merit of ingenuity. To Ingram's it may be objected, that it takes no account of the conjunction 'and.'

It appears to me that the place may possibly be mended by simpler means. Instead of 'oncweow' I would propose to read 'oncneow.' This is then a verb coupled with geheold, and standing in an antithetical position to the next apodosis 'and hi togeanes þam cynge heold.' The translation would in this case be as follows: *Also this year died Count Hélie, who held Maine under king Henry and acknowledged* [the dependency]; *and after his death the Count of Anjou had it, and held it against the king.*

1110. p 243 m. **Ceortesæge**] This ancient foundation dates from a little after the middle of the seventh century, as it owes its origin to Erkenwald, who was bishop of London 675–693, and of whom Bede (iv. 6) says, that he founded the two monasteries of Chertsey and Barking (Essex) before he was bishop. After the Danish ravages it appears to have been resuscitated, and it was among the first of those on whom the Reform of Dunstan took effect, above 964. The death of an Abbot is noticed 1084.

In the year 1853, workmen who were employed on the site came on some encaustic tiles, which happily caught the eye of Mr. Shurlock, who ensured their preservation. They are now in the South Kensington Museum. The style of art on these tiles is not unlike the illustrations in Cædmon and other Anglo Saxon manuscripts. Mr. Shaw refers them to the thirteenth century. *Tile Pavements from Chertsey Abbey, Surrey*, by Henry Shaw, F.S.A., 1857. He remarks: "It is somewhat singular that although the destruction of this extensive and richly endowed Abbey was so complete that scarcely one stone was allowed to remain upon another or even a tile to escape mutilation, no record has yet been found of the time when this destruction took place, under whose authority it occurred, or of any of the circumstances attending it."

In 1861, the site was sold by auction, and Mr. T. R. Bartrop, one of the honorary secretaries of the Surrey Archæological Society, was the purchaser. In Bede the name is spelt Cerotæsei (*v. l.* Ceorotesei); in Cod. Dipl. 987 (marked spurious by Kemble) it is Cirotesege.

1116. **byrstfull**] This word occurs again in the next annal. It may be illustrated by a comparison of the two versions of Laȝamon, vol. i. p. 104:

| | |
|---|---|
| vnder þissere blisse | vnder þane blisse |
| þer comen muchele burstes. | þare come manie harmes. |

The same variation is repeated in page 247.

1116. **gæsne on mæstene**] *barren in mast.* An article of great importance when swine were the chief live stock. In Cod. Dipl. 843, mid mæste=cum porcorum escâ.

**gæsne**, *barren*, sterilis, expers. Cf. Grimm's *Andreas und Elene*, p 124.

1118. **Theophanie**] As Epiphania became 'Epiphany,' so Theophania was Englished down to 'Tiffany.' See Miss Yonge's *History of Christian Names*, vol. i. p 433.

1121. **Aðelis**] *Adeliza* of Louvain is the best known form, of which 'Aðelis' may be a Saxon rendering. She is also called *Alix la Belle*. Our English form is *Alice*. The name which Queen *Adelaide* has lately planted among us, a name representing the Old High German *Adalheid*, i. e. nobilitas, nobleness (as to this *-heid*, see Grimm, Gr. ii. p 498), is probably the same. See more in Miss Yonge's *History of Christian Names*, vol. ii. p 398. A late discovery presents us with this Queen's name in what may be deemed an authorized form. Fair impressions of her seal have for the first time come to light in the muniments of the Marquis of Westminster, bearing SIGILLVM-AALIDIS. In the Foundation Charter of Reading Abbey, preserved at the Rolls, it is written "signum Adeleidis reginæ." A grant to the Abbey, printed in Kennett, begins "ego Aelidis regina." *Archæological Journal*, September 1863, p 281. Below 1127, Æðelic.

1122. **dwild**] spectra (Gibson), spectres (Ingram and Thorpe), prodigies (Stevenson). The last is the best, not only as more conformable to the verbs of seeing and hearing, but also as rendering the vagueness of the original. The word **'dwild**, as it may fairly be written for **gedwild**=deceit, not being really a *vox propria* for any object either of eye or ear, but an elevated and euphuistic generalism for *illusions* which were attributed to the trickery of evil spirits.

1122. **þæræfter**] Science has calmed these terrors, and broken the connection between meteoric phenomena and the events of history. But these groundless anxieties have produced some of the most lively touches in our early records. Nowhere has the descriptive energy of language been more brought out than when minds have

been wrought upon by these apprehensions. Above 1104 we have a graphic account of a *parhelion*; here and below 1131 of an *Aurora Borealis*.

We are apt to suppose that it was only in the remote and primitive times that men's minds could be terrified by such appearances; but the following passages shew that the public was just as easily alarmed in the eighteenth century as in the twelfth.

In 1716 the public mind was much excited by the trials and executions that ensued upon the quelling of the insurrection of 1715, and especially with the execution of Lord Derwentwater.

The following is from the *Diary of Mary Countess Cowper* (Murray, 1864), under the date of March 6, 1716:

"An extraordinary light in the sky, described to me since by Dr. Clarke, who saw it from the beginning. First appeared a black cloud, from whence smoke and light issued forth at once on every side, and then the cloud opened, and there was a great body of pale fire, that rolled up and down, and sent forth all sorts of colours like the rainbow on every side; but this did not last above two or three minutes. After that it was like pale elementary fire issuing out on all sides of the horizon, but most especially at the north and north-west, where it fixed at last. The motion of it was extremely swift and rapid, like clouds in their swiftest rack. Sometimes it discontinued for a while, at other times it was but as streaks of light in the sky, but moving always with great swiftness. About one o'clock this phenomenon was so strong, that the whole face of the heavens was entirely covered with it, moving as swiftly as before, but extremely low. It lasted till past four, but decreased till it was quite gone. At one, the light was so great that I could, out of my window, see people walk across Lincoln's-inn-fields, though there was no moon. Both parties turned it on their enemies. The Whigs said it was God's judgment on the horrid rebellion, and the Tories said that it came for the Whigs taking off the two lords that were executed. I could hardly make my chairmen come home with me, they were so frightened, and I was forced to let my glass down, and preach to them as I went along, to comfort them. I'm sure anybody that had overheard the dialogue would have laughed heartily. All the people were drawn out into the streets, which were so full one could hardly pass, and all frighted to death."

"March 7. The town full of lies of what was seen in the air last night. Papers printed and sold that two armies were seen to fight in the air, that two men with flaming swords were seen to fight over Lincoln's-inn-fields. The mob that went to Mr. Linet's burial last night said they saw two men in the sky fight without heads."

In the *Historical Register* for 1716 there is an account of this phenomenon:

"March 6. The same evening, about eight of the clock, was seen a strange phenomenon in the sky. It appeared at first like a huge body of light, compact within itself, but without motion; but in a little time it began to move and separate, extending itself towards the west, when it seemed, as it were, to dispose itself into columns or pillars of flame. From thence it darted south-east with amazing swiftness, and after many undulatory motions and vibrations, there

appeared to be a continual fulguration, interspersed with green, red, blue, and yellow. Then it moved towards the north; from whence, in a little time, it renewed its wavy motions and coruscations as before, which continued to be seen till past three in the morning."

Mr. Gibson, the antiquary, in his *Dilston Hall*, or *Memoirs of the Earl of Derwentwater*, says that the phenomenon has ever since been known as "Lord Derwentwater's Lights." [Extracted from *Guardian*, May 4, 1864.]

1123. **se biscop Roger of Seresbyrig on an half him. and se biscop Rotbert Bloet of Lincolne on oðer half him.**] For a sketch of these, Henry's favourite bishops, see *Essays and Reviews*, by the Rev. R. W. Church, p 199 sq.

1123. p 250 h. **samodlice**] This was no adverb of every day currency, but made with a purpose. It occurs not again in the Chronicles, nor do the Dictionaries furnish another instance. It is not merely 'together' (Thorpe), which is in Saxon **ætsomne, tosomne, ætgædere.** Ingram alone has translated the word adequately "all in a body." The bishops had determined to act collectively, unitedly, conjointly, and therefore they went to the king *all in a body*. "Unanimiter" (Gibson) is *implied* in **samodlice.**

1124. **Belmunt . . . . . Watteuile**] Belmunt appears to be Beaumont, 2½m. from Pont L'Évêque in Normandy, the birthplace of Laplace the mathematician.

Of *Watteuile*, Gibson says, "Hodie opinor *Vatteuile* ab australi parte *Sequanæ*, prope ejus fluminis ostium." This place is now written *Fatouville*.—Murray's Handbook of France; Map of Seine.

1124 b. **sed læpas**] *seed-lips*, as the large wooden troughs which are slung in front of the sower to carry his seed in are still called in Somersetshire. Literally, *seed-baskets*. Here it stands for a measure of capacity. See Mr. Albert Way's note in *Prompt. Parv.* v. *Leep*.

1124. p 253. **gewitene mot . . . . . strange motes**] The latter expression "harsh, severe courts," is illustrated by what is narrated of the proceedings at the "gewitene mot" in Leicestershire. We are not to suppose that this "gewitene mot," which was presided over by a subject, was the Great Council of the Nation; neither was it a "scirgemot" or Assembly of the Shire. Saxon institutions had been much disfigured and confused by arbitrary and unconstitutional expedients, and men had forgotten the precise import of the terms belonging to them. Among other changes, open courts were much disused, and were superseded by the "hall-mote" or *court held in the lord's hall*, the mere statement of which readily suggests what

would follow, and makes the "**strange motes**" of the text easy to comprehend.

1125. **fals**] This is the Latin **falsum**=a counterfeit, spurious thing, a fraud. The crime of **falsum** applied not only to the forgery of a will or other instrument, but likewise to the adulteration of gold or silver coin. See Smith's Dict. Gr. and Rom. Antiquities, v. Falsum. From it has come the present French word for "forgery," which is **faux**; having passed through a form much like that in the text. The word **fals** (neuter substantive, **þæt fals**) occurs both for 'base coin,' and also for the crime of debasing the coin, falsification, forgery. Schmid (Glos. v. **Fals**) renders it *corruptio*, Fälſchung (des Geldes). A law of Cnut (ii. 8) decrees the loss of the right hand to the false moneyer; "... ymbe feos bote, þæt an mynet gange ofer ealle þas þeode butan ælcon false and þæt nan man ne forsace; and se þe ofer þis fals wyrce, þolige þæra handa, þe he þæt fals mid worhte, and he hi mid nanum þingum ne gebicge, ne mid golde ne mid seolfre;" i. e. . . . about correcting the money-system, that one currency pass every where in these realms without falsification, and that no man decline it; and whoso hereafter is guilty of false-moneying, let him suffer the loss of the hand that he made the spurious coin withal—and let him not with any consideration redeem it (his hand)—not with gold nor with silver. In Cod. Dipl. 717, the word is used in reference to a written document.

1125. **þ hi ealle abohton**]=*that they all paid* heavily *for*, i. e. they suffered the consequences of. See Laȝamon, Glos. v. **abugge**, and the note there referred to. Tyrwhitt in Chaucer, Glos. v. **Abegge, Abeye, Abie**, renders it simply "To suffer for," without noticing the parent sense "To pay the full price of."

1125. p 254. **se b' of Loþene J.**] John, the first bishop of Glasgow. David Macpherson's "Geographical Illustrations of Scottish History," 1796, v. Louthian.

1127. **Æðelic**] This is the same name as that of her step-mother, which is above 1121 spelt Æðelis; shewing that indifferent use of S and C, of which many examples occur between this and the end of E. Lappenberg speaks of her as king Henry's *Tochter Adelheid, welche später gewöhnlich den damals beliebtern Namen Mathilde führte*, vol. ii. p 248. Under the name of Matilda she is celebrated as the rival of Stephen.

1127. p 256 l. **on þe selue der fald**] *in the very deer-fold*; in the home-park itself. The nature of the hunt here imagined is totally different from that of our day. Now-a-days men hunt for exercise and sport, but then they hunted for food, or for the luxury

of fresh meat. Now the flight of the beast is the condition of a good hunt, but in those days it entailed disappointment. They had neither the means of giving chase nor of killing at a distance, so they used stratagem to bring the game within the reach of their missiles. A labyrinth of alleys was penned out at a convenient part of the wood, and here the archers lay under covert. The hunt began by sending men round to brush and beat the wood, and drive the game with dogs and horns into the ambuscade. This pen is the *haia* so frequently occurring among the *silvæ* in Domesday. The **der fald** of our text seems to be the same. Horns were used, not as with us, to call the dogs; or, as in France, to signal the stray sportsmen; but to scare the game. The text has twenty or thirty horn blowers. In fact it was the *battue*, which is now, under altered circumstances, discountenanced by the authorities of the chase, but which in early times was the only way for man to cope with the beasts of the field.

1130. Of this celebrated consecration we have the historian *Gervase*, so often referred to by Professor Willis for the excellence of his architectural notices. He was a sacristan in Christ Church, witnessed the fire, and watched the rebuilding. Learned architects are able to verify his descriptions in the present fabric. See especially, *A Lecture on Modern Restoration of Ancient Buildings*, by Mr. Gilbert Scott, 1864.

1131. p 260 t. **Her him trucode ealle his mycele cræftes. nu him behofed þæt he crape in his mycele codde in ælc hyrne gif þær wære hure an unwreste wrenc þæt he mihte get beswicen anes Crist and eall Cristene folc**] = "Here all his boasted astuteness failed him; now he had good cause to creep into his vast wallet [and explore it] in every corner, [to see] if by any chance there might be there just one poor contrivance, so that he might yet once more deceive Christ and all Christian folk." The figure is, that this Abbot Henry's stock in life was a wallet full of tricks and evasions, but that now when he sorely needed one of them to serve his present occasions, they were all exhausted or worn out. Gibson caught the spirit of the passage: "omnis ei angulus tentandus est."

**Codd** is bag, wallet, scrip, *unde*, 'peas-cod,' &c. It is used in the A. S. Gospels (Ed. Thorpe) to translate *pera*, *πήρα*, in Matt. x. 10; Mk. vi. 8; Lk. ix. 3: cf. Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, l. 12468. In a curious inventory of the goods of a shopkeeper of Kirton in Lindsay, A. D. 1519, "ix coods," i. e. pillow-cases or pillows. And

in Durham Wills ii. 156, "xxi coddes," A.D. 1587. *Gent. Mag.*, April 1864, p 501.

**hure** is **huru**, and joined with a low numeral like **an**, it means "just one" or "so much as one," "vel unum." By way of further aggravating his case "unwreste" is added to the smallest numeral= if he could find at the utmost one shabby evasion that might by good luck serve one more turn, like the crazy ship in which the ousted foreigners got away (on ænon unwræste scipe, p 187).

The same figure occurs in Chaucer's *Romaunt of the Rose*, 3263, with the substitution of **male**=malle, portmanteau for **cod**:

> So much treason is in his male,
> Of falseness for to faine a tale.

1132–1154. One of the most palpable characteristics of the language of this Continuation, is the appearance, now for the first time, of the *conjunction* **for**, in the sense of the Latin *nam, enim, etenim;* also, but less often, in the sense of *quia, quod, ideo quod.* Instances:

p 261; for þat ilc gear warth þe king ded.
for æuric man sone ræuede oþer þe mihte.
for agenes him risen sona þa rice men þe wæron swikes.
and for he hadde get his tresor (=et eo quod &c.)
for æuric rice man his castles makede
p 262; for ne uuæren næure nan martyrs swa pined
for nan ne wæs o þe land
for ouersithon ne forbaren hi nouther circe ne cyrce iærd.
for hi uueron al forcursæd
for þe land was al fordon
p 263; ac he ne myhte for he wart it war.
p 264; for þe king him sithen nam in Hamtun.
p 265; for þa þe king was in prisun þa wenden &c.
for he besæt heom til hi a iauen up here castles
and be gode rihte for he was an yuel man (=quod)
for warese he com he dide mare yuel
al folc him luuede for he dide god justise.

In the old classical Saxon way of expressing this conjunction, **for** was merely the preposition of the conjunctional phrase, **for þam þe**, *pro eo quod,* with its variants, one of which is still extant here and there in this section in the form *forði ðæt.*

1137. **hise neues**] *his nephews,* i.e. two nephews of Roger bishop of Salisbury. Gibson rendered "suum nepotem," and this has been followed by all after translators. Yet the words are distinctly plural, to a degree that admits not of being rendered in English, as both the pronoun and the substantive have plural forms.

Alexander bishop of Lincoln was nephew of Roger bishop of Salisbury; while the other Roger, the Cancellarius, was his nephew by courtesy, or as Malmesbury sets it forth, "qui nepos esse, vel plusquam nepos, ejusdem episcopi ferebatur." Hist. Nov. ii. § 20.

1137 b. **carl men and wīmen**] *males and females, men and women.* **Carl men** is not "peasant men" (as Mr. Thorpe has rendered here and above, p 222 h, carl man "common man"), but simply *men*, the male sex as opposed to **wimmen** the female. It is necessary to distinguish clearly between this word **carl**, *mas*, and **ceorl**, *rusticus;* because they are quite distinct in use, if not in origin. Grimm (Gr. ii. p 463) gives **carl-cat**, tom-cat; **carl-fugel**, avis mascula. This is the word that has become a Christian name, Karl, Carolus, Charles; and our compound **carl man** (Frankish **karlo-man**) is the source of the name Charlemagne, the 'man' having been twisted into *magnus* by after-thought.

1137. p 262 h. **lof ȝ grī**] This would appear to be an abbreviation for **lof and grin**, which might be rendered *beam and shackles.* In the Paris Psalter, Ps. xxxiv. 8, teldedon gryne, they tilled a snare; and v. 9, Gefo hi þa grynu, may the gins catch them.

This barbarous engine seems to challenge comparison with the "devil on the neck," which was used under Henry VIII. to vindicate the honour of the Six Articles. Fox ii. 517, 536.

1137. p 262 m. **drapen**] *they killed.* Although this word occurs both in Beowulf (3487, 3178, Ed. Kemble) and in Cædmon (deaðdrepe 3424=ictus letalis: gemynddrepen 1565=stupor sensûs, Bouterwek)—yet its presence in this place may safely be attributed to Danish influence. The word may have passed at an early period from the Danish to the Anglian Scalds, and the occurrence of the word in those poems tends to confirm their Anglian character. The word is not cited from any positively Saxon documents. It is a Norsk word: *Icel.* **drepa**; *Swed.* **dräpa**; *Dan.* **dræbe**=to kill. In the Glossarial Index of Thirteenth Century English, by Herbert Coleridge, v. **Drepen**, it is cited from Havelok the Dane, and an Early English Psalter, edited by Rev. J. Stevenson, for the Surtees' Society, both Dano-Anglian sources.

1137. p 262 m. **flec**] This word is found written without the S in a Vocabulary *melioris ævi*, Wright, p 60 a; "*Lanio* .... flæc tawere."

1137. p 262 l. **ouer sithon**] I cannot adopt Gibson's rendering 'tandem enim;' though followed by Ingram and Stevenson 'after a while;' still less Mr. Thorpe's 'everywhere at times.'

**Sithon** or siðon or siþum (*d. pl.* of sið=journey, course, going) meant number of *times, fois, vicibus.* With a numeral it is of com-

mon occurrence, twelf siþum, duodecies; seofon siþon, septuplum, &c. In later times we find other words besides numerals combined with it, e. g. **offte siþe**=oftentimes, Ormulum, Ed. White, v. Offte; and **often sithes** in Chaucer, Prol. Cant. Tales, 487.

It is not impossible that **ouer** in this place may belong to the 'of' which is in 'often;' and have nothing to do with 'ofer, over.' Then it is identical with Chaucer's **often sithes**, *oftentimes*. Supposing 'over' to be meant, it would mean 'times past reckoning.'

1137. p 262 b. **hi sæden openlice ȝ xpist slep.**] *They said openly that Christ slept.* Was it His poor friends or His proud foes that said so? The latter, it would seem, from the word **openlice**. But there are examples for both. Perhaps in some sense He admits it Himself—**Dormio sed cor meum vigilat.** Cantica Canticorum. When He slept in the ship, all this was indicated. Ezekiel viii. 12, ix. 9; 2 Pet. iii. 4; Ps. cxxi. 4.

1137. p 263 h. **circe wican . . . . horder wycan**] Mr. Stevenson's version of this passage was (substantially) right, but Mr. Thorpe has involved it in obscurity again. Mr. Stevenson has it:—"privileges, one for all the lands of the abbacy, and another for all the lands which belonged to the sacrist; and had he lived longer, he intended having done the same for the treasurer." The grammatical designation of **wican** is obscure, as there are no marks of gender, and I do not know where we find the word in another inflection. But as it ranges here with 'ꝑ abbotrice,' it may be expected to signify rather office than officer. These words **circe wican** and **horder wycan** should be the offices of which we have the officers' titles on page 260 h, 'circeweard and hordere,' churchwarden and treasurer. And there is a passage in Ælfric, Hom. ii. p 592 l, in which **wican** is used of ecclesiastical *offices* in general: "Hu mæg oꝺꝺe hu dear ænig læwede man him to geteon þurh riccetere Cristes **wican**; i. e. How can or how dare any lay man appropriate to himself through the insolence of power the *offices* of Christ!" With this slight modification of Mr. Stevenson's version, I would render:—*privileges, one for all the lands of the abbacy, and another for the lands that belong to the sacristy, and if his life were prolonged he meant to do the same for the treasury.*

1137. p 263 m. **Nu we willen sægen &c.**] This story of S. William of Norwich is a recurring one. S. Hugh of Lincoln, a saint of the same strain, is thus apostrophised by Chaucer's Prioress in her peroration:

> O yonge Hughe of Lyncoln; slayn also
> With cursed Jewes—as it is notable,
> For it nys but a litel while ago—

The Tale of the Prioress is but a variation of this supposed Jewish atrocity. S. William seems to have retained his celebrity down to the time of the Reformation, at least in Norfolk. In Loddon church, which is advanced perpendicular of about 1500, there is a painting of his crucifixion on a panel of the rood-screen, still in fair preservation. I am indebted to my friend the Rev. Greville J. Chester for a copy of this relic.

These accusations against the Jews are not everywhere so obsolete as in England. So recently as 1840, the "Chamber of Deputies" debated on an affair of this nature. The French consul at Damascus brought a charge against the Jews there, that they had immolated a Christian monk for their passover. The Turkish authorities proceeded so severely against the Jews, that great indignation was

excited at Paris against the consul. The government, however, supported their representative; and the validity of the charge against the Rabbins was stoutly maintained by M. Thiers in the Chamber of Deputies.

1138. A rhetorical monograph of this battle of the Standard was written by a cotemporary, Ethelred [*al.* Ailred, Aldred] Abbot of Rievaulx. It is printed in Twysden "X Scriptores"—"de bello inter regem Scotiæ et Barones Angliæ apud Standardum juxta Alvertonam." In this recital, (which is merely a Cistercian demonstration,) Willielmus comes Albemarum is overshadowed by the hero of the piece Walterus Espec, the founder of Rievaulx Abbey, where the Cistercians had their earliest foundation (1132) and chief seat in England. A representation of "The Standard" is given in Twysden, apparently from an ancient drawing.

1140. p 264 t. **fordfeorde Will' ærceb' of Cantwarb'**] Mr. Hartshorne has vindicated for Archbishop William de Corbeuil the glory of being the builder of the celebrated "Gundulf's" Tower at Rochester. *Archæological Journal*, September 1863, p 210. He quotes *Gervase*, ap. Decem Scriptores, p 1664, saying that "rex Henricus dedit et confirmavit ecclesiæ Cantuariæ et Willielmo archiepiscopo Castellum quod est in civitate Roffensi, ubi idem archiepiscopus turrim egregiam ædificavit." Strongly confirmed by Florence, *Cont.* 1126.

1154. **ꝯ at Torn'**] Cf. 1066, p 203 m, where we get some insight how patronage accrued to Burh.

The magnificence of Peterborough Abbey gave occasion to the proverb **Orgoyl de Bourk'**=*Peterborough Pride*, which is found in a list of local characteristics current in the time of Edw. II; published by Mr. Nichols in *Gent. Mag.*, January 1862, p 64, from MS. Douce 98.

# GLOSSARIAL INDEX

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OF

# EVERY FORM OF WORD IN A AND E

## DIRECTIONS

Words peculiar to A are distinguished by an *.

Words common to both Chronicles are in thick type.

Words undistinguished by either of these signs are peculiar to E.

Italics in head-words signify a state of transition, or other departure from the normal type.

References are sometimes made by the number of the year, and sometimes by the number of the page, so as to subdivide the text and reduce the extent of the portions referred to. The Annal-figure is used for referring to a whole Annal, only when the whole Annal is printed upon the same page. When a page is turned in the course of an Annal, the after part of that Annal is referred to by its pagination. Hence, the page-reference often applies only to a small remnant of an Annal over the page. Thus "*p*238" refers only to three lines on the top. Any figure referring to a whole page is followed by one of the five letters *t*, *h*, *m*, *l*, *b* = top, high, middle, low, bottom.

Where the modern equivalent is in Roman type, it indicates physical affinity to the head-word.

Where a modern word is put in brackets, thus [drench], it signifies that it is physically related to the head-word, but not its equivalent in meaning.

*s. n.* or *n.* abbreviation for "see note;" *s. f. n.* for "see foot-note."

| | |
|---|---|
| EA. . . | East Anglian |
| NH. . . | Northumbrian |
| SS. . . | South Saxon |
| WS. . . | West Saxon |
| NL. . . | Local Name |
| NLL. . . | Name of Divers Places |
| NM. . . | Man's Name |

**a.** article = a, an, *p*262*m*.
**á.** *always*, aye, *p*13. 959, 999.
**áá.** *id. p*3.
**ab'** = abbot, 1154.
**abad.** abode, 1091, *with gen.* 1094.
**abannan** (út), *inf. call out*, *p*140, *p*142.
**abæd** (æt Gode), *prayed*, *p*229.
**abædon.** *pl. id. p*3.
**abb'** = abbot, 989 & *oft.* [1043.
**Abbandune.** Abingdon, A1046, E
**abbates.** abbots, *p*250.
***abbod.** abbot, 905, 963.
**abbodas.** *p*221.
**abbode.** 1083.
***abbodesse.** abbess, 680.
**abbodrice.** *abbacy*, 656, 1017.
**abbot.** *p*191. 1044.
**abbotes.** 675, 1075.
**abbotrice.** *p*38. 1070.
**abbotrices.** 1127.
**abboðessa.** abbess, 680.
***abbud.** 790, 803.
***abbudesse.** abbess, 805.
**abeah.** *submitted*, 1013. *p*148.
**abegdan.** *subdued*, *p*223.
**abegdon.** *id. p*212.
**abehofode.** behoved, *p*229.
**abeodan** (ut), *inf. order out*, 1091.
**abidan.** abide, *p*5.
**abiddan.** *inf. of* abæd, 626. (hit) 1043.
***abisgod.** *part. engaged*, busied, *p*92.
**ablænde** = ablende, *p*214.
**ablendan.** *inf. id.* 993.
**ablende.** *part. pl. blinded*, *p*140.
**ablunnon.** *ceased*, *p*234.
**Abon** (ældorman), *p*33.
**abræcon.** *broke up*, Ap91, E860.
***abrecan.** *inf.*
**abruðon.** *failed*, 1004, *s. n.* 1101.
**abufan.** *adv.* above, *supra*, 1090.
**abugan.** *inf. to* abeah, *p*148.
**abugað.** *they* bow, 979.
**abugon.** *pl. to* abeah, *submitted*, *p*223*l*.
**abutan.** *prp.* about, *p*123*b*.
——— *adv. p*31*m*, *p*219*t*.
**abuten.** *id.* 1135.
**abuton.** *adv. p*31*t*, *prp.* 1000.
**ac.** *but*, 1004.
**Acca** (Wilferðes preost), 710, 733.
***Accan** (sunu), *gen.* 905.
***Acemannes ceastre.** *Bath*, 973.
***acenned.** *born*, 1.
**acennednesse.** *birth*, *p*33, *p*123.
***acennesse.** *id. p*2.
**aceres.** *pl. acc. fields*, *p*259.
**acer** sæd. seed *for an* acre? 1124*b*.
**Aclea.** NLL. E782, A & E851.
**acordad.** *part. reconciled*, 1120.
**acordede.** *made terms*, *p*261.
**acordedan.** 1120.
**acsode.** asked, 755.
**acwanc.** *went out* (of light), 1110.
***acwælon** (hungre), *perished*, *p*104.
**acwealde.** quelled, killed, *p*219.
**ácwencen.** *inf. extinguish*, 1122.
***acwolen** (hungre) = *starved*, *p*92.
***adde*** = hadde = hæfde, had, 1138.
**adilgian.** *inf. destroy*, 979.
**adiligode.** *devastated*, 793. [685.
**adon** (of ðam &c.), *removed, put out of*,
**adraf.** drave, drove out, 380, 1028.
**adranc.** *was drowned*, 933. *p*156.
**adræfan.** *inf.* drive *out of country*, 755.
**adræfde.** *pret. id.* A755, Ep234.
**adræfdon.** *pl. id.* 878.
***adræfed.** *part. id. p*126.
**adrefde.** 617.
**adrefdon.** 874.
**adrefed.** 790.
**adrefede.** 755.
**adrefedne.** *p*35.
**adrencte.** *pret. submerged*, *p*151.
**adrencton.** *pl. id.* 890 [drench].
**adrengton.** *p*225.
**Adrianum** (papan), 785.
***Adrianus** (pāp), 794.
**adrifan** = adrifon, *p*223.
**adrifen.** *part.* 678.
**adrifen** = adrifon, 823.
***adrifenne.** *expulsum*, 658.
***adrifon.** *expelled*, drove *out*, 823.
**adrincene.** *pl. part. drowned*, 1120.
**adruncen.** 853. ertrunken.
**adruncon.** *pl. of* adranc, 794.
**Aduent** (the 1st Sunday in), 963.
**adyde** (hi), "*did for them*," 1086.
**adylege.** 3*d imp. of* adilgian, *p*259.
**adylige.** *id.* = *deleto*, *p*33*l*.
***aer.** *before*, ere, *p*4.
***afaran.** *sons*, 937. *p*115*t*.

afaren. *gone*, *p225m*.
afedan. feed, *p218t*.
*Afene. *the river* Avon, *p104*.
afeoll. fell *to the ground*, *p236t*.
*afera. 942, *sing. of* *afaran.
aferan. *acc. sing.* 975.
áferede. 'afeard,' afraid, 1083.
aflemde ut. *drove out*, 1124 [Fleming].
aflemden. *pl.* 1124, *put to flight*.
*afliemdon. *id.* 797.
*afliemed. *part.* 836.
aflymd*a*. *p210h*.
aflymde. 835.
aflymdon. *p171*.
aflymed. *p241*.
aflymede. 1001.
*Afne. 652, *s.* Afene.
aforon. *went, departed*, 794.
*after (wudum), *along by*, 878.
afundan. *discovered*, 755.
afylde. *slew*, felled, 626.
afyllan. *inf.* 626.
*afylled. *part. p126h*.
afylled. filled, *p221m*.
agan. *p218l, s. n.*
agan. gone, A4, E11.
*agan. *back* again, 1031, *s. n.*
agan. began, *p141*.
*ágáne. *pl. of* agan, *p95l*.
*agangen. gone, 973.
*agann. begun, *p208*.
Agatho (Pope), 675, 963.
*Agæles þrep. NL. 455.
*agænes.* against, 1137.
ageaf. gave *up*, A*p91l*, E*p226h*.
ageafon. *pl. p226t*. [*p183t*.
agean. *back* again, *retrd*, A*p208*, E
*agef. *p91b* = ageaf.
agefan. *pl. id. p225l*.
agen. own, 654. eigen.
agenan. *dat. pl.* 1101.
agene. *p51*.
agenes. *p261*.
agenne. A755, E*p220*.
agenre. 794, E1014.
agenum. A1070, E46, 813.
*ageted. *pierced*, 937*m*.
agifan. *p225l, inf. to* ageaf.
*agnum. 46, 584, 813 = agenum.
agunnen. begun, *p33b*.
agyfan. *p232h* = agifan.
agyfen. *part. p232m*.
ahangen. *crucified*, 33.
*ahebbad. ebbed, *p95b*.
ahengen. *pret.* hanged, *p253*.
ahofen. *elevated* [heave], 795.
*ahon. to hang, *p96*.
ahredde. *delivered*, 994, *s. n. p156*.
*ahreddon. *pl.* 894, 917.
*ahte. property* [aught], *p30m*.
ahte. owned, 1042. *p201*.
ahtes. *adv. worth* aught, 992.
ahtlice. *stoutly*, *p203t*. 1071.
ahton. *pl. of* ahte, 833.
*ahwar.* quoquo loco, 1064.
*ahwær. anywhere*, 992, 1105, 1120.
*ahyddon. *they* hid, 418.
*Aidan. *Bp. Lindisfarne*, 651.
Aidanus. *id.* 650.
*aiaven. p265h* = ageafon.
al. all, A418, 827, E*p30* & 33.
Alamanie. *Germany*, *p264m*.
*álædan. *to carry off* [lead], *p94*.
Albamar (eorl of), 1138.
Alban. *St. Albans*, *p254*.
Albane. *id.* 1116.
Albemare. 1090, *s. n.*
Albin. Albano, 1095*l*.
Alchmund. *Bp. Hexham*, 780.
Alchredes. *a NHumbrian prince*, 789.
*alda = ealda, old, ealt, 871.
*aldan. *gen. id. p84m*.
Aldberht (abbot), 788.
*Aldbryht. NM. 722, 725.
Aldelm. 709 = Aldhelm.
Aldemer (Punt). Pont Audemer, *p251b*.
Aldewingle. NL. *p263m*.
*Aldferþ. *king of NHumbria*, 705.
*Aldferþe. *id.* 716, 718.
Aldfriþ. *id.* 685, 705.
*Aldhelm. *Bp. Sherborne*, 709.
*Aldhelming. *patronymic*, 731.
*aldorman. *chief of a shire*, 750, 805, 871.
*aldormen. *dat. sing. id.* 886.
*aldormen. *pl. id.* 495, 800.
*aldormenn. *id.* 465 [aldermen].
*aldormon = -man, 837, 888, & *oft*.
*aldormonnes. *gen.* 755.
*Ald Seaxe. Old Saxons, 780.
Ald Seaxum. *dat.* A*p84*, E*p13*.

Aldulf. *Bp. Rof'*, 731.
——— *Abb. Peterb', Abp. York, p123l.*
Aldwine. *Bp. Lich'*, 731.
aleggenne (to), *put down*, 'lay,' *p236m.*
alehte. *caught*, 1123.
Alein Fergan. NM. 1127*h.*
alesednesse. *redemption*, *p32h.*
Alex'. 1137. *for*
Alexander. *king of Scotland*, *p242.*
*Ælexandre. *dat. Pope*, *p208.*
*Ælfred. *sic ἅπαξ*, *p95.*
Alfwold. *NHumbrian king*, 778, 789.
Alhred. *NHumbrian king*, 765, 774.
Alhhun, *Bp. p69.*
*aliesde. *ransomed*, 918.
alihte dune. alighted down, 1123.
alisde. leased, *p233m.*
all = al. Æ870–886, *Ep262.*
alle. Æ491–885, *Ep30.*
*allum. 860–885.
*alne. 871, 878.
*Ælocing. *patronymic*, 547.
aloð. ale (*Dan.* Öl), 852.
Alre. *dat.* Aller, *Somersets.* 878.
Alric. NM. 798.
*als.* 1135. *for* alswa = as.
*alse. id.* 1137.
*alsua.* also, 1154.
*alsuic.* all-such, *just* such, 1137.
alswa. al-so, *p38l.*
Aluearnie. Auvergne.
*Ælweoing. *patronymic*, 716.
*alysde. *freed*, loosed, 942.
*am.* I am, *p39l.*
Amalri. NM. 1124.
amang (þam þe), *whilst*, *p174.*
amansumed. *part. excommunicated*, *p38b.*
amansumede. *pret. sing. p210t.* [*p39.*
amansumie. *I excommunicate*, *p123m*,
Ambrosius (St. A's day), 1095.
amundbræg. A'Monbrai, 1087*m.*
amyrde. *pl. part.* marred, 1111.
amyrdon. *pl. pret.* 1073. *p39.*
amyrrene. *sup. p178h.*
án. one, Æp2. 491, 755, E491. *p79.*
an. *art. indef.* a, an, 1031.
*an. *prep.* on, 894, 984.
ana. one, 972.
—— *alone*, 978.
anan. *dat. def. p174t.*
Ancarig. anchorite's *iland*, *p32.*
ancersettle. *hermitage*, *p220l.*
and. and, *oft.* (and eac, E883).
Andeferan. Andover, 994.
andlang. along, 887 & *oft.*
Andræd = Andred. 892.
Andreas (St. A's day), *p159.*
Andred. *forest in Kent*, 755, Æ893.
Andredes. 477, 491.
andsæte. *hateful*, *p236h.*
andswerade. answered, *p123.*
andswerode. *id. p32.* 963.
*andwalde. *dominions*, *p104t.*
*andweardan. *present*, *p68.*
ane. *fem. num.* one, Æ879, E1048.
anes. *gen. p151.* 1048.
anfeng = onfeng. *received*, 994.
*anforlet. *abandoned*, 658.
*angan. *p208m* = ongan. began.
Angæu. Anjou, *p265.*
Angel cin. Angle kin, *p13.*
Angel cinne. *dat. p158.*
Angel cyn. Æ597–897, *Ep141–986.*
Angel cynn. *p142.* 597.
Angel cynne. *p127.* 1002.
Angel cynnes. Æ874, E815–1012.
Angeli (abbey of), 1127*b.*
*Ængelðeowing. *patronymic*, 626.
*Ængelþowing. *id.* 755.
*Ængenwitting. *patronymic*, 547.
Angeow. Anjou, 1127.
anginne. beginning (*of August*), 1107.
Angla. *gen. pl. of the English*, 975.
Anglum. *dat. pl. p13.* 443.
Angou = Angeow, *p264.*
*ani.* any, 1137.
*anidde.* 823 = anydde.
Anieli. *p250* = Angeli.
*ani* þing. anything, *p33*, *p39.*
aniðrod. *debased*, *p38b.*
anker setle = ancer —, *p32t.*
Anlaf. *two of the name, s. f. n. p117.*
Anlafe. *id.* Æ937; *another*, E994.
*anlipig. *ἅπαξ. single, one by one*, *p76.*
Anna = *Onna. *EAnglian king*, 653.
Annan. *gen.* 639. [894, E1125.
anne = ænne. *acc. masc.* one, Æ501–
*annesse. oneness, union, *p108.*
Anphos. Alphonse, *p223, s. n.*
anræde. *decided, resolute*, 1003.

anrædlice. *promptly*, 1003–1048.
**anre.** *num. or art.* one, Ā941, E617-1077.
anreces. ἁπαξ. *straightway*, 1010.
Ansealm. *Abp. Cant'*, 1109.
Ansealme. *p*232.
Ansealmes. 1115.
Anselm. *p*254.
Anselme. *appointed*, 1093.
*ánstreces. *at* one stretch, *p*93*t*, *s. n.*
**anum.** *dat.* one, 661, 888.
*anwalde. *sway*, *p*106*b*, *p*108*h*.
anwealde. *id. p*223.
Anwend. *Danish king*, *p*79.
*Ānwynd. *id.* 875.
anydde. part. pl. *forced*, 823.
Apefensea. Pevensey, *p*225.
*apostolas. apostles, 30.
Ap'l. *contraction for* April, *p*264*t*.
**Apuldre.** Appledore, Ā*p*91. 893, E892.
*Āpulfing. 901 = Æþelwulfing.
*ara. *gen. pl.* oars, *p*95*h*.
árás. *arose*, 380.
aræcan. reach, *catch*, *p*151.
*arærode. raised, reared, 718.
**arceb'** = arcebiscop. A*p*208, E799 &c.
arcebisc' = *id. p*237.
arcebiscop. archbishop, 888.
arcebiscope. *dat.* 1006.
arcebiscopas. *pl. p*221.
arceb's = *id.* 1087.
arceb'rice *for* arcebiscoprice. 1114.
arceb'rices. *gen.* 1119.
arcestole. *See of* Abp. 1115, 1119.
*Ārcenbryht. *king of Kent*, 664.
*Ārcenbryhting = *son of id.* 694.
are. *v. propitietur. p*203*h*.
are. *honour = possessions*, *p*140*t*.
*aréd. *dictated*, *p*108.
arerde. *exalted*, 959.
arerdon. *set up, established*, *p*220*h*.
areren. raise, rear, *build*, 654.
arewan. arrows, 1083.
Argentses. Argentan *or* Argences? *p*230*h*.
arhlice. *treacherously*, 1071.
*arhwate. *eager for glory*, *p*115.
arisan. *pret. pl. they* arose, *p*225*b*.
*arisaþ. *pres. ind. pl.* rise, 1031.
arme. *poor*, arm, 1104*b*.
Arnulf. *earl of Flanders*, *p*210.
Arundel. *in Sussex*, 1097.
Arwan. Orwell, *p*157*t*.
Arnwi. *abb' of Burh*, *p*169, *p*187*b*.
*arwierþa. *venerable*, 716.
arwurþa. *id.* 716.
arwurðen. *v. inf. to honour*, *p*30*t*.
arwurðlice. *respectfully*, 633.
arwurðnisse. *reverence*, *p*147.
asah. sank, 1012.
*ásæton. *grounded*, *p*95*b*.
ásætton = asettan. 892.
*Āscan mynster. Axminster, *p*50*b*.
*asceacen (wæs), *had deserted*, 1001.
ascunedon. *disliked*, 1014.
asecgenne. *sup. to tell, relate*, say, 1104*b*.
aseh = asah. 1123.
**ásend.** *part.* sent, Ā905, E430.
*aseten (wæron), *part. grounded*, *p*95*b*.
*asettan. *pret. pl.* set forth? 893, 1001.
*asetton. *id.* 1001.
asmægian. *devise*, *p*140*b*.
asmeade. *pt. sg. fem. ransacked*, *p*145.
*aspanen. *part. allured*, *p*107*m*.
aspeon. *attracted, seduced*, 1009. *p*152 =
*áspón. *persuaded, induced*, 905.
asprang.
Assandun. NL. *in Essex*, *p*158.
Assandune. *dat. id.* 1020.
*Āsser. *Bp.* 910.
astah. *mounted, ascended*, *p*243.
astealde. *set on, set going*, 1010. *p*158.
astirad. 1087*t* = astyred.
astiht. *part. ordered, directed*, 998.
**astungon.** *bored, pierced out*, 797.
astyred. stirred, *p*187*t*.
astyrod. *id.* 1095.
aswac. *was false to*, *p*158.
aswalt. *died*, 46.
aswefede. *pt. pl. slain* [swoop], 937*b*.
at. *apud*, Ā*p*208, E777; at, E782.
ateah. *he disposed of*, 1071.
ateallan. *count*, tell, 1095*m*.
ateallene. *sup. reckon, recount*, *p*223*l*.
aten. oats, 1124*b*.
atendon. *kindled.* [zünden] *p*140.
ateorede. *failed.* [zehren] *p*225*l*.
ateowede. *appeared*, 678.
atewoden. *pl. id.* 729.
athas. oaths, *p*264*m*, Eid.
*athes. id. p*264*b*.
*atimbran. *to build* [timber], 643. *p*106.

atimbrian. *id.* [Zimmermann] 641.
*atiwdon. 1070, *pl. of*
*atiwede. *p*202 = ateowede.
*atymbran. 913 = atimbran.
atywede. *p*263 = ateowede.
atywian. *inf. p*208.
atywde. 1032 = atywede.
Audoen'. Owen Bp. Evreux. 1130.
Auguste. *dat. the month* Aug. 1013.
Augustes. *gen. id.* 1107.
Augustine. *dat. Bp. Cant. p*23.
*Ꞧugustino. *Lat. dat.* 601.
Augustinus. 604.
*a úrnen. run *out, expired,* 973.
awæston. 1087*m* = aweston.
**aweg.** away, Ꞧ*p*92*b*, *p*106*b*, E*p*145.
awende. *turned, perverted, p*223*t*.
awestan. *to lay* waste, *p*218*h*.
aweston. *they ravaged,* 1087*h* & *b*.
aweredan. 885 = aweredon.
*awerede. *defended, p*106*h*.
*aweredon. *pl. id. p*106*b*. 885.
awoc. *sprang* [awoke], *p*13.
awócan. *pl. originated,* 1087*b*.
aworpene. *part. acc. masc.* 867 =
*aworpenne. *ejected,* 867.
awrecan. *avenge,* wreak, *p*178*m*.
awritan. *inf.* write, *p*221*h*.
*awriten. *part.* written, 716.
Axamuðan. Exe mouth, *p*174.
Axanmynster. Axminster, *p*51.
*axen. inf.* ask, *p*264*t*.
*axode. asked, *p*208.
*aþas. oaths, 874–*p*118.
aþeling. 725 = æþeling.
*Ꞧþelmod (mæsse preost), 962.
*Ꞧþelwold (St.), *Bp. Wint.* 963.
Aþewold (ealdorman), 888.
*aþiestrode. 538–885 = aþystrode.
*aþswerunge. oath-swearing, *p*208.
Aþulf (ealdormon), Ꞧ903.
—— *Bp.* E*p*123*m*.
*aþum. *dat. pl. with* oaths, *p*108*m*.
aþystrode. *grew dark,* 879, düſter.
*að* = aðas. *p*256*h*.
aðas. oaths, Ꞧ*p*91, E*p*119. 874, 1012.
aðe. *dat. with* oath, *p*159.
Aðelis. *mod.* Alice, 1121.
aðelne. *acc. masc. noble,* 501.
Aðelwaldes. *gen.* kg. of NHumbria, 790.
Aðelwold. *restorer of Burh Abbey,* 963.
Aðelwulf. *WSaxon king, p*85.
aðeostrade. 802 = aþiestrode.
aðeostrode. *id.* 540.
*aðes.* oaths, *p*260.
aðestrode. 538–733 = aþystrode.
aðistrad. *part. id.* 800.
aðistrod. *id.* 795.
aðistrode. *pret.* 806.
aðswerunge. *p*208 = aþ swerunge.
aðum. *son-in-law,* 1010.
—— *p*233*h*, *s. n.*
aðume. *d. brother-in-law,* 1091.
aðystrode. *p*85 = aþystrode.
*æ* = ea. *stream* [Eaton], *p*31*h*.
*æaldorman.* 800 = ealdorman.
*Æbbe (Friesa), *p*96.
*æc* = eac. *also,* eke, *p*38*t*.
*æcon. inf. amplify, p*39*h*.
*Ædgar. p*203 = Eadgar.
*Ædred.* 948, 955 = Eadred.
*Ædric. ealdorman of Mercia,* 1007.
*Ædmund.* 940, 870 = Eadmund.
*Ædward.* 901, 925 = Eadweard.
*Ædwardes. gen. id.*
*Ædwig* (æðeling), 1017.
*Ædwine.* 827 = Eadwine.
———— (æðeling), 933.
———— (eorl), 1071.
*Ædwinesclife.* NL. 761.
*æfen. even, eve, 626.
æfenes. *gen. id.* 1118.
æfentide. eventide, 979.
*æfer = æfre. ever, *p*115.
*Æferwic* = Eoforwic. York, *p*39.
Æfic. *a High Sheriff,* 1002.
æfre. ever, 85–1014.
*æftan. ὀπίσθεν, *behind, p*115.
æftercwæð. *revoked,* 1094.
æfter. after, Ꞧ871*b*, E979.
—— *secundum, along by,* 878.
*æftera. *the second, next,* 827.
*æfterfilgendan. *pt. gen. succeeding,* 984.
*æftergengle. gen. pl. p*39*l*.
*æftergengles. successors, p*39*m*.
*æftor.* 1127*b* = æfter.
æftra. *adj.* 1001 = æftera.
æftran. *dat. id.* 1013.
æftre. *dat. fem. p*178*h*.
æge. awe, *terror, p*140*b*.

Ægelbriht. *WSaxon Bp.* 649.
*Ægelbryht. *id.* 650, 660.
*Ægelesburg. Aylesbury, 571.
Ægelesforda. NL. *p*157.
Ægelesþrep. NL. 455.
Ægelwig. *Abb. of Evesham*, 1077.
Ægelwine. *Bp.* 1069, 1071.
Ægelric. *Bp.* 1069. *p*210.
ægeslice. awful, *terrible*, 1109.
æghwær. 1114 = gehwær, everywhere.
*æghwæþer. each, one-or-other, *p*86.
æghwer. *p*140*m* = æghwær.
æghweðer. *p*87 = æghwæþer.
æghwider. *every*, whither, *p*145.
*æghwonan. *from all parts, p*107*h*.
Æglbriht. 660 = Ægelbriht.
Æglbrihtes. *gen. id.* 670.
Æglea. *p*81 = *Iglea.
Æglesbyrig = *Ægeles-, Ä*p*106, E571.
Ægðan (*Scotta cining*), 603.
ægðær (ge . . . ge), *both . . . and*, *p*187*t*.
ægðære. *dat. fem. id.* 1004.
ægðer. *each, both* [either], 560–906.
ægðere. 1014 = ægðære.
*ægþere. *id. p*104.
*ægþerne. *acc. masc.* either, *p*90*h*.
ægðre. 853 = ægðere.
*ægþrum. *p*104.
*æhte*. eight, *p*209*m*.
*æie*. awe, *p*261 = æge.
*æiðre. 1031 = ægðre.
*æl* = eal. all, *p*31, *p*38.
ælc. each, *every*, Ä911, E1014, 1016.
ælcan. *dat. id. p*223*h*.
ælce. *every*, Ä891, E1001.
*ælcen. dat. id. p*223*b*.
ælcere. *p*148.
ælces. *p*210.
ælcne. *p*140. 1014.
*ælcre. *p*92*m*.
ælcum. Ä894, E979.
ælcmann. *everybody*, *p*154*t*.
ælcþing. *everything*, 997.
ældormon. *p*33 = ealdorman.
ældorman. *id.* 568.
Ælfeach. *Bp.* 994.
(Ælfeages. 993 = *Ælfheages.)
Ælfeah. *id. Abp. Cant.* 1006.
*Ælfeges* (reliquias), 1023.
*Ælfehg. 1006.
Ælfelmes (dohtor), *p*165.
Ælfere. *p*123. 983 = *Ælfhere.
Ælfetee. NL. 762.
Ælfgar (cinges mæg), 962.
——— *another*, 993.
——— (eorl), 1055.
——— *another eorl, p*192.
Ælfgares. 1064.
Ælfgetes (sunu), 1017.
Ælfgife. *relict of king Cnut*, 1037.
Ælfgifu. *nom. id. p*165.
Ælfgiue (2), *p*165.
*Ælfheages. *Bp. Wint.* 984, *gen. of*
*Ælfheah. *earlier Bp. Wint.* 934, 951.
*Ælfhere (ealdorman), 983.
Ælfhun. *Bp. p*147.
Ælfled. NHumbrian queen, 792.
Ælfred. 853–941, Ä*p*4.
Ælfred. *the king*, 871 &c.
Ælfrede. *dat.* 871.
Ælfrede. *dat.* 878–894.
Ælfrede (æþeling), *p*149.
Ælfredes. *pp*84, 85.
Ælfric. *Abp. Cant.* 994–1006. [*p*185.
——(2), *ealdorman of Mercia*, 985, 992,
—— (3), *EAnglian Bp.* 1038.
Ælfrices (4), 634.
*Ælfricus (1), *Lat. nom.* 1005.
*Ælfsi*. Abb. Peterb. *p*123*b*.
Ælfsige. *Bp. Wint.* 1032.
*Ælfsiges. *gen. id.* 1001.
Ælfstan. *Bp. p*123.
——— (2), *Abb. St. Augustine's*, 1044.
Ælfstane. *dat. Bp.* (?1), 992.
Ælfstanes (2), 1043.
Ælfun. *Bp. p*149.
Ælfwine. 679.
——— (2), Bp. Win. 1045. [*p*57.
Ælfwold = Alfwold. *NHumbrian king*,
Ælfword (cynges gerefa), *p*145.
Ælhmund. *p*33. [867.
Ællan. *acc. NHumbrian king elected*,
*ælle* = ealle. *pl.* all, *p*31*m*.
Ælle. *NHumbrian king*, 560.
——— (2), *SSaxon king*, 827.
Ælm. NL. *p*31.
Ælmær. *Abbot, p*145.
——— (2), deorlingc, *p*156.
*ælmæst*. most all, 1091*b*. *p*259*t*.
*ælmes*. alms, *p*262, *for*

**ælmessan.** *p87.* 890.
Ælmihti. Almighty, *p31*, *p38.*
Ælmihtig. *id. p209, p259.*
Ælmihtiga. *id. def. p156.*
ælne = ealne. *acc.* all, 603.
*ælpig. p218b ; curt for* *anlipig.
ælre.
ælþeodige. *pl. foreign, p121t.*
Ælsige. *Abb. Peterb. p149.*
æhta. *possessions, p152.*
*ænde* = ende. end, *p236m.*
ænes. once, 1120.
*Ænglalande. d.* England, Ā1070, E785.
*Ænglalandes. gen. p236.*
*Ængle* = Engle, Angli or -ia, 870.
*Ænglisces. gen.* English, *p156.*
ænie.
ænig. any, 994.
ænige. *p219.*
æniges. *p236.*
*ænigne. 874.
ænigum. *p145.*
æniþing. anything, *p33.*
ænlices. *unique, excellent,* 1120.
ænne. *acc. of num.* án, one, 893.
*æorl* = eorl. Earl, *p264h.*
ær. *before,* ere, 797, 877.
*æra. *gen. pl.* = of waves, 937.
ærceb'. 831 and
*ærcebisc̄. 870 = Archbishop.
*ærcebiscepe. *dat.* 601.
ærcebiscop. *p251.*
ærcebiscopes. *p254.*
ærcebiscoprice. Abp-ric, *p251.*
ærcedæcnes. archdeacons, 1129.
ærcediæcne. Archdeacon, *p245.*
ærcestole. *See of Abp. p140t.*
*ærde* = earde. *country, p259.*
ærende.
ærendracan. messengers, Ā903, E1014.
ærendracen. *id.* 785.
*ærendrakean. *id.* 1070.
*ærer* = æror. before, *p220b.*
ærerde = arærde. *built,* 718.
ærest. *first* [erst], 787, 890.
*ærestan. *pl. def. id. the first, p2.* 787.
*ærm* = earm. *poor, p149,* Arm.
ærman. *def. id. p146.*
*ærme. pl. of ærm, p149.*
ær mergenne. early morn, 538.
*ærn* = arn. ran, *p151.*
æror. *comp. of* ær ; *before,* 1032, 1121.
ærost. *sup. id. first,* erst, *p3.* 678, 661.
ærra. *def. of* ær ; *the former,* 1001.
*ærur* = *æror. p221t* ['or e'er']
ærþan. *before that,* 1115.
æs. *prey, plunder,* 975.
Æsc. son of Hengest, 455.
*æscas. Danish ships, *p95h* [*δόρυ*].
Æscesdune. Ashdown, 648, 661, 871.
*æscmanna. *gen. pl.* men of the *æscas,
Æsctun. NL. *p122.* [*p107l.*
*æscum. *dat. of* *æscas, *p95h.*
Æscwige. Bp. 992.
Æscwine. king of Wessex, *p2.* 674, 676.
æses. *gen. prey, carrion, p115.*
æstan. *p87* = eastan. east.
Æsterdæg. Easter-day, 1012.
Æsterne.
Æstfeld. NL. *p122.*
Æstgeate. "East-gate," *p187.*
æsthalfe. east side, *p31l.*
Æstune. NL. *p31l.*
æt. at, 556, 675, 752, 851.
—— *apud,* at hands of, E605.
ætbærst. *escaped,* 605, 992. *p178t.*
ætbeorstan. *to escape, p32m.*
ætbræd. *withdrew,* 1093.
*æten* = etan. *to eat, p264t.*
æteowde. *appeared,* 891, 995. *p127.*
*ætewdon. *pl. id.* 540.
ætforan. *before, p144.*
*ætiewdon. *id.* 540.
Ætlan. *acc.* Attila, 443.
ætsamne. *together,* at the same *time. p115.*
ætstandene. *sprouted, germinated, p219.*
*ætswummon. *escaped by* swimming,
ætywde. *p243* = æteowde. [918, *s. n.*
*æuestlice. quickly, p30.*
æuezmen. *trusty* men, 1138.
*æure* = æfre. ever, *p62m.*
æuric. every, 1137.
*æuricman. every man, p262.*
*æuostlice* = *æuestlice. p30m.*
*æureū wile.* every while, *p262m.*
æwe. *marriage,* 1101, Ehe.
æwiscmode. *ashamed, cowed, p115.*
*æx. axe, 1031.
æxeyre. ax-iron, 1012.
*Æþelricing. *son of* Æþelric, 670.

æþela. *noble*, Ä814, E975.
*Æþelbald (1), kg. of Mercia, 716–755.
——— (2), kg. of Wessex, 851, 855, 860.
*Æþelbalding. son of Æþelbald, 728.
æþelboren. *noble*-born, 654.
Æþelbriht. *p*65 = [616 (827).
*Æþelbryht (1), king of Kent i, 568,
——— ——— (2), ii, 760.
——— ——— (3), kg. Wessex, 855, 860.
*Æþelbryhte (4), king of EAnglia, 792.
*Æþelbryhtes. *gen.* = (3), 866.
*Æþelbryhting. son of (1), 694.
*Æþelburg (cuen), 722.
*Æþeldryht (St.), 673.
*æþele. *fem. noble*, 937.
*Æþelferþing. *patronymic*, 670.
*Æþelflæd. Lady of Mercia, 922.
*Æþelflæde. *dat. id.* 922.
*Æþelfriþ. king of NHumbria, 593.
*Æþelgar. Abbot of New Minster, 964.
*Æþelheard (1), kg. of Wessex, 728, 741.
— (2), Abbot, *Abp. Cant.* 790, 799, 803.
Æþelhelm (1), Alderm. Dorsets. 837.
——— (2), (aldermon), 887.
Æþelhun (aldorman), 750.
Æþelhuniglond. NL. *p*39.
æþeling. *prince*, Ä728, 755, E721.
*Æþelinga dene. NL. 1001, Alton (Hnts.)
*Æþelinga eigge. Athelney, *p*80.
æþelinge *for* æþelingum, *dat. princes*,
*æþelinges. *gen. p*50*b*. [*p*149.
*Æþelm (ealdorman), *p*92.
Æþelmer (ealdorman), *p*148.
Æþelmund (aldorman), 800.
*æþelne. *acc. masc. noble*, 501.
*Æþelnoþ (ealdorman), *p*92.
*Æþelred (1), king of Mercia, 675, 704.
——— (2), king of NHumbria, 794.
*Æþelrædes (Pendinges), *gen.* (1), 716.
*Æþelric. king of NHumbria, 588.
*Æþelricing. *patronymic, id.* ƒ85.
Æþelstan (1), king of Kent, 851.
——— (2), Xtn̄. name of Godrum, 890.
——— (3), king of Wessex, 925–941.
——— (4), Abb. of Abingdon, 1046E.
*Æþelstane. *dat.* (1), 836.
*Æþelswiþ. king Alfred's sister, 888.
*Æþelwald. Bp. 828.
*Æþelwalde. king of Sussex, 661.
*Æþelweard (cinges heah gerefa), 1001.
*Æþelwold (aldormon), 888. [*p*67.
Æþelwulf (1), kg. of Wessex, 823–855,
——— (2), Alderm. Berkshire, 860, 871.
*Æþelwulfes. *gen.* (1), 855.
*Æþelwulfing. *son of* (1), 871.
*Æþelþryþ. 679 = Æþeldryht.
Æþered (1), king of Wessex, 866–871.
——— (2), Alderm. Mercia, E910.
Æþerede. *dat.* (2), 886.
Æðebald. NM. 778.
æðela. *nom. def. masc. noble*, 814.
Æðelbald = þ- (1) & (2).
——— (3), Bp. 828E.
Æðelberht (1), 604 = Æþelbryht (1).
——— (2), Abp. York, 766–779.
——— (3), Bp. Hwitern, 777, 795, 797.
Æðelberhte. *dat.* (2), 791.
Æðelberhtes. *gen.* (1), 604.
Æðelbold (1), NM. *p*33.
——— (2) = Æþelbald (1).
Æðelbriht = Æþelbryht. 565 &c.
Æðelbrihtes = Æþelbryhtes. 866.
Æðelbryhtes, (S) 'smynster, 1055.
Æðelburge. *acc.* Qu. NHumbria, 633.
Æðelburh (cwen), 722.
Æðeldriþ (St.), 673, 679, 963.
Æðelferð (1), 593 = Æþelfriþ.
* ——— (2), (cynges geneat), *p*96.
Æðelferþe. *dat.* (1), 603.
Æðelflæd (Myrcena hlæfdige), 918.
Æðelfrið (1), king of NHumbria, 617.
——— (2), *for* Æþelswiþ, 888.
Æðelfriðes. *gen.* (1), 634.
Æðelgar. *p*123. 988 = -þ-.
Æðelheard = þ (1) & (2).
——— (3), (ealdorman), 794.
——— (4), (ealdorman), 852.
Æðelhelm = þ (2), 887.
Æðelherd. 740 = Æþelheard (1).
Æðelhere (1), EAnglian prince, 654E.
——— (2), (Friesa), *p*96Ä.
Æðelic. daughter of Hen. i, 1127.
æðelice. easily, *p*219.
æðeling. Ä905, E1016, 1057.
Æðelingaige. *p*81 = Æþelingaeigge.
æðelingas. princes, 443. *p*51.
æðelinges. *p*219 = -þ-.
Æðelmæres (þæs grætan), 1017.
Æðelnoð. Abp. Cant. 1020, 1022, 1038.
Æðelred (1), E963.

Æðelred (2), E774, 778, 790, 794.
——— (3), WSaxon king, E866–871.
——— (4), WSaxon king, 978–1016.
Æðelrede. *dat.* (4), A1001, E1014.
Æðelric (1), 588.
——— (2), Bp. SSaxons, 1038.
Æðelricing. 685.
Æðelsige (1), Abb. Abing. *p*159. 1018.
——— (2), Abb. S. Augustine's, 1061.
Æðelstan (1), 836, 851.
——— (2), 883.
——— (3), 890.
——— (4), 927.
——— (5), (þes cynges aðum), 1010.
——— (6), 1043.
*Æðelwald. kg. Edw.'s cousin, 901-905.
Æðelward (ealdorman), 994.
Æðelwine (1), (ealdorman), *p*123.
——— (2), Abb. Abingdon, 1018.
Æðelwold (1), (Moll), king NHumbria,
—— (2), (ealdorman), 1020. [759.
Æðelwolde. 666 = Æþelwalde.
Æðelword (Æðelmænes sunu), 1017.
Æðelwulf = -þ-.
Æðelwulfing. *p*77.
*Æðered (1), king of Mercia, 676.
——— (2), aldorman of Mercia, 912.
*Æðeredes. *gen.* (2), *p*91.
Æðeric. Bp. 1034.

b' *abbr. for* bishop, *oft.*
*Bachsecg. "heathen king," 871.
*Baddanbyrig. NL. nr. Wimbourne, 901.
*Badecan wiellon. Bakewell, 924.
Badewulfe = Baldewulfe. 795.
*Bagsecg. 871 = *Bachsecg.
Bainard (Gosfrei), 1096.
Bainart (William), 1110.
Baius. Bayeux, 1105.
Bald' = Balduin de Redvers. 1135.
Baldewine. earl of Flanders, 1111.
Baldewines. *p*180. 1037, 1045.
Baldred. king of Kent, 823.
Balduin de Redvers. 1135.
Baldwulf. Bp. Hwitern, 791.
banan. *murderer*, 755, E979. *p*180.
bande. bond, *confinement*, 1126.
banum. *dat. pl.* bones, 979, 1012.
*bar* = bær. bore, *s. pret. p*262*b.*
baras. bears, *p*222*l.*
*bare.* bore, *subj. p*261.
*-bares. fragment of* NL. 1154.
* barn. burnt, was burnt, *p*202.
Barrucscire. Berkshire, 860. *p*140.
Barwe. NM. *p*122.
Barþanig. NM. *p*39.
Basecg = Bagsecg. 871.
Basingum. Basingstoke, 871.
Basse. founder of Raculfminster, 669.
Basset (Raulf), *p*253.
bat. boat, A891, E*p*174.
Bataille. Battle Abbey, 1094.
*bate. *dat. of* bat, 891.
*Bathe.* Bath, 1130.
bað. *poetic*, bath, 975.
Baþan ceaster. Bath, 577.
*Baðan. *id.* 973, *p*241*t.* [Baden].
*Bathe. id. p*251.
Baðon. *id. p*148 =
*Baðum. *dat. pl.* 906.
Bæbbaburh (Moræl of), *p*229.
Bæbbanburh. Bamborough, 993.
Bæc. Abbey of Bec, Normandy, 1093.
bæd. *begged, desired*, A167, 853, E*p*174,
bædon. *pl. id.* 868, E443, 1064. [*p*178.
bæfton = be æftan. *behind, p*51*h.*
bægen. *masc.* both, 867, *p*201.
*Bægerum. Bavarians, 891, Baiern.
*Bældæg. son of Woden, *p*2. 547.
*Bældæging. *patronym. id.* 552, 597,
Bælesme (Rotb't de), 1105. [855.
*Bænesingtun. Bensington, 571.
bær. bore, *wore, gestabat, p*221*t.*
bærlic. barley, 1124.
bærnde. *transitive*, burnèd, *p*151.
bærndon. *pl. id.* A1001, E684, 1016,
bærned. *pass. pt.* 687. [1087.
*bærnen. inf. id. p*224*l.*
bærneta. *fires*, 1104.
bærnette. *dat.* burning, *incendium*, 994.
bærnete. *id.* 1090.
Bærnicum. 634 = Beornicum.
bærninge. burning, 1104.
bætere. better, 1004.
*bæð. bath, 604. *p*126.
be. by, 648, 875, *oft.*
— wætere. *p*156.
— wege; in itinere. 1048.
beacna. beacon-*fires*, *p*140*m.*
*bead* = gebead. *offered, p*51 *twice.*

*bead* = *bade. commanded, p144, p178h.*
Beadafordscire. Bedfordshire, *p154.*
*beaden. pl. offered, p209t.*
*beadon for* bædon. *prayed,* 1083.
*beadu weorca. *carnage,* 'strages,' *p114.*
*beag = beah. *submitted,* 913. *p108.*
**beage.** *ring, bracelet,* 876 [badge].
**beah.** bowed, *submitted,* Ä922, Ep149*t.*
—— *gave in, was worsted,* E1001.
*beahgifa. giver *of rings, p126h.*
beala. *destruction,* bale, 1075.
beam. (*of light*) beam, 678 (*lit.* tree).
beame. *dat.* beam, *rafter,* 978.
*Beamfleote.
*beandon for* bendum; in bonds. 1069.
**Beandune.** [1074.
**bearn.** *sons,* 'bairns,' Ä975, Ep187*m,*
**bearnum.** *dat. pl. id,* Äp91, Ep187*m.*
**Bearrucscire.** Berkshire, Ä860, Ep142.
Bearðan ege. Bardney, 641, 716.
*Beawing. *genealogical patronymic,* 855.
*be æftan. *behind,* 755, 905.
beæfton. *id. p51.*
Bebbaburh. 1095 =
Bebbanburh. Banborough, 547, 641.
*bebæd. ordered, p258, for* [*p223l.*
**bebead.** *commanded;* edixit, 1008, *p208,*
bebeode (ic), *ind. pres. id.* I direct, 675.
bebiriend.
*bebod. *n. order, command,* 905.
beboda. *pl. id. canons,* 1102.
beboden. *pt. enacted, enjoined, p254.*
*bebyrgde. buried, 544.
bebyrged. *pt.* buried, 788, 1033, 1053.
bebyrgede. 1066 = *bebyrgde.
*bebyried. p263.* 1154 = bebyrged.
bebyrigde. 979, 1123 = *bebyrgde.
bebyriged. *p257* = bebyrged.
**béc.** *pl.* books, Äp115, E1009, 1070.
beceórodan. *murmured, p222l.*
becyrde. *beguiled, played false, p145, s.n.*
becwæð. bequeathed, *p221h.* [*p174.*
*bed* = bæd. *prayed, petitioned,* 675–963,
Beda. 734.
*bedan for* beodan. *to offer, p145t.*
Bedan heafde. ? Bedwin, *Wilts.* 675.
Bedanford scire. Bedfordshire, 1011.
*Bedanforda. Bedford, Äp104. 919.
*Bedcan forda. NL. 571.
bedicodon. *vallo cingebant, p155.*
*bedon for* beodan. *to proclaim, p38m.*
**bedrifon.** drove, 477, 890, Ä918.
*beebbade. *pt. left by* ebb-*tide, p95b.*
*beeode. *surrounded,* 755.
beeodon. *pl. id.* 755.
*befæst. *pt. put in safe-keeping, p94m.*
*befæste. *pret. entrusted.* 886.
*befæston. *secured, p93.*
befeallan. *pt.* fallen, *p222l.*
befeste = befæste. 886.
*befor. *overtook,* 905.
**beforan.** before, Ä716, 725, Ep219.
*beforen. id.* 1154.
begán (fore), *pt. intercepted, p142b.*
*begæt for* begeat. got, *p263h.*
bege (*for* begen), both, 852.
begeat (*forð*), got (*to go* forth), *p183b.*
begeaton. got, obtained, 1102 = [*220h.*
**begeatan.** gat (*possession*), Äp115*b,* Ep
*begemen. to take care of, p258t.*
**begen.** *masc.* both, 871 & *oft.*
**begeondan.** beyond, Ä885, E1091.
begeondon. *id. p149.*
*beget. got (*possession of*), 919.
*begeton = begeaton. 897.
*begeton. inf.* get (*for any one*), *p260.*
**begoten.** *pt. suffused,* 734, gieſſen.
*begunnon. pt.* begun, 1154.
*begyrdde. begirt, 189. [*p229.*
begytan. *take* (*a person*), get, *p142t,*
behate. *dat. promise,* 865.
behaten. *inf. to promise,* 1012.
behaten. *pt. promised, vowed, p38h.*
behatene. *pl. id.* 1093.
behæsa. *promises,* 1093.
beheafdod. *pt.* beheaded, 1076.
*beheld* (hit), *p250m,* s. beheold.
*behelde. p257l, subj. of* [1016.
beheold (hit), *was of service,* 999. *p140h,*
beheonan. *on hither side of, p81.* 1048.
beheonon. *id.* 1102.
beheot. *he threatened,* 1083.
behet. *promised, p172.*
behét. *he vowed,* 1093.
beheton. *they promised,* 865. *p147.*
behid. *pt.* hidden, *p209h.*
*behienan. *on this side of, p84.*
*behinon. *id. p80.*
behófe. *dat.* behoof, *need, p230m.*
*behofed* (him), *he needed, p260.*

behofeð. *is needful, p30m.*
behorsade. *deprived of* horses, 885.
*behorsude. *id.* 885.
*behoued* (heom), *they needed, p263t.*
behyddan. *they* hid, 418.
behreowsunge. *contrition, p236* [rew].
*beiæt. for* begæt. begeat, *which see, p256t.*
*beiet. id. p256t.*
*beieten. pt. id.* gotten, *p256t.*
*beien. for* begen. both, *p265.*
*beionde* = begeondan. beyond, 1154.
bejeton = begeaton. got, *p259.*
belaf. *remained,* 1018. *p183.*
**belamp.** *it happened,* Ā*p*208, E*p*263.
belāp. *id. p246.*
belandedon. *deprived of* lands, *p230b.*
belandod. *pt. id.* 1091.
belæf = belaf. 1131.
belænd.
belende. *deprived of* lands, *p233t.*
*beleaf* = belaf. *p209m.*
belifan. *pl. id. stayed,* 1047.
belimpað. *pl. belong,* 1102.
belisnian. *to castrate, p233, s. n.*
belle. bells (*of the church*), 1131.
**belocen.** *locked, pp50,* 51.
Belmunt. in Normandy, 1124.
belucan. *pl. pret.* locked, 1083.
belumpe. *subj. pret. belonged, p221l.*
belūpon. *pl. id. p234l.*
*ben. for* beon. *inf.* be, *p256b.*
**benam.** *took away,* 755, E1125.
benā. *id. p229.*
**bene.** *petition, pp84,* 85. *p122* [boon].
benæmde. *took away, deprived,* 1104.
Benedict'. *p221m.*
Benedicte. *abl.* the Pope, 1022.
*Beneficcan. R. Beane (Herts), 913.
**Benesingtún.** Bensington, 777, E571.
bendas. bonds, *imprisonment,* 1124.
bendū. *dat. pl. id. p221b.*
beniman. *to take away from,* 1125.
benumene. *spoliati, exuti,* 895.
*Benocing. in Ida's pedigree, 547.
bentigðe. benedicti *Saxonized,* 883.
**beo.** *3rd pers. subj.* be, *sit,* Ā1031, E675.
**Beocca** (aldormon), 888.
**beodan.** *to proclaim,* Ā905, E*p*232*m.*
beode. *pres. ind. id. p38t.*
Beoferlic. Beverley, 721.
*beom* (*for* beám), beam, *tree, p262h.*
**beon.** *inf.* be, Ā891, 1070, E999, 1014.
Beonna. Abbot of Peterb. 777.
*Beonne. id.* 777.
Beorclea. Berkeley, 1087.
*Beorgforda. Burford, 752.
Beorhforda. *id.* 752.
*beorht. bright, 937*m.*
beorhte. *adv.* brightly, *p243t.*
Beorhtfrið (ealdorman), 710.
*Beorhtric. kg. of Wessex, 784, 787, 800.
*Beorhtulf (ealdormon), *p95t.*
*Beorhtwald. Abp. Cant. 690, 731.
*Beorhtwulf. king of Mercia, 851.
*beorn. *warrior, hero, p114.*
Beorn (1), ealdorman, 779.
—— (2), eorl, *p173.*
*beorna. *gen. pl. of warriors, 937t. p126t.*
*beornas. *nom. pl. id.* viri, men, 973.
*beorndon. they* burnt, *p75.* 1001.
**Beorngar.** *pp86,* 87.
**Beornhelm.** Abbot. 890.
Beornicum. *dat. pl.* Bernicia, 678.
**Beornmod.** Bp. Rochester, 802.
*Beornoðes (æðelinges), 905.
*Beornræd. king of Mercia, 755.
Beornred. *id. p53.*
Beornulf (wicgefera), Ā*p*95.
——— E823, for
*Beornwulf. king of Mercia, 823.
*bepaht.* 1132 =
bepæht. *deceived,* 1015.
**berád.** *surprised,* 755, Ā*p*98.
*Beranbyrg. Barbury (?), 556, *s. n.*
Beranbyrig. *id.* 556.
berædde. *deprived,* 887.
*berædne. *ibid. exutum, expulsum,* 887.
bereafod. *part.* bereaved, *p126.*
berœfode. *pret.* bereaved, *p253.*
berœfoð. bereaveth, *p253.*
berefodon. *they* bereaved, 794.
*berene. supine of* bæran, to bear, *p256m.*
Berht (ealdorman), 699.
Berhtines minstre. *p257t.*
Berhtred. Bishop, 852.
Bernard. Bp. S. David's, *p250b.*
*berowan. to row by or along, 897.
**besæt.** beset, *besieged,* Ā894, E*p*241*h.*
**besæton.** *pl. id.* Ā918. *p106.* E1090.
besætt = besæt. *p225m.*

*besætte. id. p264h.*
bescered. 821 =
*besciered. *pt. deprived,* 821.
Besencun. Besançon ; Vesontio (Cæs.),
beset = besæt. 1076. [p256.
*beseten. *part. id. p92t.*
besetton. *they besieged,* 868.
besittan. *inf. id. p226.*
besittanne. *supine id. p230.*
*beslagen. *bereaved of (in battle), p114.*
besohte. besought, *p256h.*
bespeon. invited, attracted, *p121.*
bestæl. stole off from—, 876, 878, 901.
bestælon. *pl. id.* 876. *p104.*
beste*a*l = bestæl. 1004.
*besuiken. deceive,* betray, *p264b.*
beswac. *deceived,* 1003, 1015.
beswic*a*n. *part. id.* 1014.
beswicen. *id.* 654, 790.
*beswikene. pl. id. p229h.*
besyrede. *entrapped, p229t.*
besyredon. *pl. id. p230.*
besyrewian. *struere insidias alicui,* 1002.
betahte.
betahten. *they entrusted,* 654.
betan. *inf. correct,* 1014.
*betæcen. to give up, resign,* 1131.
betæht. *pt. entrusted,* 1087.
betæhtan. *pl. pret. put in trust, p209m.*
betæhte. *gave,* 1093.
bete. 3 *subj. mend,* 1131.
beteah. *accused, p233t.*
betealde (hine), *defended himself, p187.*
*beteht* = betæht. 1138.
betellan (hine), *inf. defend self, p180.*
betera. better, *p142.*
*beteran. better, *p114.*
betere. better, *p263.*
betined. *enclosed,* 547.
*betræppan. to ensnare,* betrap, 992.
*betre* = betere. *p260.*
betst. best, *p180.*
betsta. *id. def.* Ä891, Ep225.
betstan. *p187.*
betst boren. of best birth, *p225b.*
*betste. for* betstan. *pl. def.* best, 1091.
bettan. *they repaired, p143.*
bette. *he ameliorated,* 959.
*betuyx.* betwixt, *p264t.*
bet. better, 1072.
betwenan. between, 1101.
*betwenen. id. p203.*
betweonan. *id. p159, p187.*
betweonen. *id.* 1124.
*betweox. betwixt, 867, 913. *p106.*
betwix. *id.* Äp106*t*, E710, 890.
*betwuh. between, 894, 905.
betwux. *id.* 795, 867.
betwyx. *id.* 1126.
þewæddade. wedded, *married, p237.*
beweddan. to wed, *marry,* 1127.
beweddod. *part. id.* 1119.
beweg[e]. *on the* way, 1048.
bewiste. *commanded,* 1099.
bewiston. *pl. id.* 1091. [*p39h.*
*beþ. 3 sing. pres. ind. of* beon, to be,
beþohte. bethought, *p256h.*
*bi.* by, *p39t.*
bidde. *I pray, beg, p32, p38.*
bide.
biddende. *part. praying, begging,* 1083.
biden = bidon. *experienced, p260t.*
Bieda (1), son of Port, 501.
———(2), the Venerable Bede, Ä734.
*Biedanheafde. NL. 675.
Biedcanforda. NL. 571.
bifung. *see* eorðbifung.
*bigæton* = begitan. to get, *p265h.*
bilehwit. *innocent, gentle, p169.*
*bilgeslehtes. *clash of* bills, *p114.*
binnan. *within,* Scots 'ben,' 867,
binnen. *id.* 1122. [E1048.
binnon. *id.* 1004. *p155, p185.*
*Birine. missionary Bp. WSaxons, 650.
*Birino. *abl. Latin, id.* 635.
Birinus. WS. missionary Bp. 634.
bisc̃. *p254 & oft ; abbr. for*
bisceop. bishop, 984, 999, Ep236.
*bisceope. *dat. id.* 604(C).
*bisceopes. *gen. id.* 942, 984, 1001.
*biscep. 110, 636, 660, 670.
*biscepas. *nom. pl.* 690.
biscepdom. bishop*ric,* 660.
biscepe. *dat.* 601, 625.
biscepsuna. 'bishop-son,' 853.
biscop. Ä910, E678, 779, 1045.
biscopa. *gen. pl.* Äp98, E678.
*biscopan = biscopum. *dat. pl. p208.*
biscopas. 1075.
biscope. *p39.* 791.

biscopes. 1129.
biscoprice. bishopric, 1114. *p*258.
biscopricen. 1107.
biscoprices. *Sees*, *p*254.
*biscopum. *dat. pl.* bishops, 1070.
*bisp'. *abbr. for* bisceop, 934.
*bisc̄psetle. *dat. See*, 1070.
bisc'rice *for* biscoprice, *p*236.
*bi = be. by, 660, 894.
bismer. *insult, wrong*, *p*178*l*.
bismere for -a. *gen. pl. id. p*178*m*.
bismore. 992.
bitene. *see* hungerbitene, *p*233.
biworde. *proverb*, 1131.
Blais. Blois, 1116.
*blandenfeax. *shaggy haired*, *p*114.
*blawen. inf.* to blow, *p*256*l*.
*blaweres*. blowers, *p*256.
blætsige. I bless, *p*123.
*blætson. inf. consecrate*, 1114.
Blecca. NM. 627.
*bledsunge. blessing, 813.
blendian. to blind, 1083.
*bletcæd*. blessed, *consecrated*, 1154.
*bletsunga. *consecration*, *p*208.
bletsie. I bless, *p*39.
bletsinge. blessing, 675, 1022.
*bletsungan. *consecration*, *p*208.
bletsunge. blessing, 813.
blewen. *pret.* they blew, *p*256.
*blis. *merriment, joy*, 973 [bliss].
blisse. *p*146, *p*203.
bliþelice. *gladly*, libenter, 963.
*bliþolice. id. p*203.
blod. blood, 1012.
blode. *dat. id.* 734.
blodig. bloody, 1117.
Bloet (Robt.), Bp. Linc. 1123.
bóc. book, Ā84, E87.
bodade. *preached*, 636. *p*19.
bodan. *messengers*, 1094.
*bode. order*, *p*38*b*.
bodian. *to preach*, *p*23, *p*33*t*.
bodianne. *supine id.* 430, 604.
*bodude. *preached*, 634.
bohtan. they bought, *p*203*h*.
bohte. he bought, *p*123. 963. *p*149.
*bokes*. books, *p*209*m*.
Bolhiðe. Bulldyke gate, *p*209.
bondeland. *allotments*, 777.
Boneual. Bonneval (Loire), *p*149.
*bordweal. wall *of shields*, 937.
Bosa. Bp. York, 685.
Bosan. *acc. id.* 678.
Bosenham. Bosham (Sussex), *p*172,180.
Bosing. *patrony. of* Bosa, 778.
*bosme. 937, *dative of*
bosum. bosom, *p*222*t*.
Botwine. Abb. Ripon, 785.
*Botulf. NM. 654.
Botuulf. *id.* 653.
brad. broad, *p*3. 891, 892.
brada. *def. id.* 942.
Brædanæ. name of a stream, *p*31*m*.
*Bradanforda. *dat.* Bradford, 652.
*Bradan Relice. *Flat Holms*, *p*104.
*bradbrimu. *the* broad *sea*, *p*115.
*Bradene. Bredon Forest (Wilts), 905.
Bramtune. ? Brampton Abbots (Ingr.),
Brand. Abt. Peterbro. 1069. [1121.
*Branding. *genealogical*, 547, 552.
*bræc. broke, 911. *p*106*h*.
*brœcen*. 1083*m* =
brœcon. *pl.* broke, made a breach, 851.
*brec* = bræc. *p*85.
brecan (hine). *to retch*, 1003.
bred. 189, *s. f. n.*
Bredune. NL. *p*39*m*. [*p*126*l*.
*Bregoengla. *prince of* Angels = GOD,
Bregowine. NM. 759.
*bregu. 937*b* = brego.
*breke. 3 pres. subj.* break, *p*39.
*breket. p*39.
brekeþ. *p*33.
*bremes. *adj. gen. glorious*, 973.
*brénden*. they burnt, *p*262*l*.
*brendon. id. p*262*m*.
Brentforda. Brentford, *p*156.
Breodune. NL. 731.
Breohtric. *corr. for* Beohtric, 787.
*breokan*. they broke into, 1102.
*breostum. on the breasts, *p*126.
*Bret. Briton, 491.
*Bretenlond. Britain, *p*4. 189.
*Bretene. 47, 381, 449, 601.
*Bretone. 419.
*Bretta. 449, *gen. pl. of*
*Brettas. Britons, 556, 577, 584, 682. *p*4.
*Brettisc. British, 501, 508.
*Brettum. *dat. pl.* Britons, 449, 890.

*Bretwalas. the British, 552, 571.
*Bretwalda. Wielder of Britain, 827.
*Bretwalum. *dat. pl.* British, 755.
*breðre.* brethren, 675.
Brian. NM. 1127.
Bricgstowe. Bristol, 1087.
*brigge.* bridge, 1126.
*brigges. gen. p*254.
Briht. NM. 684.
Brihteh. Bp. Worc. 1038.
Brihthelm. NM. 693.
Brihtnoþ. NM. *p*123. 963.
Brihtric. NM. *p*142. 800, 1017.
Brihtwold. NM. 692, 727, 731, 1043.
Brihtwulf. NM. 851.
*brimstream. stream *of the sea,* 942.
*Bristowe.* Bristol, *p*264.
Brit. Briton, 491.
Brittas. 890 = *Brettas.
Britene. Britain, *p*3.
Brittisc. British, *p*3.
Britwalas. 682 = Bretwalas.
Britwalum. *dat.* 189.
brogan. *dat. terror,* 991.
brohtan. they brought, 1093.
brohte. brought, 661. *p*123.
*brohten. p*250 =
brohton. they brought, *p*91. 1063. *p*209.
*Brond. genealogical personage, *p*2.
Bronding. son of Brond, *p*2. 597, 855.
Brordan. NM. *p*33. 777.
*broþor. brother, 738.
*brother. p*264 *thrice.*
*broþur. 685, 718, 855, 871, &c.
broðer. *p*30. 1101.
broðeres. *p*30.
broðor. 903, 860, 871.
*broðra.* brothers, 1101.
broðer sunu. brother's son, *p*234.
*brucan. *to use, enjoy, p*115. brauchen.
*Brunanburh. NL. 937.
Brunanbyrig. *id.* 937.
bryce. *m.* breach *of treaty, p*230*t.*
brycge. bridge, 887, 924, 1071.
Brycge. Bruges *in Belgium,* 1045.
brydeala. bridal, 1075.
brydealoð. *id. p*214.
bryne. burning, *p*141*t.*
bryngan. bring, *p*214. [*p*262.
*bryniges. coats of mail* (?); *hot embers* (?),
*Brytene. Britain, *p*115.
Bryten. 380, 827.
Brytland. *Wales* &c. *p*222.
Brytlande. 1063, 1076.
Brytiscne. *adj. acc. masc.* British, 501.
Brytonland. 979.
Bryttas. 565, 1064, 1075. *p*214.
bryttian. *to distribute, p*115.
Bryttisc. British, 1075.
Bryttiscan. *dat. sing. masc.* 755.
Bryttum. *dat. pl. Armoricans,* 890.
*Brytwalana. gen. pl.* 167.
Brytwalas. 443, 571. *p*5.
*bucces.* bucks, *p*256. [*p*104.
Buccingahamme. *dat.* Buckingham,
Buccingahamscire. Buck'shire, *p*154.
Bucinghamscire. 1010.
bude. *dwelt,* abode, 890.
*budon. *pl. id.* 919.
budon. *proffered, pp*50 & 51, *pp*64 & 65.
*bufan. above, 896.
*bugeaþ. 3 *pl. pres. dwell,* 924. *p*91.
*bugen.* 1119; see *togebugen.*
bugend. *inhabitants, p*3.
bugon. *submitted,* bowed, 975. *p*147.
—— *flinched,* 999.
Bunan. Bologne, 892.
bundan. *gen. sing. goodman,* 1048.
bundon. they bound, *p*174.
*Bunnan. Bologne, 891.
bur. *dwelling,* 755 [bower].
*Burch.* Peterborough, 922. *p*123, 209.
bure. *dat. of* bur, *p*152.
Bures. NL. *p*230*h.*
*burg. *a walled town,* 822, 919, 924.
burga. *gen. pl.* 894, 942, 1073.
*Burghelm (alderman), 822.
*Burgræd. king of Mercia, 868, 874.
Burgred. A853, E874.
*Burgrede. *dat.* 853.
burgum. *dat. pl. of* burg, A918, E*p*152.
*burgwara. *gen. pl. townsmen, p*94*t.*
*burgware. 895, 919.
*burgwarum. *dat. pl. p*91.
burh = *burg. 994. *p*142*m.*
Burh. Peterborough, *p*33. 1069.
*Burhc. id. p*256.
Burhcred = Burgred. 868.
Burhhelm (alderman), 822.
burhmen. *townsmen, p*178*t.*

Burhred. 851, 852 = Burgred.
burhware. *townspeople*, 994, 1016.
burhwaru. *id.* *p*148, 155, 178.
burnan. *gen. brook*, burn, 485.
*burþenas. chamberlains*, 1120.
*buta. both, *p*104.
butan. *adv. outside, without*, ἔξωθεν, 867.
—— *prep. except, præter*, but, *p*84.
*bute. *sed, verò*, but, *p*95*m*.
*bute. id.* 1154.
*butere.* butter, 1131.
buton = butan. 878, 963. *p*107.
butse çarlas. *mariners*, *p*201.
*Buttingtune. Buttington (Montgom'-
butu. both, 871. [sh.), *p*92*l*.
butweoh. between, 890.
Byferes stane. Beverstone (Glou'stersh.),
byre. *event*, *p*149, *s. n.* [*p*178.
*byrged.* buried, *p*159.
*Byrhtnoð. ealdorman of EAnglia, 993.
Byrhtric. WS. king, 836.
*Byrhtsige. a Dane, 905.
*byrie'.* 1154 =
*byrieden.* they buried, *p*263*l*.
byrig. *gen. or dat. of* burh, 901, 937.
byrlas. *cupbearers*, 1120.
byrnan. *acc. coat of mail*, 1048.
*byrnende. burning, *p*126*m*.
Byrne wuda. Burnwood (?), *p*106.
*Byrnstan. Bp. Winton, 931.
byrstful. *calamitous*, 1117.
byrstfull. *id.* 1116, *s. n.*
*byrthen.* burthen, *p*261*h*.
Byrtune. Burton *on Trent* (Staff.), *p*203.
Bysincum. Besançon, 1046.
*bytledon. they built, *p*106*m*.
*byþ. *is, shall be*, 1031.

*Cading. *patronymic in genealogy*, 685.
Cadwallan. *abl. a British king*, 633.
Cænt. Kent, *p*23.
Calistus (ii), *the Pope*, *p*253.
Cálne. Calne (Wilts), 978.
*Cameleac. *Bishop*, 918.
*campe. *dat. contest, fight*, 937. *p*114.
can. I know, I can, *p*262*m*.
*canceler.* chancellor, 1137.
Caningan mersces. in W. Somerset. *p*144.
candel mæssan. Candlemas, 1014.
candel messe. *p*256.
Candidan. *a British king*, 577.
cantelcapas. copes, 1070, *s. n.*
candelsticcan. candlesticks, 1102.
candles. candles, *p*264*t*.
*canonias.* Canons, 1129.
*canonie.* Canonicus, Chanoine, *p*250.
*Cantuuarebyri. Canterbury, *p*208.
Cantwara. of the Kentish men, 488,
*Cantwaraburg. 754. [664.
Cantwaraburh. 851.
Cantwarabyri. 1130.
Cantwarabyrig. *p*258.
Cantwarb'. *p*264. [836.
*Cantwararice. *the kingdom of Kent*,
Cantware. *acc.* Kentish people, 796,
Cantwareberig. *p*208. [865.
Cantwarebyri. 1031. *p*208.
Cantwarum. *dat.* 853, 865.
Cantwic. (?) 839, *s. n.*
Cāpaine. Champagne, *p*233.
capelein. chaplain, 1114.
capellane. *id.* 1099.
capitele. chapter = capitulo, *p*250*l*.
capitulan. *id.* or chapter-house, 1083.
captel hus. chapter-house, *p*246.
Cardeol. Carlisle, 1092.
cardinal. cardinal, 1125.
Cariei = Caziei. Chezy, 837.
Carl. Charlemagne, 812.
—— Carloman, 885.
—— Charles the Fat, 887.
carl man. man, *male*, *p*222*h*.
carl men. *pl. id.* 1137. [833, 840.
Carrum. *prob.* Charmouth (Dorsets.),
*carited.* charity, cheer, *p*263*h*.
Casere. Cæsar, *Emperor*, *p*4, 241.
*Caseres. *gen. p*5.
Cassino (Monte), *in Naples*, *p*191.
*castel.* castle, *p*198. 1075.
*castelan. p*233.
*castelas.* 1069.
*castele. p*187.
*casteles.* 1124.
*castelweorces.* 1137.
*castles. p*265.
Castra. NL. *pp*122, 123.
Caþum. Caen, Cadomum, 1105.
Caziei. Chezy *on the Marne*, 887.
*Cælestino. *Lat. abl. Pope*, 430.

*Cænt.* Kent, 885.
Cære. NL. 710, *s. n.*
*cæs* (=ceas). chose, *p*123*b*.
*Ceadda. "St. Chad," 664.
Ceadde. *id. ibid.* E.
Ceadwala. *British king*, 633.
——— *WSaxon king*, 685.
*Ceadwalla. *id. p*2. 685.
Ceadwallan. *gen. id.* 685.
*Cealchyþe. NL. 785.
Cealchyðe. *id. ibid.* E.
*ceap. *cattle, p*106*b* [cheap].
*ceapes. *gen. id. p*93. 895.
ceapode. *purchased, bought*, 1004.
*cearde* (=cyrde). *turned, p*220*l.*
*Ceardice. *dat. WSaxon king, p*2.
cearf. *pret. cut off, p*151 [carve].
ceas. chose, 975. *p*169.
ceast'. *p*236=
ceaster. *city*, 491, 577.
Ceasterscire. Cheshire, *p*218*m.*
ceastra. *cities*, 577.
*ceastre. *dat. fortress, p*93.
Ceastre. *York*, E685–779.
——— *Win*chester, A964.
Ceastrum, *dat. pl. York*, 762.
*Ceaulin. *WSaxon king*, 568.
*Ceaulining. *patronymic id.* 728–855.
*Ceaulininges. *gen. id.* 688.
Ceawlin. 556, 568, 577, 584, 592.
*Ceawlining. *patronymic id.* 685.
Cedenac. NL. *p*39*m.*
*cellas.* cells, 1129.
*Celming. *genealogical patronymic, p*4.
*Cenferþing. *genealogical patr.* 674.
Cenfusing. *genealogical patr.* 675.
Cenred. of R. family Wessex, 688. *p*70.
——— (*or* Kenred), *kg. of Mercia*, 709.
——— Bp. *p*69.
*Cenredes. *gen. id. p*70.
*Cenreding. 688. *p*4.
Cent. Kent, 823, 851, 897, 911. *p*143.
*Centbriht* (*for* Coenbryht), 661.
Centingas. men of Kent, 999, 1011. *p*142.
*Centiscan. Kentish men, 905.
Centisce. 999.
Centland. the land of Kent, 676. *p*152.
Centlande. 994.
*Centlond. 457, 676.
Centwine. *WSaxon king*, 676. *p*2.
*Cenulf (abbod), 905.
Cenwala. *abl. of* Cenwalh, 660=
*Cenwale. *ibid.*
Cenwalh. *WSaxon king*, 641, 643, 658.
Cenwealh. *id. p*35.
Cenwulf. *Mercian king*, 819.
Ceol. *WSaxon king*, 590. *p*2.
*Ceolburg (abbudesse), 805.
Ceolburh. *id. ibid.*
*Ceoling. *patronymic*, 611.
*Ceolmund (ealdormon on Cent), 897.
Ceolnoþ. Abp. Cant. 830, 831, 870.
Ceolnoð. *id.* 831.
Ceolred (1), *king of Mercia*, 709, 716.
——— (2), for Ceolnoþ, *Abp.* Cant. *p*69.
——— (3), *Abbot of Peterb'*. 852.
Ceolredes. *gen.* (1), 782.
Ceolric (=Ceol), *king of Wessex*, 591.
ceolum. *dat. pl. ships* [keels], *p*13.
*Ceoluulf. *NHumbrian king*, 731.
*Ceolwald. *of R. family Wessex, p*4.
*Ceolwalding. *patrony. id.* 688, 855.
Ceolwulf. 760=*Ceoluulf.
Ceolwulf. *WSaxon king*, 597, 607. *p*2.
——— *NHumbrian king*, 729E, 737.
——— (biscop), 777E, 794, 796E.
——— *Mercian kg.* 796, "Kenulfus"
——— *Merc. kg.* 819, 821. [Flor.
Ceolwulfe. 874, 877.
Ceolwulfes. *p*2. 762.
*Ceolwulfing. 674.
*Ceonred. *Mercian king*, 709.
Ceorl (aldermon), 851.
ceorla. *of the* ceorls, 1017.
*Ceortes æge. p*243=
Ceortesege. 1084=
*Ceortesige. Chertsey, 964.
ceose. cheese, 1131.
cepton. *they cared about, p*148.
*Cerdic. *WSaxon founder*, 495, 552. *p*2.
*Cerdices ora. NL. 495, 514. *p*2.
*Cerdices ford. NL. 508, 519.
*Cerdices leaga. NL. 527.
*Cerdicing. *patronym.* 597, 674, 855. *p*4.
cerran (ge-), *to turn*, 627, kehren.
*Certic*=*Cerdic. 495.
*Certice.* 784.
*Certices ford.* 508, 519.
*Certices ora.* 495.
*cesen.* choose, *p*250*h.*

*cester (*usually* ceaster), 491.
*cestre.* 1127.
Cicc. Chick-St. Osyth (Essex), *p*250*m.*
Ciceastre. Chichester, *p*223*m.*
Cicaestre. *id.* 1130.
*cierde. *turned,* 922.
*cierre. *time, turn, Lat.* vice, *p*104.
*cigað. *they call,* 973.
cild. child, *p*126*t.*
—— *as a title,* 1009, 1074. *p*204. [1066.
Cildamæssedæg. *Innocents' Day, Dec.* 28:
*Cildamæssedæge. *id.* Childermas, 963.
cildes. *gen. p*204.
Ciltern. Chiltern (Bucks), *p*143.
cinestole. *dat. throne,* 795.
cinerice. king*dom, p*77.
cing. king, 752.
cinga. *gen. pl. p*228.
*cinge. 604.
*cinges. *p*92.
cining. king, 688, 774, 867, &c.
cininga. *gen. pl.* 604, 661.
ciningas. 409. *p*51.
Cininges clife. NL = "King's Cliff," 778.
cinnes. kind, *sort, p*38*t.*
Cinric. *WSaxon king,* 508.
Cippanhamme, Chippenham, 878, 879.
circean. *dat.* church, 1066.
*circe.* 1127.
circulas (Lat.), circles, 1104. [880.
Cirenceaster. Cirencester, 577, 879,
*circeweard.* churchwarden, *p*260.
*cirlisce. *of the rank of* ceorl, 893.
Cirnceastre. Cirencester, 628.
*cirde. *turned,* 886. *pp*107, 108.
*cirdon. *pl. id.* 823, 919.
*ciricean. *acc.* church, 643, *dat.* 874.
*ciriclecan. *ecclesiastical,* 716.
*cirre. *time, turn, p*95*m,* 104.
*cirron. *dat. pl. id.* 104.
Cissa. *SSaxon founder,* 477, 491.
*Cisseceastre. Chichester, 895.
Clapa. *a surname,* 1044.
Claudie. *p*47, *the Emperor.*
*Claudius. *ibid.*
clað*um. *dat. pl. garments,* cloths, 688.
clænsode. cleansed, 1022.
*Cledauc. king in NWales, 922.
*clene.* clean, *clear, p*243*t.*
cleopað (man) = *they call, p*122*t.*
cleopede. *sing. called, p*33, 187.
cleopedon. *pl. id.* 1083.
cleopeð. *calleth, p*31, 32, 39, 122.
clepeden. *they called, p*262.
clepunge. *claim, p*258.
clerc. clerk, *p*258.
*clerca. pl. acc.* (*opp.* monks), 963.
*clerecas. p*218.
clerchade. clerk-hood, 1127.
clerchades. *p*250.
clerekes. *p*262.
clife. cliff, 761. [Ingram.
Cliue. *p*31*l,* King's Cliff (Northamp.),
Clofeshó. E =
*Clofeshoo. NL. 822, *s. n.*
*clommum. *dat. pl.* clamps, 942.
*clufan. they clove, 937.
clumben. they clomb, climbed, *p*209*h.*
Clunig. Cluny (Burgundy), 1119.
Clunni. *id.* 1127.
*cnear. *galley, ship, p*114, *s. n.*
*cnearrum. *dat. pl. id. p*115.
Cnebban. *acc. an aldorman,* 568.
Cnebbing. *Mercian patronym.* 626, 755.
*cneomægum. *dat. pl. kindred,* 937.
cneowum. *dat. pl.* knees, 979.
*cniht. *boy, p*91*b* [knight].
cnihta. *gen. pl. retainers, p*230*h.*
cnihtan. *dat. soldiers,* 1083.
cnihtas. *armed men,* knights, *p*221*l.*
cnihte. knights, 1124.
cnihtes. *id. ibid.* [1017.
Cnut. *Danish king of England,* 1014,
—— *king of Denmark,* 1085.
Cnutes. 1037.
Cnute. *p*223.
cnotted. knotted, *p*262.
codde. *bag,* 260: cf. *peas*cod.
*Coenbryht (cyning), 661.
*Coenbryhting. 685.
*Coenred. *king of Mercia,* 704, 709.
———— *NHumbrian king,* 716.
Coleman. *Bp. Lindisfarne,* 664.
*Colman. *id. ibid.*
*Colne. the Colne (Herts), 894.
Colneceastre. Colchester, *p*107, 108.
Coludesburh. Coldingham (Berwick), 679.
Columba. *Abbot of Iona,* 565.
com. came, 855, 878, 963, & *oft.*
*coman* (= comon), *p*211.

come. *subj.* p91, 174, 203.
*comen* (= comon), p75. 1070.
**cometa**. *Lat.* comet, 678, 729, 891,
cometan. *pl.* 729. [p126, 202.
Commagil. *British king*, 577.
*Commail. *id. ibid.*
**comon**. they came, 917, 1001.
*concilie. Lat.* council, p254.
*condel. candle, 937.
*Condidan. *British king*, 577.
*Contwara. *gen. pl.* Kent *men*, 616.
*Contwaraburg. Canterbury, 851.
coran (ge-), *part.* chosen, 1017. p208.
coren. chosen, p33, 38.
Corfes geate. 979, *s. n.*
**corn**. corn, *grain*, p93. 1043. p262.
corne. *dat.* 1124.
cornes. *gen.* 895.
Cornwealum. *dat. pl.* the Cornish, 997.
corona. *Lat.* crown, 1085.
coronan. *Saxon acc.* 1111.
*corðre. *dat. gathering, pomp*, 973.
*cosan. part.* chosen, 1154.
*cosen. id.* p250*l*.
Cosham. Corsham (Wilts), p152.
Costesford. NL. p39. [p114.
Costontinus. Constantine, *Scottish king*,
Cotingham. Cottingham (Northants),
cotlif. "manors"? 963. [p263.
*cotlifa. *gen. pl. villages*, 1001*b*.
Couentre. Coventry, 1130. p203.
coða. *diseases*, p169.
coðe. 1086.
crafede. craved, p208.
crape. should creep, p260.
*Crœcilade*. Cricklade, 1016.
*cræft. *excellence, virtue*, p126*h*.
*crœftes. tricks*, p260.
*cræftgleawe. *science-learned*, p126.
*cread. crowded, *shoved*, p114, *s. n.*
Creccagelade. Cricklade, 905.
**Creoganford**. Crayford (Kent), 457.
Creme. Crema (*Lombardy*), 1125.
*Creoding. *Mercian patrony*. 626, 755.
**Crida**. *WSaxon prince*, 593.
*crismlising. p80.
crismlysing. *id. ibid.* p81.
Crispin (William), p241.
Crist. Χριστος, p260.
Criste. p123.
Cristendom. Christianity, p258.
*Cristen. Christian, 167.
Cristene. Christians, p257.
Cristenes. *gen.* p260.
**Cristes mal**. signum Xti, 773. p123.
Cristes mel. *id. the cross*, 774. p32.
Cristina. *Saxon princess*, p219.
*Cristnan. *def.* the Christians, p92, 96.
*Cristne. 655.
crucethus. p262*h*.
Crulande. Crowland, 1076. p123, 203.
*crungun. *succumbed*, 937 [cringe].
crupon. crept, 1083.
cú. cow, p218.
cuædon. *they said*, 755, 887.
cuce. *alive*, quick, 794.
cuconne. *acc. masc. id.* p142.
**cuen**. queen, 672, 737, 888. p265.
Cuenburg. *WSaxon princess*, 718. p4.
Cuenburh. *id.* p45.
*cuene. *dat.* queen, 836, 855. p84.
Cuggedic. NL. p31.
*Cuichelm. *WSaxon prince*, 593.
——— *another*, 614, 628, 636.
*Cuichelming. *patronymic id.* 661, 648.
*culbod. *ensign, standard*, p114.
cuman. to come, p225, 226, 227.
**Cumbraland**. Cumberland, 945.
**Cumbran**. *acc.* an aldorman, 755.
cume. *pres. subj.* come, *veniat*, p38*b*, 128.
cumen. *pl. id.* p32*m*.
*cumen (to-), *part.* come, *arrived*, p91*m*.
**cumene**. *pl. id.* 793. p208.
cumenum. *abl. abs. id.* 792.
Cumerlande. Cumberland, 1000.
*cumon. inf.* to come, p30*h*. 1000.
cumon. *pl. subj.* come, p38*l*.
*cumpæder. compater, p92, *s. n.*
*Cundoþ. Condé *on the Scheldt*, 883.
Cundoð. E. *id. ibid.*
*cunnan. we can, we know, 1001 bis.
cunne (we), *id.* p256*b*.
cunnian. *to try, make essay of*, 992.
cuntesse. countess, p264.
*cuom. came, 477, 501, 835, 877.
Curboil (William of), p250.
Curbuil. *id.* p261.
curs. curse, p33, 39, 123.
cursede. cursed, p262.
cursunge. cursing, *malediction*, p39.

curt. court, 1154.
*cusen.* they chose, *p203m.*
Cuthbaldes. *gen. (abbot),* 675.
**Cuþa.** *WSaxon prince,* 568, 571, 584.
Cuþaing. *patronymic id.* 597, 731, 855.
**Cuþan.** *acc. id.* 584.
*Cuþbryht. Abp. Cant. 741, 758.
*Cuþburg. *WSaxon princess, p4.*
*Cuþburh *id.* 718.
*Cuþgils. *WSaxon prince,* 674.
*Cuþgilsing. *patronymic of same,* 674.
*Cuþræd. *WSaxon king,* 741, 743.
**Cuþred.** *WSaxon prince,* 661 = *Cuþræd. 750. *p2.*
*Cuþrede. 648.
*Cuþwine. *WSaxon prince,* 577. *p4.*
*Cuþwines. 688.
*Cuþwining. 731, 855.
*Cuþwulf. *WSaxon prince,* 571.
*Cuþwulfing. *p4.*
cuð. known, 975, 1043. *p142* [*uncouth*].
Cuðbald. *monk and abbot, p33,* 39.
Cuðberht. *Bp. Hexham,* 685.
Cuðbriht. 758 = *Cuþbryht.
——— (ealdorman), 777.
Cuðburh. *WSaxon princess,* 718.
cuðe. could, *p252.*
*Cuðing. *son of* Cuða, 611.
**Cuðred.** *WSaxon prince,* 639.
——— *king of Kent,* 805.
Cuðwine. *WSaxon prince,* 577.
cwalm. *death,* 986 [qualm]. [839, *s. n.*
Cwantawic. S. Iosse-sur-mer or Estaples,
*Cwatbrycge. Bridge-*north, p94.*
*cwæd.* quoth, *p30.*
cwædon. *pl. id.* 1014. *p51.*
*cwæn.* queen, 888.
cwæne. *gen. p236b.*
cwæð. quoth, 1014.
cwæðend. *saying, p33.*
cwealm. *death,* 664, 1054 [qualm].
cwealme. *dat. pestilence,* 664.
*cwed.* 963 = cwæð.
*cwede. I say, p122.*
cweden. *part. called,* 455.
cwen. queen, 672, 722, 782.
*cwenan. gen. id. p234b.*
Cwenburh. *sister of Ine,* 718.
cwene. queen, 1017. *p85,* 180.
cwenes. *p251.*
cweow? *p243h, s. n.*
*cweþaþ. *they say,* quoth, 891.
cweð. *saith,* 1003, 1048.
cweðende. *saying,* 675.
cweðon. *they said, p51.*
Cwichelm. *WSaxon prince,* 593, 614.
Cwicchelmes hlæwe. *p140, s. n.*
Cwichelme. 626.
*cwilde. *death, murrain,* 897.
Cwiran. 949; an Irish name, *s. f. n.*
*cwydan. *argumentis, p208.*
cwydodon. *talked, reported,* 1085.
*cydde. announced,* 675, 1009.
**Cymen.** *Sussex founder,* 477. [477, *s. n.*
**Cymenes ora.** *" Strand of Cymen,"*
**cyn.** *race, pedigree,* 716, 725. *p2,* 13.
Cynebald. *Bp. Lindisfarne,* 779.
*Cynebalding. *WSaxon patrony.* 728.
cynebarn. *royal issue,* 519.
cynebearna. 654.
cyneborene. *pt. pl. of royal birth,* 944.
Cynebriht. *WSaxon Bp* 799.
*Cynebryht. *id. ibid.*
**Cyneburh.** *Mercian princess, p32h.*
*cynecyn. *royal race,* 547.
cynecynn. *id. p13.*
**cynedome.** kingdom, 47, 1075.
cynedomes. 1107.
Cynegils. *WSaxon king,* 611. *p2.*
Cynegilse. 634.
*Cynegilses. 688. *p2.*
*Cynegilsing. 648. *p2.*
**Cyneheard.** *Bp.* 754.
——— *WS. æðeling,* 755, 784.
cynehelm. *crown, p221.*
cynehlaford. *sovereign-*lord, *p178b.*
cynehlaforde. *p158, 178b.*
cynelice. *royally,* 994*b.*
cynelicum. *adj. abl. royal,* 979.
**Cynemæresforda.** Kempsford, 800, *s. n.*
**cynerice.** king*dom,* 871, 1076. *p26, 201.*
cynestol. *throne,* 975.
Cynesuuith. *Mercian princess, p32.*
Cynetan. Kennet (Wilts), *p140.*
*Cynewalding. *Mercian patr.* 626, 755.
*Cyneweard. *Abt.* 964; *Bp. p126.*
**Cynewulf.** 721; *" clito," Flor.*
——— *Bp. in the north,* 737: cf. 782.
——— *WS. king,* 755, 777, 784. *p4.*
——— (heahgerefa), 778.

**cyng.** king, 664, 894, 901. *p*85, 95.
cynge. 878.
cynges. 874, 1032.
Cynges dælf. NL. *p*122, 123.
*cyning. king, 488, 588, 875, 955.
cyninga. *gen. pl.* 871, 959.
*cyningas. *pl.* 871, 875, 867. *p*2.
**cyninge.** 894, 942.
**cyninges.** 979, 1001.
cynnes. *gen.* kind, *sort*, *p*210.
**Cynric.** *WS. founder*, 493, 552, 748.
*Cynricing. *son of* Cynric, 597–855.
**cyrc.* church, *p*202.
*cyrce.* 1070. *p*209.
*cyrcean.* *p*236.
cyrceiærd. kirk-yard, *p*262*l*.
cyrdon. *turned*, 823.
*cyrece.* church, *p*209*m*.
cyrican. church, 688, 789, 874, 1031 &c.
cyrice. 1043. *p*19.
cyrlisce. *adj. of ceorl's rank*, 892.
Cyrnceastre. Cirencester, 1020.
cyrran. *to turn back, reverti*, *p*230*m*.
cysta. *excellence*, *p*13.
*cysten. to get, procure*, 1124, 1125.
cyþan. *to make* known, *p*141.
cyþæ. *may He shew, grant*, *p*222*b*.
*cyþdon. *they announced*, *p*50*m*.
*cyþþe. *country*, kith, *patria*, *p*114, 115.
cyðan. *p*172.
**cyððe.** 664.

*daga. *gen. pl.* days, 894. *p*52.
dagan. *dat. pl.* *p*236*t*.
**dagas.** *pl.* 721, 891, 1014.
dagon. 1091, &
dagū. *dat. pl.* *p*220*t* =
**dagum.** 449, 709, 787, 1039, 1070.
dagunge. dawning, 795, 802.
*dæies. gen.* day, *p*257.
Damfront. Domfront (*Normandy*), *p*230.
**Daniel.** *Bp. Winchester*, 721, 745.
**Danieles.** 709.
*Danihel. *id.* 744, 745.
*daraða. of darts, *p*115.
Dauid. *king of Scotland*, *p*253.
*dæcne.* deacon, 1122.
*dæd.* dead, *p*203*h*.
dæda. deeds, *p*121.
dædbote. *repentance, penance*, *p*123.
dæde. *pl.* dead, 852.
dæde. deed, *p*210.
*dædes.* deeds, *p*262*b*.
dædfruma. deed-*doer*, 942.
**dædum.** *dat. pl.* deeds, 755.
dædum. *dat. pl.* dead, 979.
dæg. day, 81, 851, 1048, 1056.
dæge. 495, 860, 963.
dæges. 879. *p*93.
Dægsanstane. NL. 603, *s. n.*
*dæi* = dæg. 777, 852, 992. *p*30, 39.
*dæies.* 1122.
dæiges. *p*251*m*.
*dæi rime.* day-*break*, 1122.
*dæis.* 1154.
*dæj.* *p*260.
dæl. *a part*, 885. *p*122 [deal].
dælanne. *sup. to distribute*, *p*223*b*.
dælde. *he distributed*, doled, *p*223*l*.
dæle. *part.* 901. *p*91, 230.
dæleth. *separates*, *p*259.
dælf. *ditch-cutting*, *p*122, 123.
Dænemearcon. Denmark, 1005.
Dænescan. Danish, *p*223.
*dænnede. *resounded with* din, 937.
*dær.* beasts, *p*261 [deer].
dære. dear (of price), *p*262*l*.
dead. dead, 1014. *p*149, 239.
deadne. *acc. masc. id.* *p*142.
Dearnerice. *kingdom of* Deira, 634.
deað. death, 1120.
*deaþe. 46.
deaðe. 979.
decanus. *Lat.* dean, 1020.
ded. dead, *p*258.
*dedbote. penitence, penance*, *p*38.
**Defenan.** Devon, 997, 1001.
Defenanscire. Devonshire, 1017. *p*81.
**Defenascire.** 851, 878, 1044. *p*180.
Defenescire. 851.
Defenisces. *adj. gen.* of-Devon, 1001.
Defenum. Devon, 962.
*Defnascire. *p*91.
*Defnum. *p*92.
*dei.* day, 1132.
*deig. id.* *p*250.
*del. part.* *p*32, 81. Theil.
*Dena. *gen. pl.* of the Danes, 901.
dene. *see* Æþelinga dene.
Dene. Danes, 910, 1018.

*Denescan. Danish, 833.
*Denescena. *gen. pl. p99.*
*Denescra. *gen. pl. indef.* 1001.
*Denisc. *p95.*
Deniscan. 833, 837.
*Deniscana. *p94.*
Denisce. 1014.
*Deniscne. *acc. masc. sing.* 837, 845.
Deniscra. 787.
*Deniscum. 922.
Denmarcan. Denmark, 1070.
Denmearcan. 1085.
Denmearcon, 1018.
*Densca.* Danish, 1070.
*Densce. ibid.*
*Denulf. Bp. Winton, 908.
Denum. *dat. pl.* Danes, 1039.
deofle. devil, *p38.*
deofel. 639.
Deolreda. the Dalreods, 603.
Deomodum. Demetia, SWales, *p104.*
*deop. deep, *p115.*
deope. *profound, p218m.*
deor. *beast, animal, p115,* 222 [deer].
*Deoraby. Derby, 942.
Deorbiscire. Derbyshire, 1064.
deorc. dark, 1106.
deore. *adv.* dearly, *p220h.*
deorfrið. *game-protection, p222l.*
Deorham. Dyrham (Glo'stersh.), 577.
*deormod. *beloved, p126l,* Bout.
deorost. dearest, *p220.*
deoriende. *baneful, mischievous, p121.*
deorwurðe. *precious, p223l.*
*deoules.* devils, 1137.
Derawuda. *Beverley,* 685 (Gibson).
Dereuorde. Dereworth (Northants), *p31.*
derode. *did damage, harm,* 1032.
Derum. *dat. pl. people of* Deira, 678.
Deusdedit. *Abp. Cant.* 655, 963. *p33.*
dîc. dyke, *p155.*
*dice. 189.
*dicum. *dat. pl.* the dykes, 905.
**didan.* they did, *p208.*
dide. he did, *p23,* 30.
diden. they did, 654.
didon. *id. p258.*
*Difelin. Dublin, *p115.*
digelnesse. *secret thing, p253.*
diglice. *secretly,* 1004.
dihte. *arranged, disposed,* 1107.
*dinges. *p115, s. n.*
do. *subj.* do, *faciat, p38t.*
Dodesthorp. Dostrop (Peterbro'), *p122.*
Doferan. Dover, 1095.
Dofran. 1048. *p184.*
doht' = dohter. *p264m.*
dohte. *availed, p140m* [doughty].
dohter. daughter, 626, 787, 855.
dohter gifte. daughter's *marriage, p243.*
dohtor. daughter, 626, 853, 1002.
dohtres. 1126.
Dól. Dol (*Brittany*), 1076.
Dolfin. *a prince in Carlisle,* 1092.
dom. *choice, will, judgment,* 660. *p51.*
dome. 670, 910 [doom].
Domerham. S. Damerham (Wilts) 946D.
*domne. *crpt. of* dominus, *lord,* 853.
Domuce. Dunwich, 799F.
don. to do, 876, 994.
*done. id. p258h.*
donne. *sup.* to do, 1091. *p208.*
*Dor. Dore (*Derbysh.*), 942.
Dorcaceastre. Dorchester, *p95.*
*Dorceceastre. 635. *p95.*
*Dorcesceastre. 636.
Dore = *Dor. 827.
*Dornsætum. Dorset-*folk,* 837, 845.
Dorsætan. 998.
Dorsætum. 837. *p152.*
dorste. durst, 603, 1001.
*dorsten. pl. id.* 1083 =
*dorston. *p104.* [604.
Dorwitceastre. *Canterbury;* Dorobernia,
doð. doth, *p39m.*
draf. drave, drove, 778, 963.
drafa. droves (*of cattle*), *p157.*
dragað. *indic.* drag, draw, *p256m.*
dragen. *subj. id. ibid.*
*drane.* drones, *p256m.*
*drapen. killed, p262m.*
dræfde. drave *out, expelled,* 964, 1037.
*dræuednysse. troubles, alarms, p203l.*
*dreamas. *pleasures,* 975.
*drehton. *they harassed, p95.*
dreogende. *pt. suffering,* 1104.
dreorig. *sad, woe-begone, p115,* Bout.
drifan. to drive, *lead,* 787.
drife. *diarrhœa* (?), 1086.
Driffelda. Great Driffield (E Riding), 705.

drifon. they drove, *p*157.
Drihten. *Lord*, *p*263.
Drihtene. *dat.* 1087*h*.
*Drihtin*. *p*263.
Drihtnes. *g.* 937. *p*32, 33, 209.
*Drihtines*. *p*263.
drogon. they drew; *traxerunt*, *p*155.
*drohtien*. *inf*. *p*32, *for* drohtnian, *unde*
drohtnode. *conversabatur*, 1072.
drugon. *they practised*, 634.
druncenhed. drunken*ness*, *p*209*l*.
dryfdon. *they grieved, worried*, 1118.
*drygum. *d.* dry [*land*], *p*95*l*.
*dryhten. *lord, chief*, 937*t*.
Dryhtin. *Lord*, *p*263.
dubbade. he dubbed, *p*219.
*Dubslane. Irish anchorite, 891.
duc. duke, *p*258.
Duda. ealdorman, 833.
*Dudda. *id. ibid.*
Dudoce. *Bp. Wells*, 1046.
Duduc. *id.* 1061.
Dufenal. Scotch king, *p*229.
dugeð. *the nobility; "the quality,"* 1114.
ᵭugoð. *id. p*158. Τugenb.
dugoðe. *d.* 626.
duhte. *profuit, good befel*, *p*149.
dulfon. they delved, *dug*, *p*155.
*Dún. *Bp. Rochester*, 741.
dun. *adv.* down, *p*265*h*.
dune. *adv.* down, *p*209*h*.
dune. *n.* 661, 875.
Dunestaple. Dunstaple (Beds), 1123.
Dunn = Dún (supra), 740.
Dunholme. Durham, 1072, 1080.
Dunstan. *Abp. Cant.* 963–988.
dunweard. downward, 1083.
dura. doors, 1083.
*duran. id. ibid.*
durste. durst, 1154.
duru. door, 755.
dux. *Latin. leader*, duke, 845, 851.
*dwild. uncanny things*, 1122, *s. n.*
*dydan*. they did, *p*209.
dyde. *sing.* 853, 959, &c.
dydon. *pl.* 853, 1001, &c.
dyhte. *d. direction*, *p*234*m*.
dynte. *d. blow*, dint, 1012.
dyre. dear, *φίλος*, 942Æ.
—— dear (*of price*), 1043E.
*dyrstlece. adj. rash, audacious*, *p*38*t*.

*é (= éa), *river*, *p*92*l*.
éa. *river, stream*, 681, 890, 1025.
eac. *also*, eke, 716, 878, 905, 1007.
*eaca. *n. m. addition, more troops*, *p*92*m*.
eacan (to-), *next to*, *p*221*b*.
Eadbald. *king of Kent*, 616.
———— *Bp. in North H.* 794.
*Eadbalding. 694.
Eadberht (1), ealdorman, *p*33.
———— (2), *king of N Humbria*, 757.
———— (3), *ealdorman*, 819.
Eadbold. 616 = Eadbald.
Eadbriht (1), *king of N Humbria*, 738.
———— (2), *king of Kent*, 748.
———— (3), *another, surn.* Præn. 798.
*Eadbryht. *id. ibid.* & Eadberht (3).
Eadburge. *daughter of Offa*, 787.
*eadgan. *adj. def. d. happy*, 973.
Eadgar. *king of England*, 959–975.
—— cild, 1067, 1074; æðeling, 1069.
Eadgares. *p*127.
Eadgiᵭ. *relict of Eadweard Conf.* 1075.
eadig. blessed, beatus, ſelig, *p*253.
eadiga. *id. def.* 35, 992.
Eadhed. *Bp. Lindsey*, 678.
eadmedo. *submission*, *p*65.
*eadmedlice. *humbly*, *p*208.
eadmodere. *abject, humble*, 828.
eadmodlice. 979.
Eadmund. *king of EAnglia*, 870.
———— *king of England*, 942.
———— æðeling, 971.
———— "Iron-sides," 1016. *p*159.
Eadmundes. 955. [*p*242.
Eadmundesbyrig. Bury S. Edm. 1046,
Eadnoð. *Bp. Dorchester*, 1012. *p*175.
*Eadred. king of England, 946, 955.
Eadrede. 648, *error for* Cuþrede.
Eadric [Streona], Aldm. Mercia, 1007–
Eadrice. 1017. [1017.
Eadrices. 1009.
Eadsige (cyningces gerefa), 1001.
——— *Abp. Cant.* 1038–1050. [*p*95*t*.
*Eadulf (cynges þegn on Suð Seaxum),
*Eadulfes. *g. N Humbrian prince*, 924.
*Eaduuard. *king of England*, 1066.
Eadward. "*The Elder*," 906.
———— *son of Eadgar*; 975–979.

Eadward. "*The Confessor*," 1014, 1040,
Eadwarde. 1064. *p*149. [1066.
Eadwardes *p*236.
*Eadweard. 905. *p*126.
Eadwig. "king Edwy," 955.
——— (Æfices broðor), 1010.
——— (ceorla cyng), 1017.
Eadwine. *NHumb. kg.* 617, 626, 827.
——— *Abbot of Abingdon*, 984.
——— *NHumbrian eorl*, 1064. *p*201.
Eadwold (cynges ðegen), 905.
*Eafing. *patronymic*, 855. *p*4.
*eafora. *offspring; proles*, 973.
*eafter*. after, 777.
*eaftran. d. def. id. p*127.
eagan. eyes, 797.
eage. eye, *p*232*h*.
eahta. eight, 765.
eahtatig. eighty, 1086.
eahte. eight, 1070. *p*122.
*eahteteone*. eighteen, 1083.
*eahteðan. *d. def.* eighth, *p*126*t*.
*eahtoþa. the eighth, 827.
eahtoða. *id. ibid.*
eal. all, 855. *p*107.
eala. alas, alack, *p*220*mb*.
*Ealchere (dux), 851.
Ealchstan. *Bp. Sherbourne*, 845, 867.
eald. old, 1110. *p*114.
ealda. *def. id.* 871, 1053.
ealdan. *p*159, 208.
ealde. 963. *p*115. [chester), 964, 1036.
Ealdanmynstre. Old Minster (Win-
Ealdberht. *WSaxon cæþeling*, 725.
Ealdbriht. *id.* 722.
Ealdferðe. *d. NHumbrian king*, 718.
Ealdon mynstre. Old Minst. (Winc.) *p*194.
ealdor. *prince, chief*, 605, 910. *p*126*h*.
*ealdorlangne. *life*-long, 937.
ealdorman. "*Lord Lieutenant*," 903 &c.
ealdormannes. 993.
*ealdormæn*. 652.
ealdormen. 465. *p*77.
*ealdormon. *Subregulus*, 912.
*ealdormonnes. *p*91.
ealdras. *pl. of* ealdor, *p*236*h*.
ealdre. *abl. id.* 1107. [1060. *p*203.
Ealdred. *Bp. Heref., Abp. York*, 1047,
Eald Seaxe. Old Saxons, 779.
Eald Seaxum. *p*13.
Ealdulf. (heahgerefa), 778:
—— *Abt. Burch; Abp. York*, 992, 1002.
*Ealfrice. Alderman Mercia*, 992.
*ealgodon. *they defended*, 937.
*Ealchere. "*dux*," 851; *the same as*
Ealhere. "*dux*" *in Kent*, 851, 853.
Ealhhere. *id.* 852.
*Ealhheard. *Bp. Dorchester*, *p*95.
Ealhmund. *Bp. Hexham*, 766.
*Ealhmunding. *patronymic*, 855. *p*4.
Ealhstan. *Bp. Sherbourne*, 823, 867.
*Ealhswið. Alfred's Queen, *p*99.
*Ealhswiðe. *g. id.* 903.
eall. all, 1001, 1013. *p*95, &c.
*ealla* (=ealle), *pl.* all, 1031. *p*13, 122.
eallan. *p*208, 236.
ealle. 755, 865.
ealles. 409, 897, 1018.
eallon. 1091.
eallra. *g. pl.* 1087.
eallum. 860, 1055.
ealne. *masc. acc. sing.* 1014. *p*106.
ealra. 901. *p*123.
ealre. 675. *p*91.
eallswa. all—so, also, as, *p*223.
eallswilcre. *like, identical*, *p*228.
*ealond. island, 530.
*ealonde. 716.
*ealondes. 47.
ealswa. all—so, also, as, 1104.
*eam*. I am, *p*39*l*.
eam, *uncle*, Ðheim, 1126. *p*175, 203*m*.
Eanbald. *Abp. York*, 779, 780, 796.
Eanbalde. 791, 795.
Eanberht. *Bp. Hexham*, 806.
Eanfled. *NHumbrian princess*, 626.
Eanfrid. *NHumbrian prince*, 617, *for*
Eanfrið. *the more correct form*, 634.
Eanglum *for* Englum. 636.
*Eanulf (aldorman), 845.
Eanwulfing. *in Mercian pedigree*, 755.
*ear. for* ær. *before*, ere, *p*169, 203.
earce. ark (*of Noah*), 855.
*earcedæcenes*. archdeacons', *p*258.
eard. *country, patria*, 1010. *p*115, 151.
*earde. *p*126.
eardaþ. *dwelleth*, *p*13.
eardeþ. 1002, 1004. *p*121, 140, 141.
eardedon. (*they*) *dwelt*, 491.
eardian. *inf. to inhabit*, *p*3.

Eardwulf. *NHumbrian king*, 795, 806.
earfeþe. *difficult*, *p*220*m*.
earfoðe. *id*. *p*223*l*.
earfoðlice. *adv. with difficulty*, *p*187*t*.
earfoðnissum. *hardships, anxieties*, *p*155.
earhlice. *adv. cowardly*, insidiis, *p*223*h*.
earme. poor, arm, 999. *p*145.
earmes. 1123.
earmlice. *wofully*, 684, 793.
earmða. *miseries, destitution*, 1104.
earmðe. *p*145.
*earn. *eagle*, Aar, *p*115.
earnode. he earned, 959.
Earnulf. *Aldrm. Somerset*, 845.
——— Arnulph (*Frank*), 887, 891.
Earnulfes. *p*86, 87.
*eas. *g. river*, *p*94, 104.
east. east, 855, 866.
eastan. 878, 1114. *p*92, 115.
easte. 865.
eastende. east-end, 893.
eastlang. *from* east (*to west*), 893.
*easteweard. eastward, 895.
*eastewearde. 865.
*eastewearde*s*. *p*91.
*easteweardre. 891.
easteweardum. 813. *p*63.
eastweard. 998.
*eastwarde*. 892.
East Engle. East Angles, 855, 870.
East Englan. *p*158.
East Englum. 636, 890, 992, 1038.
Easter. Easter, 774, 1060.
*East Francum. *d. pl.* East-Franks, 891.
East Seaxan. Essex folk, *p*157.
East Seaxe. 604, 823.
*East Seaxna. *g. pl.* 836, 855.
East Seaxum. *d. pl.* 604, 994. *p*9.
Eastron. Easter, 627, 1012.
Eastran. 1107.
*Eastren*. *p*251.
Eata. *father of* Eadbriht, 738.
Eatan. *acc. Bp. Bernicia*, 678.
Eating. *NH. patronymic*, 738, 768.
*Eawing. *Mercian patronymic*, 716, 755.
Eaxeceaster. Exeter, 1003.
eaðe. easily, 1009.
*eaþmedo. *submission*, 827.
*eaþmodre, *adj. d. fem. submissive* 828.
ebba. ebb *of the tide*, 1114.
Ecbriht. 667, *for* Ecgbriht.
ece. *vb. may he enrich*, *p*32*m*.
ece. *adj. everlasting*, *p*32*m*.
*ecere. *d. fem.* 855.
*eces. 937.
eceð. *increaseth, augmenteth*, *p*32*m*.
Ecferðe. *king of NHumbria*, 678.
Ecgan. *acc.* (heahgerefa), 778.
Ecgberht. *Abp. York*, 766.
——— *king of Wessex*, 800, 813, 823.
*Ecgbrehting. *id.* 836.
Ecgbriht. *king of Kent*, 664.
——— (*seo* halga), *monk in Iona*, 729.
——— *Abp. York*, 734, 738.
——— *king of Wessex*, 823, 827, 836.
Ecgbrihtes. *p*81.
Ecgbrihting. 855.
*Ecgbryht. 716, 729, 800, 813.
*Ecgbryhtes. 878.
*Ecgbryhting. 694.
*Ecgferþ. *king of NHumbria*, 670.
——— *king of Mercia*, 785, 794.
Ecgferð. E. *id. ibid.*
Ecgferðes. 794.
*Ecgulf (cynges hors þegn), *p*95*h*.
*écgum. with edges, 937. *p*115.
*Ecgwalding. *NH. patronymic*, 731.
*ecre. for* *ecere. 855.
*Ecwils. *Danish king*, 911.
*Edbald. *king of Kent*, 640.
Edberhte. *d. NHumbrian king*, 737.
Edgar. *king of England*, 963.
*Eduuard. *the king*, 1043.
*Edwine. *NHumbrian king*, 601, 627.
*Edwines. 626.
*ee* (=ea), *island*, 780, 793.
efen. eve, 1012.
*efenehðe. *p*93, *s. n.*
*efenwyrhton. co-operators*, 972.
*Eferwic*. York, *p*208, 254.
*efes. *slope, edge*, 894 [eaves].
efeste. *he hasted*, *p*154.
efne. *proportion, share*, *p*218 [even].
*efor. *wild boar*, 885, Eber, *Lat.* aper.
*efre*. ever, *p*38.
*eft. *afterward*, 685. *p*12.
eft. *back again, rursus*, πάλιν, 790, *s. n.*
*efter. after, 1070. *p*208.
Egbalth. *Abb. Petrob.* 686.
Egbriht. *king of Kent*, 669.

*egbuendra. *gen. pl. inhabitants*, p126.
**ege.** awe, *dread*, 456, 641, 716, 823.
Egelwine. *Bp. Durham*, 1071.
Egferð. *NHumbrian king*, 670–685.
*Egferþ. *son of Offa*, p52: cf. E777.
églade. it ailed (him), *p220b.*
Eglaf. *a Swede*, 1025.
egland. island, 641. *p3.*
Egleswurðe. NL. *p122.*
**Egoneshám.** Ensham (Oxon), 571.
**ehtnesse.** *persecution*, 2.
*ei. *river*, 875.
*eiglande. *d.* island, *p115.*
*Elesa. *Cerdic's father*, *p2.*
*Elesing. 552, 597, 855.
Elias. earl of Maine, 1099, 1110.
Elig. Ely, 963, 1022, 1070. *p209.*
*Elige. *id.* 673.
elkede. *delayed*, 999.
Ellandune. 823= [bury (Ingram).
*Ellendune. *ibid.* ? Allington nr. Ames-
elles. else, 1043.
elmessan. alms, 887.
*elmihtiga.* Almighty, *p219.*
embe. about, *p221h.*
**Embenum.** Amiens, 884.
emnihte. *equinox*, *p180.*
*enda.* end, 892=
**ende.** 633, 709, 998. *p92.*
endode. ended, 975, 1014.
*Engla. of the English, 973, 975.
**Englafelda.** Inglefield (Berks), 871.
Englaland. England, 1091.
Englalande. 1091. *p226.*
Englalandes. 1091.
*Englæland. p222.*
*Englælande. p222.*
Englælandes. *p223.*
**Englan.** 473.
**Engle.** 910. *p110.*
Engleland. *p225.* 1131.
Englelande. 1091.
**Englisc.** English, 891, 1075.
**Englisce.** 690, 692, 1001, 1070.
Englisene. *acc. masc.* 1073.
**Engliscra.** *gen. pl.* 1025. *p96.*
Engliscum. *dat. pl.* 922.
**Englum.** 866, 1091.
*enmang.* among, *p261.*
Eoda. Odo, 1096.
**eodan.** *they went*, 874. *p95.*
**eode.** *he went*, 733, 827, 944.
**eodon.** *pl.* 755, 997, 1003.
*eofer* = ofer = over-. 750.
éofer = efor. *a boar*, 885.
Eoferwic. York, 626, 774, 923, 1072.
*Eoferwic ceastre. York[chester], 644.
*Eoforwic ceastre. 73[2], 867, 869.
Eoferwic stole. *the See of* York, 992.
*Eohric. *Danish king*, 905.
eom. *uncle*, 1137.
*Eomæring. *patronymic*, 626, 755.
Eomer. *an assassin*, 626.
**Eoppa.** preost. 661. *p33t.*
Eoppa. in WS. genealogy, 855. *p4.*
——— in NH. genealogy, 547.
Eopping. 547, 670, 685, 731. *p4.*
**eorl.** earl, 871, 1055. *p38*, 122.
eorle. *p187.*
*eorla. *g. pl.* 871, 937.
eorles. 1064.
eorlan. *dat. pl. p185* =
eorlum. *p182.*
**eorlas.** 871, 959. *p115*, 178.
eorldom. earldom, 1068. *p180*, 188.
eorldome. 1053.
*eorod cistum. *with choice troops*, 937*l.*
**Eorpwald.** *king of EAngles*, 632.
**eorþan.** earth, 418, 1100. *p126.*
**eorðbifung.** earth*quake*, 1119.
**eorðbyfung.** 1117. Erdbeben.
**eorðdine.** *id. p258.*
**eorðdyne.** 1122.
**eorðe.** earth, 1122.
**eorðlic.** *terrestrial*, earthly, 979.
**eorðlican.** 979.
**eorðstyrunge.** earth*quake*, 1089.
**eorðwæstmas.** *fruits of the* earth, 1111.
**eorðwestmas.** *p243.*
**eorðwæstman.** 1116=
**eorðwæstmum.** *dat. pl. p169.*
*eoton* (= æton), they ate, 998.
*eowre. your, 755.
Epiphan'. Epiphany, 1096.
ercebisc. 888=
ercebiscop. archbishop, *p23.*
*ercebiscopes. pl.* 1127.
Ercenbriht. *king of Kent*, 639, 664.
Ercongota. *his daughter*, 639.
*erest* (= ærost), *at first*, erst, *p3.*

erestan. *id. def. pl.* 787.
*erfewœrdes. heirs, p*19.
ergende. *ploughing,* "earing"(SS), 876.
Ernulf. *Ab. Burh—Bp. Rof. p*253.
erost. *first,* erst, 409.
*erthe.* earth, *p*262*b.*
*erðan* (=eorðan), 979.
*Escanceaster. Exeter 876.
Escwi (abbot), *p*123*m.*
Esendic. NL. *p*31.
*Esing. *patronymic,* 547.
*Esla. *in genealogy, p*2.
*Esling. *son of id.* 552, 597, 855.
*Estenglum.* EAnglia, *p*85.
*Estran.* Easter, 626.
*Estren. id.* 654.
*Estun.* NL. *p*263*m.*
*eten.* were eating, *p*264*t.*
*Eþandune. *p*80, *s. n.*
Eðandune. *id. p*81.
*eþeling. prince,* 972.
*eðel. *n. domain, p*126*l.*
eðele. *abl. id. country,* 380.
eðelingas. *princes,* 617.
*eðeltyrf. *domestic soil, home-land,* 975.
Euereus. Evreux (Normandy), 1130.
Eureus. *id.* 1112.
Euesham. Evesham (*Worc'shire*), 1077.
Eugl'æ. } evangelist, 1117, 1119.
Eug'lista. }
Eugenie. Pope, *p*263.
Euorwic. York, 1138.
Eustace. *son of king Stephen, p*265.
Eustatius. Eustace (*of Boulogne*), 1048.
*Eustati' (þe junga), of Boulogne, p*225*b.*
*Eustaties. for* Eustatius. 1101.
Exanceastre. Exeter, 876, 877. *p*91.
Exanmuðan. Exmouth, 1101.
*Execestre.* Exeter, *p*261.

fader. father, *p*265.
fair. fair, *καλῶς,* 1154.
fals. *forgery = Lat.* falsum, 1125.
fand. he found, 963. *p*149, 209.
fang. *n. booty, p*156.
faran. *to go, set forth,* fare, 894, 1009.
fare. *nf. expedition, p*218*h,* 233*m.*
faren. *p*30, 31.
farena. *part. def. departed,* 1101.
*farene. sup. to go (home), p*258*h* = farenne. *p*180.
Farinmagil. *British king,* 577E.
*Farinmail. *id. ibid.* A.
Farits. *Abt. of Abingdon,* 1117.
faton. *dat. pl. vessels, p*223*l* [wine-fat].
*faðasunu.* father's *brother's* son, 1119.
*fæc. *time, while, space,* 942.
fæce. *dat. id. p*155.
fædde. fed, *provisioned,* 994.
fæder. father, 552, 885, 984.
fæderan. father's *brother, p*51.
*fædern. paternal,* 784.
fædran. *gen. paternal uncle,* 901.
fædren. *paternal,* 784. *p*86, 87.
fæge. *fated, doomed,* 937*m.*
fæla. *many,* 1124*l,* viel.
*fæng* (to —), *acceded,* 740.
færcodon. remigabant (Gibs.), *p*142.
*færd. troop, company, p*265*l.*
*færde. (it) proceeded,* fared, 1087*h.*
*færdon. they went, marched,* 868.
fære. *march,* iter, 894*b.*
*færedon. they conveyed, p*140*l.*
færeld. *journey, pilgrimage,* 889.
fæste. *strongly, firmly, p*121.
fæsten. *fort,* fastness, 885.
*fæstene. 877, 891.
*fæstenne. 894. *p*92.
fæstlice. *stoutly,* 1001, 1010. *p*178.
*fæstned. p.* fastened, *p*262*h.*
*fæstnode. *ratified,* 906. [*p*104.
*fæstnodon. *pl. id.* fastened, made fast,
*fæstnunge. *acc. confirmation, p*208.
fæston. *they made firm,* fast, *p*264*l.*
fættan. they fetched, *p*140*l.*
feaht. fought, 571, 661, 871.
feala. *many,* viel, 530, 794, 877.
*feale. id.* 1122.
fealene. *adj. dark, gloomy, ζοφερός, p*114.
*fearlice. suddenly, shockingly,* 1120.
*Fearnhamme. Farnham (Surrey), 894.
*feastene* (*for* fæstene), 877.
*feastlice* (*for* fæstlice), 1004, 1008.
feawa. few, 891, 892. *p*104.
*feawe. id.* 1122.
feawum. *dat.* 1070. *p*178.
*feax. *hair,* in comp. *p*114, 126*m.*
*feaxede. *hairy,* comatus, 891.
feccan. to fetch, 1017.
feccean. *id.* 1121.

*fece. time, while, p152.*
fedan. to feed, 1012.
*feder.* father, 616. *p183.*
federan. father's *brother*, 634, 737.
fedran. 643.
fela. *many*, viel, 871. *p92*, 95.
*feld. field, campus, 894, 937.
felda. *open country;* Dan. Fjeld, 1071.
feldan. *dat. pl.* 1112.
felde. *p39.*
*Felix. *Missionary Bp. of E Anglia*, 636.
feng. *took, seized*, 488, 592, 790, 1066.
fengon. *pl.* 855, 1004.
fen. fen, *marsh, p31m.*
fennas. fens, *moor-swamps*, 905, 1010.
fennes. *p31*, 154.
feo. *money*, 878. *p81*, 91 [Vieh].
feoh. *id.* 755, 865, 897, 1012.
feoh spillinge. *waste of money, p233.*
feoht. he fought, 710.
feohtende. fighting, 755, 994, 1001.
feohton. they fought, *p13.*
feola. *many*, 777, 1076. *p33*, 69.
*feole* = feola. 1122.
feollan. they fell, *p236.*
*feon.* fen, *p31h.*
*feonnes. pl. p31.*
*feonnon. p31l.*
feond. *enemy*, 1129 [fiend].
feondan. 1118.
*feord* = fyrd. *p265h.* [*p30m.*
*feorde. went, proceeded, acted*, 1132,
feorden. *pl.* = ferdon, *p261.*
feorme. *provisioning, p140* [farm].
feorme hames. farms, 1087.
feorðan. fourth, 1095.
feorðe. fourth.
feos. *gen. money*, 999. *p218l.*
feostnode. *he ratified, p32l.*
*feowan.* few, 1091.
feower. four, 1095. *p94.*
*feowerti.* forty, *p253.*
feowertyne. fourteen, 1110.
*ferd* = fyrd. *troops, force, p265l.*
ferde. *dat. id.* 823.
ferde. *he went, marched, p265l.*
*ferden. pl.* 1117 =
ferdon. 737, 1087. *p226* =
*ferdun. 737.
ferede. *pret. conveyed*, 1023.
feredon. *pl. id.* 1012.
Fergan (Alein), 'eorl,' 1127.
*fergrunden. ground *to pieces, p114.*
*ferian. *to move, convey*, 894. *p91.*
ferode. *pret. id.* 1009.
*festena. forts, p230b.*
festlice. *stoutly, vigorously*, 994.
*festnia.* (I) *ratify, confirm, p32l.*
festnie. *id. p39.*
fet. feet, *p262t.*
*Feþanleag. Frethern (Glouc.) Gibs., 584.
Feþanlea. *ibid.* E.
Feðermuðe. Fotheringhay, ? *Ingr., p31.*
*feuna.* few, *p30m.*
*fierd. *militia*, 827, 828, 894.
*fierde. 823, 876, 885, 919. [894.
*fierdedon. *they marched out, served*,
*fierdleas. *vacant, unprotected*, 894.
fif. five, 588, 910, 1013, 1124. *p38.*
Fifburhingan. quasi "*Five-Towners,*"
*fife. five, 937, 942. [1013.
fifta. the fifth, 827. *p65.*
fiftan. 1110.
*fiftene.* fifteen, *p209h.*
fiftig. fifty, 1023. *p123.*
fiftiga. 605.
*fifum. *dat.* five, *p95l.*
*filgendan. *part.* following, 984.
Finchamstæde. Finchamsted, *p235.*
*findan. to find, 418.
*finden. id. p30m.*
*findon. id.* 418.
fingre. finger, *p32.*
*Finning. *patr. above Woden*, 547, 855.
*fir.* fire, Feuer, 1122, 1131.
fird. *expedition, arming*, 905. *p93*, 107.
firde. 910, 922.
*firrer.* ? former (Stevenson), 1131.
*first. *n. time, p104.*
first. first, *earliest, p32l*, 39*b.*
firste. *def. id. p257.*
Flandr' (Rob't of), *p237.*
Flandran. Flanders, 1017. *p214.*
Flandres. 1102.
fleah. fled, *p144.*
fleam. flight, fuga, 993, 998, 1010.
fleame. 477, 917. *p92*, 114.
*flec* (*for* flæsc), flesh, *p262l.*
*fleh* = fleah. *p264m.*
*flemd* = geflymed. *made to* flee, *p258l.*

*flemden. they drove off,* 1131, 1138.
Flemisce. *Flemish,* 1080.
fleot. *stream, p*13. [Fleet Street]
*fleote. *p*91.
*flescmete.* flesh-meat, 1131.
*floccum. *in bands,* 894. [flock]
flocrade. *marauding horse-troop,* 917.
flocradum. 894. [raid]
flod. *tide,* flow, 1031. *p*96, 114, 151.
-flodan. in NL. 755.
floran. floor, 978.
flore. floor, 1083.
Florentie. Florence (Italy), 1059.
Florentines. St. *p*149.
*flot. *p*114, *s. n.* [*French* flot]
flote (on). afloat, *p*209*m*.
flota. *squadron, navy,* 975. *p*140*h*.
flotan. fleet; *Fr.* flotte, 904, 1013.
flotan. *mariners,* 937*h*, 1002.
flotigende. floating, afloat, 1031.
*flugæn.* they fled, *p*262*b*.
*flugen. id. p*262*l* =
flugon. 457, 894, 1010.
*foces. for* folces, *p*39*b*.
folc. people, Volk, 793, 999. *p*106, 187.
folca. *p*223.
folcan. 1119.
folce. 963.
folces. 1120. *p*91. [887.
folcgefeoht. *a general engagement,* 871,
folcmælum. *in bands, p*145.
*folcstede. δῆμος, ἀγορά,* forum, *p*114.
*foldan. *the earth, p*126. [*p*264*l*.
*folecheden* = folgedon. they followed,
folgað. following, 'comitatus,' *p*178*h*.
folgian. to follow, 755. *p*51.
folgode. he followed, *p*178.
Folies. NL. *p*31.
fon. *inf. to take, seize,* fangen, *p*156.
fonne. *sup. id. p*142.
for. *prp.* for, 685, 823, 894*h*, 999.
for. *conj.* for, *nam, p*261 &c., *s.n.* on 1132.
fór. *went, marched,* fared, 664, 867, 872.
foran. *adv. loc. in front,* obviam, 894*l*.
foran. *adv. temp.* 1012. *p*144.
foran. *they went,* fared, 744, 799, 812.
*forbaren. pl. pret.* forbore, *p*262*l*.
*forbarn. intrans.* burnt, was burnt, 679,
*forbærn. *id.* 754. [741, 815, 962.
*forbærnde. *trans.* burnt, 685.
forbærndon. *pl. id.* 694, 1001. *p*91, 190.
*forbærned. *part. id.* 687.
forbead. forbade, 1012.
forbearn = forbarn. 1067.
*forbearnde* = forbærnde. 1122.
*forbearndon. pl. id.* 779. *p*185.
*forbede. p*33*l* =
forbeode. I forbid, *p*38*l*.
forboden. *pt. id.* forbidden, 1048.
forborn. 816 = forbarn.
*forbroken.* broken *down, decrepit, p*256*h*.
forburnen. *pt.* burnt *to ashes, p*251.
*forcurfan. they cut out,* 797 =
*forcurfon. Æ. *ibid.* [carve]
forcursæd. *utterly* accursed, *p*262*b*.
ford. ford, vadum, 508. *p*5.
forda. *dat.* ford, 894*l*; in comp. 774 &c.
*fordfeorde. for* forðferde, *p*264*t*.
*fordiden. they destroyed, p*75, *from*
fordon. *inf.* 963. *p*149.
fordraf. drove *out,* profligavit, 927.
*fordrifan. pl. id.* 952 =
fordrifon. 774, 954.
fordrifene. *pt. id.* 1086.
*fordydan. they destroyed,* 633 =
fordydon. *p*157.
fordyde. *sing. id.* 986. *p*214.
fore. *way, march, course,* 1004. *p*142.
fore. *in front,* before, *ante, p*256*b*.
fore. *3rd sing. past. subj. of* faran, 918,
*foren. *pl. id.* 876. [919. *p*38.
foregengra. *g. pl. predecessors, p*221*h*.
*foregisla. *s. n.* 894, *gen. of*
foregislas. *hostages,* 877, 878.
foresprecena. fore*mentioned,* 896.
*forensprecena. id. pl. p*209*l*.
*forensprecone. id. p*31*l*.
forewarda. *stipulations,* 1094.
forewarde. 1094.
forewearde. 852.
forewearda. 1109.
foreweardum. 709.
forewitegad. *prophesied,* 47.
forfaren. *pt. perished,* 1025. *p*169.
forferde. *came to nought, was destroyed,*
forfór. *perished,* 1091. [*p*235.
*forforan. pl. id. p*233*m* =
forforon. 910; but
forforon. *p*95*m* = *they got in front of.*
*forforþ. *advanced,* 887.

forforð. *ibid.* E.
forgeaf. he gave, *granted, p187m.*
*forgede. was to* forego, *p258h.*
*forgengles. predecessors, p123h.*
*forgifan. pt.* forgiven, 1014=
forgifen. 718.
forgyfen. 1121.
forgifennesse. forgiveness, *p222.*
*forgiuenesse. id. p38, 123.*
forguldon. *they paid for it,* 1039.
*forgytane. sup.* forget, *p222t.*
*forheol.* 1114, *hit availed.*
*Forhere.* for *Forþhere, 709.
*forhergeada. *pret. devastated,* 687=
forhergode (*usual form*), 1000. *p149.*
*forhergedon. *pl. id.* 686.
forhergodan. E. *ibid.*
forhergodon. *p87.*
forholen. *secret, concealed, p263.*
*forhwi.* why, "for why," *p30h.*
*forlæs* = forleas. he lost, *p256t.*
*forlæten. inf. to relinquish, give up,*
forlæten. *pt. p259.* [*p258h.*
forleton. *id. p23t.*
forleas. he lost, 1076. *p222h.*
*forles. id. p264.* [*p114.*
forlet. *he left behind, resigned,* 1043,
forleton. *pl.* 457, 885.
forloren. *pt.* lost, *p222.*
*forloron. id. p260h.*
forlure. *3rd pret. subj. id.* 81.
forluron. they lost, 1101.
forma. first, 1109.
forman. 685.
*forme.* 1131.
forneah. *very* near*ly,* 1097.
*forneh.* 1117.
fornumene. *caught, damaged, p243.*
foron. *they travelled,* 799, 851, 876, 891.
forriden. to ride before, *intercept, p93.*
forsawon. *they treated with contempt,* 911.
*forsegon. pt. id. p203l.*
*forsewen. *id. p126m.*
forsiðe. *for* forðsiðe = *decease,* 1036.
*forslægene. slain, 882.
*forsoc. *he refused,* verſagen, *p208.*
forspeldon. they spoiled, *p140, but s. f. n.*
forsprecena. fore*mentioned,* 885.
*forsprecenda. id.* 1010.
*forsprecon. id. p259t.*
forste. frost, *p243t.*
forstod. valebat, stood for, *p243.*
forstode. *p261m.*
for-swiðe. nimis, 897.
*forsuoren.* forsworn, *perjured, p262.*
forsworen. *id.* 1137.
forsworenne. 1094.
forþ. *adv. of continuity,* '*on,*' 534.
forþā. 1097=
forþan. for that, *p236=*
*forþæm. 887. p91=*
*forþon. 658, 680, 694, 891.
forþbringende. bringing forth, *p220m.*
*forþen.* 491=
*forþon. *so much as,* (ne) quidem, 491.
forþferde. *departed this life,* 588 & *oft.*
forðferdon. *pl. id. p242.*
*forþferdun. *id.* 661.
forþfor = *id.* 571.
*Forþhere. *Bp. Sherburn,* 709, 737.
forþi. *because* that, for that, 1097.
*Forþred. "abbud," 803.
forð = forþ. 937*m. p31m,* 183.
forðan = forþan. *p203.*
forðbylding. *em*boldening, 999.
forðfaren. *pt. deceased,* 685.
forðferde. *he died,* 918, 1005, & *oft.*
forðgan. to go forth, *take the field,* 1075.
forðgefaren. *deceased, p194.*
forðgefarenum. *pt. dat. sing.* = *dead,* 560.
*forðgewiton. pt.* = *deceased, p123l.*
Forðhere. *in king Edwin's retinue,* 626.
Forðhere. 737 = *Forþhere *above.*
*forði.* for that, *because,* 963.
*forðig. id.* 1087.
*forðy. 895. *p95.*
forðian. to forward, *p38,* 182.
forðsiðe. *decease,* 992.
forðwearde. forward, *advanced,* 999.
*foruton. except,* 1122.
*foruuardes. terms of treaty, p265l.*
*forwearþ. *perished,* 655, 877.
forwearð. 189, 877.
*forweorþenesse. perishing,* 1103=
forwordenessa. *destructions,* 1105.
*forweornde. he objected, p174.*
forwernde. *id.* 1048.
forwerndon. *they opposed, p171, from*
*forwiernan. *to prevent,* arcere, *p94h.*
*forworht. *pt. barricaded,* 901.

*forwyrcan. *inf. id. to bar, obstruct,* p94.
forwurdon. *pl. of* forweard, 593, 594,
*forwurþan. inf. id.* 605. [p243.
fot. foot, p209*h*.
fote. *dat. id. ibid.*
foðra. ? *loads,* 852, *s. n., pl. of*
foður. *ibid.*
*fower.* four, 1122.
fowertigeðe. fortieth, 1107.
*fra.* from, 'fro,' 963. p31, 123=
fram. 430, 625, 875, 1070, & *oft.*
Franca. *gen. pl.* French, p210.
Francan. 780, 881.
*France.* 1117.
Francena. 1090.
Francland. 836, 1076.
Francna. 885.
*Francon.* 779.
Francrice. France, p218.
Francum. 855, 890.
*Frangland.* 880, 881, 882.
Frœna. a Danish eorl, 871.
——— heretoga; semi-Dane, 993.
*frean. *dat. Lord,* 973. [Frau]
*Freawine. *in Wessex genealogy,* p2.
*Freawining. *patrony.* 552, 597, 855. p2.
Frenciscan. French, 1003.
Frencisce. 1070. p187, 226.
Frenciscra. p229.
*frend.* friends, p261*t*.
freo. *adj.* free, p38.
freo. *v.* I free, p122.
freode. *he set* free, 777.
freodom. freedom, 963. p123.
freodon. they freed, 963.
freolice. freely, p31*bis*, 39*m*, 122.
freond. friend, 654. p32, 175.
*freonda. *gen. pl.* p114.
freondan. *dat. pl.* 1120. [187.
freondscipe. friendship, 1014. p159, 174,
Freoricburna. NL. 777.
*Freoðewulfing. *in NH. genealogy,* 547.
Freoðogaring. *in WS. genealogy,* 552.
*Freoðolafing. *patronymic,* 547.
*Fresisc. Frisic, p95*m*.
*Fresiscra. *gen. pl.* p96.
*freten. *pt. eaten,* gefreſſen, p92*l*.
frett. *devoureth,* friſſt, p256*m*.
*fretton. *they ate (it) up,* p93.
Freðegis. NP. p33*h*.
*Fridæig.* Friday, p258=
*Frigdæg.* p246=
Frigedæg. 1106.
*Friesa. Frisian, p95, 96.
*Frisan. Frisians, p84.
*friþ. *peace,* Friede, 866, 1006. p108.
*friþe. 823, 920.
*friþian. *to protect, respect,* p108.
Friþogaring. 855.
Friþogiþ (cuen), 737.
Friþowalding. 855.
Friþugar. 597. p2.
Friþugaring. 597. p2.
Friþuwulfing. 855.
frið=*friþ. 710, 865, 906, 993, 1012.
friðe. 823, 865.
friðes. 1004. p142.
Friðeberht. *Bp. Hexham,* 766.
Friðegist. heretoga; half-Dane, 993.
Friðewald. *Bp. Galloway,* 762.
friðian. 1093=*friþian.
Friðowulfing. *patronym. of Woden,* 560.
*froda. *aged,* p114.
from. *prep.* from, 635, 838. p3.
*Frome. *the town of* Frome, 955.
Frommuðan. *Poole Bay,* 998.
Fromuðan. p152.
*Froncland. the land of the Franks, 920.
*Fronclond, 880.
Fronclonde. 836.
fruman. *beginning,* 654, 655.
frymþe. *id.* 4.
frymðe. 11.
*Fryþestan. *Bp. Winton,* 932.
*fryð*=frið. 867.
Fryðegiþ (cwen), 737.
fryðstole. *secure quarters,* p140.
*fugeles.* fowls, 1131.
fugla. *gen. pl. id.* 671.
*fuhten.* they fought, 1138=
fuhton. 449, 519, 860, 917.
*fuhten. id.* p265*l*.
*fuhtun. *id.* 514.
ful. foul, p262*t*.
*fulfeastnodon. they ratified,* p39.
*fulgon (filhan), *they yielded,* 755, *s. n.*
Fulkes. *g.* Fulk *of Anjou,* 1124.
full. full, *complete,* 1004. p165.
fullan. *dat. def. id.* p148.
Fullanhamme. Fulham, 879.

*Fullanhomme. 880.
fulle. full, 852. *p*209*b*.
fullgewepnede. fully *armed*, 1083.
full (gild). full *tribute*, *p*149.
fullice. *entirely*, *p*187*l*.
fullne. *acc. masc. indef.* 1014. *p*148.
fulne. *p*187.
ful neah. full nigh, 540. *p*95, 256.
*fullost. fullest, 1031.
fulluht. *baptism*, 890.
fulluhte. 601, 942.
fulluhtes. 167.
fullum. full, 917, 1016.
fulre. 1022, 1048. *p*148.
fultomiendum. *pt. pres. aiding*, 797.
*fultome. *dat. aid, help*, 601.
fultum. 999. *p*106, 178, 234.
fultume. 449, 601, 852, 920. *p*107.
fultumedon. *they should help*, 868.
fultumes. 445, 911.
fultumiað. *we will help*, *p*3.
*fultumode. 836.
fulwiht = fulluht. 606, 634. *p*19.
fulwihte. 601, 661, 688, 878.
*fulwihtes. 604.
fundade. *was about to start*, 1085: cf.
fundode. *id.* 1101, *s. n.*
funde. *he* found, 1072.
*funden. *pt.* found, *p*104.
*fundena. pl. id.* 1120.
fundon. they found, 917. *p*75.
furlanga. furlongs, *p*95*b*.
*furþum. *just*, recens, ærſt, *p*94.
furðon = forþon. 1010. *p*144.
furðor. further, 1039.
*fylden*. they filled, 1137.
fylstan. *to support, second*, *p*174.
fylste. 959.
fyr. fire, *p*209.
fyrcliende. *flashing*; flickering, 1106.
fyrd. *county militia: comitatus*, 1001 &c.
fyrde. 626, 851, 868.
fyrding. *assembling of the* fyrd, 1016.
fyrdinge. *p*140.
fyrdode. *marched with* fyrd, 835.
fyre. *d.* fire, 679, 994.
fyrmest. foremost, *chief*, *p*221*b*.
fyrst. *time, space*, 1004.
fyrst. *adv.* first, primð, 963. *p*123*t*.
*fyrste*, first, 963.
*gaderad*. gathered, 1137, *pt. of*
gaderian. to gather, *p*144.
*gadering*. gathering, *assembly*, 1137.
gaderode. *pret.* gathered, 1117.
gadrienne. 1016.
gaf. gave, gaþ, *p*251*h*.
gafol. *tribute*, 991, 994, 1001, 1018, &c.
*Gafulforda. Camelford (Gibs.), 823.
Gaitan. Gaëta (Italy), *p*247.
Gallia (Latin), Gaul, 418.
Galwala. 693, *gen. pl. of*
Galwalas. the Gauls, Galli, 380.
Galwalum. *dat.* 649, 660. *p*5.
*gamol. *old*; Danish gammel, *p*126.
gán. to go, *p*140.
gandagum. *p*155, *for*
gangdagum. *p*106, *dat. of*
*gangdagas. *Rogation* days, 891.
gangende. *part.* going, 1114.
gangendra. *gen. pl. id.* *p*218.
ganetes. *g.* gannet, *goose*, 975.
*ganotes. *id.* *p*126.
*gar. *spear*, *p*114. [gar*lic*]
garum. *dat. pl.* 937.
*gare* (*for* gearo). *ready, finished*, *p*30*m*.
*garwan. dat. id.* *p*140.
gast. ghost, Geiſt, *p*229.
*gate*. gates, *p*140*l*, *for*
gatu. *p*50, 51.
gað. goeth, *p*31*m*.
*gauen*. they gave, 654.
*gaule* (= gafol), *tribute*, *p*31*l*.
*gæde* (= eode), *it went*, *p*262*h*.
*gæf*. gave, 1127.
*gæildes. imposts*, *p*262.
*gær*. year, 1123.
*gære*. 1137.
*gæres*. 1125.
*gærsume. treasures*, *p*209.
gærsuma. 1090.
gæsne. *barren*, 1116, *s. n.*
*gæte. I confirm*, *p*39.
*gæt*. yet, *p*262*l*.
*gæþ. goeth, 755. *p*2.
gæð. *id.* 627, 784. *p*23, 51.
g'. 1099. *p*238, &c. =
ge-. *prefix*, passim.
ge. *conj. both ... and*, 835. [yea, yes]
geaf. gave, 777, 853, 963, 1031.
*geafen*. they gave, *p*123*h*.

geahnode. *made good his claim,* 1028.
geald. *paid,* 991, 994, 1002.
*geamene. care, guardianship,* p251*l.*
geancsumed. *grieved,* p229*h.*
*geanfares. g. return,* 1119.
geanwyrde (wes). *confessed,* 1055.
geapscipe. *craft, cunning,* 1090; Lazam.
gear. year, 588, 860. [jæp-.
geara. *g. pl.* 687, 752.
geare. *d.* 661, 754, 837, & *oft.*
geares. *g.* 871. p210.
gearda. *of sticks, faggots* (MHB), 852.
gearnunge. *request,* p245. [yearning]
gearcode. *he prepared, made ready,* 1091.
gearo. *ready,* 755, 874. p51.
gearu. p142.
gearwe. 999, 1009. p151.
*geascade. *he learnt by* asking, 911.
*geascode. *id.* ἐπύθετο, 755.
*geat.* yet, p220.
*geat. gate, *opening, pass,* 942.
geate. 963, 979. p33, 123, 209.
*geatu. *pl.* 901.
*Geating. *patronymic,* 547, 855.
geatte. *he granted,* p203*l.*
geatton. *pl.* p123.
*geauen.* they gave, p257.
geaxian. 1064, *infinitive of*
geaxode = *geascode. 1071. p154.
geaxodon. *pl.* 1010.
*geæþele. *adj. pertaining by birth,* 937.
gebæron. *dat. pl.* p51 =
*gebærum. *cries, shrieks,* p50*t, s. n.*
*gebead. *he proposed,* p50 *twice.*
*gebeded. *compelled, driven,* 937*b.*
*gebegde. *pl. pt.* bowed *down,* 942, *s. n.*
*gebeon. pt.* been, p233*t.*
gebeorgan. *to protect, defend,* p141.
gebeorge. *d. protection,* 189.
gebete. *pres. subj. mend,* p219. [better]
*gebette. *pret. restored,* p107*b,* 126*b.*
gebicgean. to buy, *purchase,* 1043.
gebiddan. *to pray,* 605. [bid]
*gebidden. id.* p30*m.*
*gebland. *confusion, tumult,* 937. [blend]
gebletsad. blessed, *consecrated,* p38 =
gebletsod. 795, 1042.
gebocade. "booked" = *conveyed,* 855 =
*gebocude. *ibid.* Æ.
*gebod. *injunction,* p98.
geboden. *pt. offered,* p50, 51.
gebogen. *pt. submitted,* bowed, p148.
gebohtan. they bought, p159.
gebohte. 1118.
geboren. born, 381, 1075, 1080. p70, 87.
gebotad. bettered, *mended,* 1093.
gebræd. *he feigned,* 1003, *s. n.*
gebringan. p232 =
*gebringon. inf.* bring, p141, 152.
*gebrocod. broken, *prostrated,* 897.
*gebrocede. *pl. id.* 897.
gebrocode. *id. fractured, injured,* 978.
gebroht. *pt.* brought, 1100.
gebrohte. he brought, p121.
gebrohton. *pl. id.* p159.
gebroiden. *pt. entwined,* 1104, *s. n.*
*gebroþer. brothers, Gebrüder, p115.
gebroðra. *pl. form,* p13, 203.
gebugan. 1101 =
gebugon. *they turned,* p234.
gebundenne. *pt. acc. masc.* bound, 796.
gebygle. *subject, submissive,* 1091.
gebyredon. *belonged,* 910.
gebyrtide. birth-tide, 1086.
geceas. chose, p169, 194.
*geces. *id.* 924. p108.
*gecierde. *he converted,* 716.
*gecierdon. *pl.* 835.
*gecirdon. *id.* 867, 878.
*geciged. *pt. called, named,* 984.
gecoren. chosen, 785, 830, 1054.
*gecuran.* they chose, p236.
gecuron. *id.* 1014, 1064.
*gecueden. *named,* 455, 457, 495, 577.
*gecwæðan. they proposed, agreed,* 1094.
gecweden. *called,* 456.
gecweme. *agreeable,* 1100: cf. bequem.
gecydd. *pt. made known.*
gecydde. *pl. id.* 641.
gecynde. *adj. due of birthright,* 975, 1014.
*gecyndne. *acc. masc.* p126*h.*
gecyrde = *gecierde. 565.
gecyrdon. *they turned,* 835, 867, 1014.
gecyrred. *turned, diverted,* p230*m.*
gecyðde. *exhibited, manifested,* 994.
gedælde. *he divided,* 876. [deal]
gedældon. *pl.* 718, 877.
*gedeldun. *id. they separated,* 718.
gedeorfsum. *hard, grievous,* p239*t.*
gedon. *pt.* done, 167, 626, 1014, 1043.

gedrecednissa. *annoyances*, 1104. [*p*225*t*.
gedrefed. *disturbed*, commotus, 1087,
gedreht. *pt. harassed*, 1117, 1118.
gedrehte. *pl. id. p*234*l*.
gedrehte. *pret. distressed*, *p*233*l*.
*gedrehtan. pl. id. p*233*l* =
gedrehton. 1116.
gedwild. *error*, *heresy*, 380.
**gedyde**. did, 828. *p*239.
**gedydon**. *pl.* 918, 1117. *p*92, 93, 94.
gedygdan. *pl. escaped*, *got over it*, 978.
*gedyrfsum.* 1105 = gedeorfsum.
ge earnunga. *merits*, 1087*l*.
*ge edneowade. *renewed*, *p*107*b*.
*ge eadnewion.* to *renew*, 963.
ge endod. ended, *p*142.
ge endode. he ended, 189.
*gef*. gave, 686. *p*13.
*gefaht*. fought, 607.
gefangen. *taken prisoner*, *p*241.
gefaren. *pt.* "fared," *p*178.
**gefægene**. *pt. pl rejoiced*, fain, 855, 878.
**gefæstnode**. *made firm*, 1014. *p*208.
**gefeaht**. fought, 552, 652, 750, 833.
*gefeaht*. fight, *battle*, 868 = gefeoht.
*gefeahtum*. in fights, 755.
gefean. *d. joy*, 979.
**gefeng**. *he captured*, 875, 1119.
**gefengon**. *pl.* 851. *p*95.
*gefengun. *id.* 796, 851.
gefeoht. fight, *battle*, 603, 868.
**gefeohte**. *dat.* 871, 937, 1117. *p*152.
*gefeohtum. *dat. pl.* 755.
gefeoll. fell, 1004.
gefeollon. *pl.* 1117.
*gefeollan. id.* 978.
*gefeormige. lodge*, *entertain*, *p*69.
gefeoran. *comrades*, 1048 = geferan. *ibid.*
*gefeordon. they incurred*, 994 =
geferdon. they fared, *p*3, 142*h*.
geferde. *he attained*, 988.
**gefera**. *companion*, 1022. *p*95.
**geferan**. *pl. id.* 755, 878, 1048.
*geferen. for* geferan. *p*51*l*.
**geferum**. *dat. pl.* 664, 755.
geferode. *he conducted*, *conveyed*, 980.
geferscipes. *g. company*, 1022.
*gefestnode.* p214, 228 = gefæstnode.
gefétede. fetcht, 975.
*gefetodon. *pl. id. p*94.
gefette. he fetcht, 980.
*gefiht*. a fight, *p*257*t*.
*gefild. pt. fulfilled*, 605.
*geflæscnesse. *Incarnation*, *p*4.
geflemdon. *they put to* flight, 514.
*gefliemde. *sing. id.* 682, 871.
*gefliemdon. 514, 568, 871, 911.
*geflymde*. 752.
**geflitfullic**. *contentious*, 785.
geflyton. *they engaged in battle*, 777.
**gefohten**. *pt.* fought, foughten, *p*76, 77.
*gefohton. id.* 658.
**gefor**. *died*, 731, 867, 906, 1057.
**gefor**þ*ferde*. 571, *s. f. n.*
gefor*ð*ian. *to carry out*, *p*218*h*.
*gefrege (mine-), "*as I heard say*," 973.
gefremede. *he achieved*, 47.
gefreod. *pt.* freed, set free, 675.
**gefreode**. he freed, 1081. *p*84, 85.
**gefuhton**. they fought, 675, 728, 868.
*gefuhtun. *id.* 495, 780.
gefullod. *baptized*, 30.
*gefulluhtud. *id.* 30.
*gefulwad. *id.* 626.
*gefultumade. *subj. pret. would aid*, 853.
*gefultumadon. *pl. id.* 868.
gefultumiendum. *pt. abs. helping*, 797.
*gefunden*. found, 963.
gefylce. *number of* folk, *p*230*b*.
**gefylcum**. *dat. pl.* 871.
*gefylde. he fulfilled, *p*208.
*gefylled. felled, *cut down*, *p*114, 115.
**gefyrn**. *long ago*, 891, 892.
gegaderade. gathered, *p*93.
**gegaderode**. *id. p*106, 229.
*gegadrode. *id.* 879, 885.
*gegadrodon. *pl. id.* 867.
*gegadorodan. id. ibid.* E.
gegaderodon. *id. p*230.
gegaderoden. *id. p*230.
*gegadered. pt. id. p*208 =
**gegaderod**. 973, 1012 =
*gegadrod. 911.
**gegaderian**. *inf. id.* 1001. *p*230.
*gegadrian. *id.* 905.
gegan. *pt.* gone, *reached*, *p*144.
gegangan. *inf. to acquire*, *p*3.
*gegifod. gifted, *enriched*, 1001.
Gegnesburh. Gainsborough, 1013. *p*151.
gegodade. *enriched with* goods, *p*220.

*gehaded. *pt. consecrated,* 1070=
**gehadod.** 625, 802, 989.
gehadodes. *gen. id. p236h.*
*gehadede. *pret. id. p208*=
**gehadode.** 664, 668.
gehalden. *held, p33b.*
gehalgian. to hallow, *consecrate,* 685.
*gehalegon. id. p30l.*
**gehalgod.** *pt. consecrated,* 731. *p121.*
gehalgode. *he consecrated, p236l.*
gehaten. *called,* 'hight,' 495, 755, 963.
*gehate. *d. promise, engagement,* 865.
gehatum. *dat. pl. vows,* 883.
gehawade. *reconnoitred, p94, s. n.*
geheald. *guardian, p210.*
*gehealdon.* held, *observed, p38l*=
gehealden. *pt. p38h.*
gehende. *near,* 1003, 'handy,' Devon.
geheold. held, tenebat, *p243.*
geheolde. *subj. id.* 1c94.
*geheord.* heard, 1122.
gehiersume. *subject, ὑπηκόους,* 853.
gehorsade. *pt. pl.* horsed, *mounted,* 866,
gehorsedan. 1010. [876.
gehorsedum. 877.
*gehorsod. 881.
*gehorsoda. 876.
gehorsode. 1010.
*gehorsudan. 877.
*gehorsude. 866.
*gehwaðere,* either, utrâque, 871. [937.
*gehwæne. *each, every,* unumquemque,
gehwær. *every* where, ubique, 1114.
*gehwæþere. *either,* utrâque, 853, 871.
*gehwæðre. *p99.*
*gehwelces. *every,* cuiuscunque, 910.
gehwylce. *several,* 1106.
*gehwelcum. 755.
gehwilcan. *p51.*
*gehwerfde. *converted,* 601.
gehwirfede. *ibid.*
*gehwierfed. *pt. id.* 34.
gehwyrfed. *ibid.*
*gehwierfede. *pl.* 30.
gehwyrfede. *ibid.*
gehyrde. heard, 1091.
gehyrdon. *pl. p51.*
gehyrsume. 1083=*gehiersume.
gehyrsumnisse. *subjection, p228.*
geinlagode. inlawed, 1074.
*gekyd. pt. reported,* 1093.
gelamp. *happened,* 1083.
gelaðode. *invited, p13.*
gelæd. *pt.* led, 693.
**gelæddon.** they led, 871.
*gelæfan. faith,* Glauben, 680.
gelæfan. leave, *p170.*
gelæht. *pt. captured, 792.*
gelæhton. *pret. id. p225.*
gelæred. *instructed, educated, p19.*
*gelæron. inf. teach* lehren, *p3.*
gelæst. *paid,* geleiſtet, 1007, 1012, *pt. of*
**gelæstan.** *to perform, discharge,* 874,
gelæste. 994. [920.
**gelæston.** 878. *p81.*
gelæten. *pt. let, entrusted,* 1091.
gelætte. *pt. pl.* let, *hindered, p218h.*
*gelead*=gelæd. *conveyed,* 1076.
*geleadde.* he led, 972.
**geleafan.** *belief,* 430, 565, 653.
*gelefan. id.* 167.
geleaffulle. *faithful, fideles,* 1120.
geleaþade. *invited,* 449.
geled. laid, *charged, p187m.*
*gelend. *pt. gone, set out, p92t:* cf.
**gelende.** *proceeded,* 886, *s. n.*
*gelest*=gelæst. *p147.*
gelet. let, *hindered,* 1075. *p143.*
gelicode. *it pleased,* libuit, 1048.
*gelifde. believed,* glaubte, 627.
gelifode. lived *till-,* erlebte, *p229h.*
gelogige. *subj.* 3. lodge, 'locate,' *p229.*
gelogodan. lodged, 1104.
gelogode. 1090.
**gelome.** *often,* 789, 887, 959.
gelomlice. *frequently,* 1095, 1105.
*gelpan. *to boast, p114.*
gelumpon. *they happened, p145.*
gemacedon. they made, *p228, of*
gemakian. to make, *p234.*
gemahlice. *peremptorily, p232m.*
*gemanan. *wedlock,* consortium, *p114,*
gemang (on-), among, 1002.
gemannian. to man, *fill with* men, *p110.*
gemarcod. marked, *branded, p141t.*
gemartyredon. they martyred, *p146.*
gemæran. *dat. pl. confines,* 1111.
gemære. *id. boundary,* 716.
gemæron. *p234.*
gemelest. *carelessness, p209l.*

gemette. *pt. painted,* picti, 1104, *s. n.*
gemett. *measure, p229m.*
*gemætte. pret.* met, 992=
gemette. 871, 877. *p201.*
gemetton. *pl. fell in with,* 918, 997.
gemot. meeting, 1015.
gemote. *d.* 1080. *p180.*
*gemotes. *p114.*
gemunde. *remembered,* 1032, 1054.
gemundon. *pl.* 1104.
*gemyltse. misereatur, p203.*
gemynd. *memory (of the dead),* 979.
gemynde. 959.
genā. *p230*=
genam. *he took,* nahm, 865.
genamon. *pl.* 473, 530, 774, 865.
*genumon. pt.* 1072=
genumen. *taken, p185.*
genumene. *pl. id.* 1119.
*Gend. Ghent, 880.
genealehte. *approached,* neared, 1091.
geneat. '*fellow,*' genoffe, *p96.* Schmid s.v.
*genemnan. to name, 905, 1001.
genemned. *pt. sing.* 552.
genemnde. *pt. pl.* 891. [145.
generede. *saved, rescued,* 755. *p114,*
genge. gang, 1070.
geniðrade. *pt. pl. put down, p214, s. n.*
*genom=genam. 571, 584.
*genomon. *pl. p106.*
genumen. *pt.* 993. *p98.*
Gent. Ghent, *p83.*
genotudne. *pt. acc. masc.=used,* 894.
*geo.* ye, you, *p32h.*
*geodon=geeodon. *they won, p4.*
*geold. charge, impost, p38t.*
*geoldes. pl. id. p253.*
geond. *through,* 380, 641, 975. [yon]
geondan (fram-), *id.* 1048.
geonga. young, 871.
Georius. [St.] George, *p155.*
geornde. *desired,* 777. *p31, 33.*
georndon. *pl. id.* 1011.
georne. *gladsomely,* 959 *twice,* gerne.
*geornen. to desire, p32t.*
geornest. *thou desirest, p32h.*
geornon. *ye desired, p33l.*
geornunge, *desire,* 675. [yearning]
*georo. for* gearo, 874.
geotton. *they granted, p33h.* Ettm. *p419.*
*ger. year, years, 895.
*gere. *dat. id.* 922.
*geres. *gen. p108.* [*p152.*
gerad. rode (*and took*), 901, 922, 948,
gerad. *condition, stipulation,* 945. *p3.*
*geræcan. to reach, 894, 895. *p104,* 106.
Gerborneð. Gerberoi (nr. Beauvais),
geræd. *pt. planned,* 1075. [1079.
gered. *id. p157.*
gerædden. *they took counsel,* 1014.
gerædden. *id.* 1039.
gerædde. *sing. id.* 906, 991, 1002.
geræhton. *they seized* (geræcan), 885.
*gerehte.* held, 975.
geræsdon. they rushed, *p5.*
geredd. *pt.* read, perlectum (sit), *p38.*
gerefa. reeve, 787, 906, 1001.
gerefan. 778, 1002. Graf.
Gerente. *British king,* 710, *s. n.*
gereordode. *refreshed (with food),* 1022.
*gereþrum. 891, *s. n.*
geridan. *inf. unde* gerad, 1042.
*geridon. 878, *pl. of* gerad.
*geridan. id.* 878.
gerihta. rights, *dues,* 1031, 1074.
*gerihtæ. id. p218l.*
*gerihtan. divina officia:* 'rites,' *p229h.*
gerihtan. to rectify, correct, 680.
*geryhtan. *ibid.* T.
gernde. *desired,* 1048. [yearned]
gerndon. *pl. id. p185.*
gersuma. *treasures,* 1090.
gersuman. *id. p177.*
gersumas. *p209.*
*gersume. p257.*
gersumes. *p257.*
Gerueises. of Gervase, 1124.
*gerypon. they reaped, *p94.*
*gesalde. *he gave,* 648, 661. [sold]
*gesaldon. *pl.* 694.
*gesamnod. *pt.* assembled, 894*l.*
gesamnode. *pret.* 380.
*gesargode. *pt. pl. distressed, p96.*
gesawon. they saw, 1106.
gesæhtlad. *reconciled, p228.* [890.
gesæt. *he occupied, colonized,* 633, 744,
gesætan=
gesæton. *pl. id.* 851, 878.
gesætte. *he placed,* settled, 1002, 1013.
gesæwen. seen, 1106.

*gescæpene. *pl. pt.* shapen, *p*95*h*.
*gesceade. *argument*, *p*208*l*, geſcḋeiḃ.
*gesceaft. *creature*, 937.
**gescipode**. shipped, 892, 893.
gescyldnesse. *protection*, *p*121.
geseah. saw, 633.
gesegon. *pl.* 774.
**geseald**. *pt. given, delivered*, 894. *p*229.
**gesealde**. 728. *p*236.
gesecgan. (to) say, 851.
*gesecgon. *id.* *p*210.
geseclod. *taken* sick, 1093.
gesehtodan. *they reconciled*, 1101.
geselðа. *hap, luck, fortune*, 1009.
gesemede. *pl. pt. reconciled*, *p*23*ct*.
*gesend. *pt. pl.* sent, 785, *for*
gesende. *p*241.
gesene. *manifest, visible*, 1121.
*geseogen. *pt.* seen, 1122.
*geseogene. 774.
**geseon**. to see, 797. *p*235.
*geseone* = gesene. *p*247.
geset. 680 = **gesæt**.
*geseten. *pt.* settled, 922.
*gesetenne. *pt. acc. masc. sat out*, 894*b*.
gesett. *pt. placed*, set, 1003, 1007.
**gesettan**. *to people*, 922, 1075. *p*110.
**gesette**. *founded*, set, 604, 886. *p*241*m*.
*gesetton. *corrupt for* **gesæton**, 878.
gesewen. *pt.* seen, 1117.
*gesewene. *pt. pl.* seen, 773.
gesiclod. *taken* sick, 1003.
*geslægen. slain, 823, 867, 871.
*geslehtes. *gen.* slaying, *smiting*, *p*114.
*geslog. he slew, 837.
gesloh. *id. ibid.* E.
*geslogen. they slew, 845, 937.
gesmeah. *intrigue*, *p*230*m*.
**gesohte**. sought, 823, 901. *p*218.
**gesohton**. 787, 979.
*gesohtun. 937.
gesomnod. 1016.
gesomnode. assembled, 673, 1001.
gesomnodon. 418.
*gespædde. sped, *succeeded*, *p*233*l*.
gespilde. *pt. pl. destroyed*, *p*253.
*gespon. *he enticed, drew off*, 905.
**gesprecon*. *pt.* spoken, *p*208*m*.
*gestabeled. 1077, *for*
*gestaþelad. *founded*, 962.
gestaðelian. *p*127.
*gestaðolode. *fortified*, 920.
gestired. *excited*, stirred, 1012: cf. astyred.
gestylde. stilled, *quieted*, *p*187*t*.
gesund. *entire*, sound, 855. *p*143.
**gesunde**. 755. *p*51.
geswæncte. *he harassed*, 1105.
geswenct. *pt. harassed*, 1117.
geswencte. 1116.
geswencton. 1116.
geswenced. *beaten, baffled*, *p*5.
geswican. *pl. left off*, 1104*b*, 1105 =
geswác. defecit.
geswicon. 994, 1016, 1117.
geswinc. *hardship*, 999. *p*218.
geswince. *p*155.
geswincg. *id.* *p*142.
geswincfull. *hard, unfavourable*, *p*234.
gesworan. they swore, 1091.
gesworen. *pt.* sworn, 1094.
gesworene. *pl. pt.* 1012.
gesyllan. *to give;* sell, 626, 1093.
get. yet, *p*260*t*.
getealde. told, *counted*, 634.
geteall. number, 'tale,' *p*151.
geten. *to grant, confirm*, 675.
*getimbrede. *built*, 913.
getimbrian. *inf.* 626.
*getiðe. *confirm*, *p*31*t*.
*getogene. *pl. pt. taught, educated*, *p*126*t*.
getreowast. truest, *most loyal*, *p*223*t*.
**getruman**. *acc. regiment, squadron*, 871.
getrywða. *pledges*, troths, 1001, 1095.
getton. they granted, *p*32, 39.
getymbrad. built, *p*221.
*geþafunge. *d. permission*, 887.
geþeaht. *counsel*, 979.
geþeode. *languages*, *p*3*t*.
geþeoncean. to think, *p*140*b*.
*geþicgean. *to touch, accept*, *p*50*h*.
*geþingodan. *they treated, made terms*,
geþingodon. 628E. [628, 694.
geðingoden. 694E. [860.
*geþuærnesse. *compliance, loyalty*, 827,
geðwærian. *to agree to*, *p*178*h*.
*geðring. throng, *p*126*l*. [905. *p*95.
*geðungnestan. *the most distinguished*,
geunnan. *pt. granted*, 1048 =
geunnen. *p*173.
geunne. *p*121.

geunnon. *p*231.
geutlagode. outlawed, 1020.
geutod. *banished, p*127.
geutode. 1002. [1064.
geuðe. *pret. granted, ἐχαρίσατο*, 959,
*gewald. *mastery, sway*, 837, 871, Ge-
*gewaldenum, *d. powerful, p*91. [walt.
gewan. won, 923, 1072, 1073.
*gewann. *id. p*200.
gewarnod. *pt.* warned, *p*183*t*.
gewarnode. *pret. p*143.
**gewat.** *departed*, 633, 660, 722. *p*5.
Gewæde. 1072, *s. n.*
gewædod. *equipped*, 992.
gewægde. *distressed*, weighed down, *p*92*l*.
*gewænde* (*for* gewende). went, 1048.
gewæpnod. *armed*, weaponed, 922.
gewær. aware, 1095.
**gewealc.** *struggle, contest, p*126, 237.
geweald. *mastery*, 833, 840, 1099.
gewealde. *p*119, 222, Gewalt. [183.
gewearð. *became, happened*, 592. *p*151,
gewend. *gone, p*140*b*, 183.
gewende. went, 1019, 1048.
gewenden. *pl. id. p*183, *for*
gewendon. *p*180, 183, 184. [&c.
**geweorc.** work, *entrenchment*, 878, 892,
**geweorce.** 868.
*geweorcum. *dat. pl. p*92.
*gewerc. *p*94.
geweorðad. *honoured*, 959.
*gewicode. *he encamped*, 894.
gewilnigeð. *desireth*, willeth, *p*221*h*.
gewinn. *war, fighting, p*230*l*, *unde*
**gewinnan** = to win, 1090. *p*4.
gewinn*ane. sup. id. p*225*m*.
gewinne. *p*106.
Gewising. *WS. patronymic*, 597.
gewissode. *he directed, instructed*, 1022.
gewit*ane. sup. to know*, wit, *p*221*h*.
*gewiten. *p*30*h*, *for*
*gewitena. *gen. pl. senators, p*179.
*gewitenemot. *senate, p*39, 253.
gewitnesse. witness, 777. *p*39.
gewiton. *they departed*, 885.
*gewon. *he fought*, 741.
geworden (wæs). *happened, p*201.
gewordene. *pl. id. p*223*t*.
*geworht. wrought, 894.
gewrat. he wrote, *p*32.
*gewraðede. *grew* wrath, *p*208*h*.
gewrecen. *pt. revenged*, 979. [wreak]
gewrit. a writing, *deed*, 627.
**gewrite.** *dat. id.* 675, 1048, 1070.
*gewrita. pl. id. p*218*b* =
*gewritu. 973.
**gewritum.** *dat. pl.* 889.
gewritan. *to write, p*218*l*.
*gewriton. pt.* written, 963*l*. *p*33*h*.
gewritene. *pt. pl.* written, *p*222*b*.
*gewroht. pt.* wrought, *p*178.
*gewrohtan.* they wrought, 993.
gewrohte. he wrought, 189. [157.
gewuna. wont, Gewohnheit, *p*140, 142,
**gewunan.** *d. custom, p*208, 219.
gewunelic. *ordinary, usual*, gewöhnlich,
*gewundad. *wounded*, 755 *twice*. [*p*236*h*.
**gewundod.** 1079. *p*51, 91.
gewunded. *p*257.
**gewundode.** he wounded, 626, 755.
gewundedon. *pl.* 1083.
gewunnan.
gewunnon. *pt.* won, *p*222*m*.
gewurðan. *to happen, p*223*h*.
gewurðaþ. *they happen, p*220*t*.
*geyde.* 617, *s. f. n.*
geyfelade. ill *befel, p*220*l*.
geypte. *pt. pl. discovered, p*232*m*.
g'hadode. *pt. pl. ordained*, 1102.
g'hadodra. *gen. pl. id.* 1102.
g'haten. *called*, 'hight,' *p*245.
g'heald. *protection, p*190.
g'hyrde (me). men heard, 1116.
*giet. yet, 918. *p*107, 108.
*gieta. *id. p*115.
**gif.** if, 755, 894, 992, 1014.
*gifa. giver, 937*t*.
gifa. gifts, *p*85.
gifan. to give, 1103.
*gife. id.* 852.
*gifen. id.* 852.
gife. I give, 963*b*. *p*31*t*.
gifen. *pt.* given, 1070. *p*123*t*.
gifene. *sup.* to give (*in marriage*), 1109.
gife. gift, *p*32*m*.
*gifes. gen. id. p*32*l*.
gifte. *marriage, p*243.
gifode. he gifted, *muneravit*, 994.
Gifemund. Bishop, 693.
Giffard. Bp. William —, 1103.

Giffarde. *p*236.
Gilbert. 1130.
*gildes. tolls, p*265*m.*
gildene. gilded, *p*209*h.*
Gildeneburh. *p*187*b.*
Gilebert. *Abbot Westminster,* 1117.
Gillinga. Gillingham (Dorset), *p*156.
gimman. *d. pl.* gems, *p*223*l* =
gimmū. i. e. gimmum, *p*221*t.*
gingra. younger, 423.
gingre. *acc. fem. id.* 1124.
*gioncga. *nom. def. masc.* young, 871.
*giongne. *acc. indef. masc. id.* 501.
Gipeswic. Ipswich, 993, 1010.
Girard. *Abp. York,* 1108.
Girarde. 1103. [yearned]
girndon. (*they*) *had entreated, p*142*l,*
Gisa. *Bp. Somerset,* 1061.
**gisla.** *hostages,* 894. *p*180, *g. pl. of*
**gislas.** 874, 877. *p*81, 91, 104, 203.
**gisle.** *d. sing.* 755. *p*51.
gislade. *gave hostages,* 994.
gislode. *id. p*148.
gislodon. *pl. p*148, 153.
gisleden. *id.* 1129.
git. yet, 1087.
gitsunga. *avarice, p*236*t.*
gitsunge. *d. sing. covetousness, p*222*l.*
*giuen.* to give, 777, 963.
*giunge. young, 937.
giungne. *acc. masc. indef. id. p*114.
Giwis. *WS. ancestor, p*2.
Giwising. *patrony. id.* 852, 855.
*glad. glided, 937*m.*
*Glastingbyri.* Glastonbury, *p*258*m.*
Glæstingabyrig. 1033. *p*159.
Gleastingbyrig. *p*251*t.*
glæd. glad, lætus, *p*30*l.*
glædlice. *joyfully,* gladly, 1014.
g'læht. *captured, taken prisoner, p*241.
*Gleawcestre.* Gloucester, 577, 1038.
Gleawceastre. *p*239.
*Gleawanceaster. 577.
**Gleaweceastre.** 918. *p*158, 221.
Gleawecestrescire. Gloucestershire, 1122.
*Gleucestre.* 1126.
Gleucestre. 1124, 1127.
Gloucestre. *p*264.
Gloweceastre. 1119.
*gleawe. *wise, learned, p*126*l.*
*Glistune. *one of the* Clists, nr. Exeter,
g'munde. *remembered,* 'minded,' 1114.
*g'munet.* 1099.
*gnornung. *woe, wailing, p*126*h.*
God. Deus, *p*156, 169, 203.
Gode. *d.* 81, 797, 855, 963.
**god.** good, 913. *p*203*m.*
goda. *def. id.* the good, *p*84, 85.
godan. *p*223.
Goda. *þægn of Devon,* 988.
**godcunde.** *pl. adj. religious,* 601.
godcundum. 679.
goddera. *bonorum,* guter, *p*203*l.*
*gode. *acc. fem.* 837.
gode. *n. p*203 *twice.*
godede. *he endowed, p*123*l,* 187.
Godefreið. *Bp. Bath, p*251*m.*
Godefreith. *id.* 1130.
godefrihte. *pl.* godfearing, *p*32*t.*
**Godes.** *g.* of God, 897. *p*126*m,* 258*t.*
*godene. gen. pl. def.* good, *p*32*m.*
**godra.** *indef.* 871, 1001, 1010.
*godre. id.* 1124.
*godre. *gen. sing. fem.* 860.
godum. *dat. pl. p*221*m.*
godne. *acc. masc. indef.* good, 877.
godnesse. goodness, *p*223.
godode (hit), it was good times, 959.
**Godrum.** *Danish king,* 875, 890.
godspel. gospel, 1122.
**godspellere.** *Evangelist,* 63.
*godsune.* 890 =
**godsunu.** godson, 755, 890. *p*51.
*Godulf. *NHumbrian ancestor,* 547.
*Godulfing. *patronymic id.* 547.
Godune (Galwala biscop), 693.
*Goduuine. 1053 =
**Godwine.** *Bp. Winton,* 984.
—— (heretoga), 993.
—— (Elfsiges bisceopes sunu), 1001.
—— Bp. Rochester (Flor.), *p*145.
—— ealdorman on Lindesige (C), *p*158.
—— eorl of Wessex, 1036–1053.
*Godwulfing. *patr. above Woden, p*70.
gol. 1064, *error for*
**gold.** gold, 418. *p*209.
**golde.** *d.* 1001. *p*171, 180*l,* 203, 209,
goldes. *gen. p*203. [221*t.*
Gosfrei Bainard. *p*233*t.*
Gosfreið Martæl. Geoffrey Martel, 1127.

Gosfrið. Geoffrey *Bp. Coutances*, 1087.
*Gotan. Goths, 409.
Gotum. *dat. pl. id.* 409.
gradan. *Lat.* gradus, *steps*, 1083*b*.
gram. *angry*, *p*178*h*.
Grantabrycg. *Cambridge*, 1010.
Grantabrycge. 1010.
Grantanbrycge. *p*79, 108.
*Grantebrycge. 875.
*grædigne. *acc. masc.* greedy, *p*115.
grædinæsse. greediness, *p*222*l*.
græfan. 852, *s. n.*
*græge. grey, *dun*, *p*115.
grætan. *gen. tall*, great, 1017.
Grætecros. NL. = the great cross, *p*31*m*.
greatum. *d. pl.* great; magnis, *p*5.
*Gregorius. (i): 600.
Grenawic. Greenwich, *p*149, 155.
Grenewic. *p*151.
gretan. to greet, 1014.
grete. I greet, 675.
gretinge. greeting; salutatio, 675.
Griffin. *Welsh king*, 1063. *p*190.
Griffines. *gen. id. p*190.
*Grimbald (mæsse preost). 903.
grimmum. *d. sing. fierce, obstinate*, *p*5.
grimne. *acc. masc. severe*, 1005.
Grimkytel. *Bp. in Sussex*, 1045.
grið. *truce*, 1002, 1037. *p*173, 180.
griðas. *p*225.
griðe. 1095.
griðes. *p*180.
griðede. *he made his peace*, 1070. *p*159 =
griðode. *p*172.
griðedon. *p*207.
griðodon. *p*225*m*.
*grundas. "this nether world," 937.
grundwalla. *foundation*, 654.
Grymcytel. 1038. *See* Grimkytel.
g'sawon. they saw, 1104.
g'sætte. *pt. pl. occupied*, *p*237.
g'seon. to see, 1100.
g'sohte. *he visited*, *p*238.
g'sewen. seen, *p*243.
guldon. *they paid (as tribute)*, 1018. *p*203.
*guma. *man*, 'groom,' 937.
*gumena. *gen. pl. p*114.
*gungne. *acc. masc.* young, 501.
Gunneres. NM. *gen.* 966.
*Guþlac. *the hermit of Croyland*, 714.
*guð. *fight, contest*, *p*115.
*guðe. *d. battle;* prælio, *p*114.
guðfana. *battle*-vane; ensign, *p*81.
*Guðferþes. NM. *gen.* 944.
Guðfrið. *NHumbrian king*, 927.
Guðlac. 714. *See* Guþlac.
g'weald. *power, administration*, 1107.
g'wearð. *there happened*, 1111.
g'winnan. *dat. pl. contests*, *p*241.
g'worhte. he wrought, 1104.
g'wundade. wounded; vulnerati, 1083.
g'wunnen. *pt.* won, *conquered*, 1105.
g'wurdon. *pl.* of g'wearð, 1109.
*gyfa. giver. *p*126.
gyfe. gift, *p*32*m*.
gyfene. *pt. pl.* given, 1107.
gyld. *tribute*, *p*203*h*.
gylda. *pl. acc. p*233*l*.
gyldan. *to pay* (*as tribute*), *p*151.
gylt. *fault*, 'guilt,' *p*178*h*. Schmid *in voc.*
gymeleaste. *d. carelessness*, *p*156. [26.
gymene. *administration*, procurationem,
*Gyric (mæsse preost). 963.
gyrde. rood (*of land*), *p*218*b*. Schmid.
gyrnde. *desired, begged*, *p*180, 223*h*.
gyrndon. *pl. p*225. [yearned]
gyrne. earnestly, *anxiously*, 1083*m*.
Gyrð. *Harold's brother*, *p*203.
*gysles. hostages*, *p*264*b*.
gyt. yet, 1009. *p*143.
*gyuen.* to give, *p*262*m*.

hā = ham. home; domum, οἴκαδε, *p*229*t*.
habban. to have, 874, 877, 999.
*habben. id. p*256*h*.
habbanne. *sup. id. p*218*l*.
habbene. *id.* 1093.
habbað. we have, *p*222*b*.
habbe. 3. *pres. subj.* 1031. *p*39*m*.
hacel. *garment, robe*, *p*123*m*, & *s. n.*
Hacun. *Danish earl*, *p*214.
*hadde* (= hæfde). 1137.
*hadden. pl.* 1137.
had. *office, consecration*, 1119.
hade. *d. p*221*m*.
hades. 1048.
hading. *ordaining*, *p*38*h*.
hadian. *to ordain or consecrate*, 1048.
hadode. 3. *pret.* 931.
hadod. *pt.* 1072.

hadode. *pl.* 1014, 1046.
*hadode. genitive pl. pt. clerical,* 675.
*hafde* (=hæfde). had, 656, 755.
*hafe. 3. subj. pres.* = habeat, *p*39*b*.
*hafen* (=habban). to have, *p*250*h*.
*hafoc. hawk, *p*115.
*hagode. *occasion suited,* 918.
Hagsta'dee. 780, *and*
Hagust'dee. 789, *and*
Hagustaldesée. 766 =
Hagustaldesea. Hexham, 681, *also*
Hagustaldesham. 685.
hakeles. *vestments,* 1070.
*haldanne. *sup.* to hold, 874.
*haldonne. *id.* 886.
*halden. inf.* (=healdan) to hold, *p*264*m*.
*halechede. he consecrated,* hallowed, *p*261.
*haleging. consecration, p*38.
half. *side, part,* 675. [half]
halfe. *p*32, 87, 178.
**Halfdene.** *Danish king,* 871.
**halga.** *masc. def. adj.* holy, 714, 814.
**halgan.** 876, 978, 1025.
halgan. *g. pl.* 675, *and*
*halgane. p*33*h*, *for*
halgena. *of the saints,* 1083.
*halge.* holy, *p*209*h*.
halgede. *he consecrated,* hallowed, *p*259.
halgian. *inf. to consecrate,* 667.
halgod. *pt. id. consecrated,* 1130.
halgodre. *dat. fem. id.* 1066.
**halgode.** *pret.* 1006, 1066. *p*30*l*.
halgodan. *pl. id.* 731.
*halgorode.* holy-rood, holy-*cross, p*123*m*.
halgum. *dat. pl.* = *sanctis,* holy, *p*19.
*hali.* holy, *p*26$_3$*l*.
*halidō. p*264*b* =
*halidom.* "halidam," *sacred object, p*260.
haligdome. *sanctuary,* 1083.
*halifemne. sainted woman,* 639.
halig. holy, *blessed, p*219.
halige. *fem. sing.* 994.
haligra. *gen. pl. sanctorum,* 901.
*halines.* holiness, *sanctity,* 641.
halre. *adj. d. fem.* whole, hale, *p*187*l*.
hals. *neck,* Ƕals, *p*262*h*.
*halt* (=healdeð). holdeth, *p*38*l*.
hamelode. *he mutilated,* C1036.
hamulan. 1039, *and*
hamelan. *ibid., see note.*
*ham. *n.* home, hamlet, 901, 1001.
*ham (æt) = domi. *οἴκοι,* 894. *p*92*m*.
**ham.** *adverb* = domum, *οἴκονδε,* 792, 917,
hama. *gen. pl.* 1001. *p*126. [1016. *p*183,
hamas. *acc. pl.* 937. [208.
hames. *id.* 1087*h*.
hamon. *dat. pl.* 1001.
*hamora. *g. pl.* of hammers, 937.
Hamtun. Southampton, 981.
**Hamtune.** *d.* Southampton, 837, 994.
Hamtune. *d.* Northampton, 917. *p*106,
*Hamtunscir. Hampshire, 1001. [107*l*.
**Hamtúnscire.** *d.* 755, 860, 1003. *p*95*t*,
Hamtunscyr. *p*81. [140.
Hamtunscyre. 755.
Hamtunescire. 860. [1048.
**hamweard.** homeward, 855, 885, 905,
*hamweardes. *gen. adv.* 'gone away home,'
hancred. *cockcrowing,* 795. [*p*91*t*.
hand (on). in ditionem, 882, 1071.
hand. *side, part,* 852, 871.
handa. *pl.* 641. *p*151. Rask Gram. §83.
**handa** (æt). *d. sing.* at the hand of, בְּיַד
handa (on). *in charge, p*180*b*. [605, 942.
handa (to). *subject, p*87, 165, 180, 212.
handan. 1091.
*hande.* 852, 1127.
*hár. hoar, hoary, *p*114.
haran. hares; lepores: Ƕaſen, *p*222.
*Hardacnut. *king of England,* 1042.
Hardacnute. 1036.
Hardacnutes. 1052. *p*165.
*Harðacnut. 1042.
harde. *severe, cruel,* 1126.
hardlice. *resolutely, p*171.
harme. *mischiefs, p*178*m*.
*Hareld. *Danish earl,* 871.
Harold. E. *ibid.* [952.
Haroldes. *Dan. kg.* "Harald Blátand,"
**Harold** i. 1036, 1040.
——— ii. king of England, 1066. *p*188.
——— king of Norway, *p*201.
Harolde. *p*201.
hasæton. *rowers, p*183. *Norsk* hásetan.
hasewan. *sombre, dun, dusky, p*115.
Hataba'ðum. Hot Baths, Bath, 972.
hatað. *they call, p*126*l*.
hatað. *we call,* 892, 893.
*haten. *pt. named,* 755, 895.
hatte. *was named,* hight, 686. *p*31*m*.

*haue.* have: habeo, habeat, 675. *p*30, 31, [33, 38.
*haued.* 1154, *for*
*haueð* (=hafað). hath, *p*38*h*.
*haueleste. poverty, p*38.
*hauen. inf.* to have, *p*38*m*.
*hauen.* ye have, 675.
*hauene. sup.* τοῦ ἔχειν, 1127.
hawede. *saw, viewed,* 1003.
hæcce. ? *crosier* (Thorpe), *p*209 *twice.*
hæfde. had, 626, 755. *p*183.
*hæfden. p*210=
hæfdon. they had, *p*208, 218, &
*hæfdun. id.* 867, 885, 891.
Hæfe. NL. 710.
*hæfed* (=heafod). head, *p*39*m*.
hæfenan. *acc.* haven, 1031, 1090, *of*
*hæfene. 1031.
hæfnede. 886E, *corrupt for* hæftnede, *or*
*hæftniede. *slavery,* 886.
haftneðe. *custody, p*232*m*.
*hæfte clommum. *in captive chains,* 942.
hæftene. *captivity,* 1095*l*.
hæftnunge. *id. p*225*l*.
*hæge.* high, *p*31*t*.
Hæhmund (biscop), 871.
*hælden. 2. pl. pres. subj.* hold, *p*31*l*.
hæle. *d. salvation,* 855. Rask §102.
Hælendes. *of our Lord:* Domini, 1086.
*hæleþa. *of men,* 937.
hæleð. *sing.* man, *p*126*h*.
hæleð. *pl.* men, *p*126*l*.
*hælo. *salvation,* 855.
*hælt* (=healdeð). holdeth, *p*33*l*.
hæmde. *coivit, p*222*h*.
*hær* (=ær). *before, p*265*t*. [107.
hærfest. *autumn,* harvest, 1048. *p*104,
hærfeste. *p*220.
*hærfæste. 877. *p*94.
*hærfestes. *p*107.
*hærnes. the brains:* Hirn, *p*262*h*.
hæse. *command, p*107*b*, 122*t*, 208*h*.
Hæsten. *Viking,* 891, 892. *p*91.
*Hæstenes. *p*91*l*.
Hæstingan. Hastings, 1094, *dat. of*
Hæstingas. 1011.
*hæt* (*for* hêt). *commanded,* 685.
hæt. *intrans. is called,* hight, *p*13.
*hæt (mon), *trans. they call,* 891.
*hæþen. heathen, 865.
*hæþene. 851.
*hæþenra. *g. pl.* 942. [680.
*Hæþfelda. Bishop's Hatfield (Herts),
Hæðfelda. *ibid.* E.
*hæþnan. *nom. pl. def.* heathen, 871.
*hæþne. 832, 838, 851.
*hæþnum. *dat.* 838.
hæðen. 866.
hæðena. *p*223.
hæðenan. 794.
hæðene. 832, 851, 852, 871.
*hæued* (=heafod). head, *p*262*h*.
he. 3. *pron.* 894, 905, 948, & *oft.*
hea. high, *tall, noble, p*222*l*.
*Heabryht (aldorman), 805.
*Heabureahg* (an igland), 686.
Heaca. *Bp. Sussex, p*193.
Headda. *Abt. Peterbro',* 963. [*p*203*m*.
*heafde* (*for* hæfde). had, 1072, 1131,
*heafden. pl. id.* 675, *and*
*heafdon.* 1101.
*heafde. 675*b*. p*123*h*, *gen. pl. of* [1063.
heafod. head, *chief,* Haupt, 792, 1012,
heafodmen. *chief* men, 1101, Hauptmann.
heafodmannan. *d. pl. p*241*h*.
*heafedmenn.* 1131.
heafdum. *d. pl.* κεφαλαῖς, 1012.
heah. high, 778, 1001, 1002.
*Heahmund (bisc), 871.
*Heahstan. *Bp. London,* 898.
*healdene. p*236*m*, *for*
healdenne. *sup.* to hold, 874. *p*233, *of*
healdan. *inf.* halten, 1009, 1012.
*healden. id.* τηρεῖν, 963.
*healdon. id.* φρουρεῖν, *p*225*h*.
healdes(to). ? *for Protector,* 1036. [1036.
healdest. ? =ealdest, præcipuus (Gibs.),
healf. *adj.* half, 855, 901, 955.
healfre. *d. fem.* 891.
healfum. *d. pl.* halves, 901.
healfe. *d.* side, 891, 894, 1014, 1025.
*healfa. id. p*3.
Healfdene. *the Dane,* 875, 876.
Healfdenes. 878. [*p*234.
healle geweorc. work *of building* Hall,
*Heamstede.* ? Finchamstead, 1103.
Heanbyrig. NL. *p*39*m*.
heane. *pl. low, poor, humble, p*220*l*.
*Heanri.* 1104=
Heanric. Henry, *p*221.
*Heanrig. id.* 1102.

*Heanrige. d. p230.*
*Heanriges. g. p237.*
*heap. *crowd*, heap: Hauf, 973.
Hearberht. NM. *NHumbrian*, 778.
Heardberhtes. *g. prob. same person*, 798.
Heardberht. (*aldorman*), 805.
*heardes. *g. adj.* hard, *tough*, 937*l.*
heardheort. hardhearted, 1086*b.* [158.
heardlice. *resolutely*, 741, 1001. *p155*,
hearm. *damage*, harm, 994, 1004. *p140*,
hearme. *p196.* [185.
*hearmes.* 1090, *acc. pl. or g. sing.*
*Heatfelde. p39* = Hæðfelda.
*heaþolinde. *war-shields*, 937.
Heca. *Bp. Sussex*, 1045.
Hedde. *Bp. Winton*, 676, †703.
*hefde.* had, *p264m.*
*hefden. pl.* 1137.
*hefed* (=heafod). head, *p262h.*
hefelic. heavy, *serious:* gravis, 868, 1083.
*hefenum. *d. pl.* heavens: cælis, 773.
hefig. heavy: gravis, *p234.*
hefige. *p241.*
hefigtime. *adj. sad:* molestus, *p169.*
hefigtyme. *p233.*
hefigtymne. *p233.*
hefigtyma. ? *id. or adj. and subst.* 1001.
hefilic (=hefelic). 868.
*heftninge. d. imprisonment*, 1079=
heftnunge. 1124.
hegge. hedge, 547.
*heglice.* highly, *solemnly*, *p263l.*
*hehburh. fortified town, fortress, p5.*
*hehmesse.* high-mass, *p254t.*
*hehst. highest, 1031.
*heht. *he called, named*, 688. [778.
Helaþyrnum. *d. pl.* ? Ellerton (Gibs.),
*held* (=heold). he held, *p253h.*
*helden. pl. id. p251l.*
heldan. *d. suzerainty*, *p234b.*
*Helige.* Ely, 673.
helm. helmet, 1008.
helpe. help, *aid*, 1127. *p107m.*
*hem. d. pl. to them, p250h.*
*henged.* hanged, *p262.*
*hengen.* they hanged, *p263l.*
Hengest. *the Saxon chief*, 449. *p13.*
*Hengest dune. Hingston Down (Corn.),
Hengestes dune. *ibid.* E. [835.
*hennefugeles.* hen-fowls, 1131.
*Henri.* Henry, *p257.*
Henric. *p219.*
Henrig. 1106.
*Henries. gen.* 1140.
heo. she, 718.
*heo.* they, 718.
*heofdon.* they had, *p13.*
heofon. heaven, *p235.*
heofenum. 774.
*heofenan.* 1095.
*heofonan.* 1106.
*heofanlice.* heavenly, 1089.
heofenlic. 789.
heofonlic. 979.
heofonlica. 979.
heofonlice. 988.
heold. held, 565, 611, 755, 931.
heoldon. *pl.* 877. *p258.*
*heoldun. *id.* 887.
heoldan. 877.
*heolden.* 1137.
heom. *d. pl. them*, 865, 871, 1014.
*heonne.* hence, 1103=
heonon. 1104.
Heopwines fleot. NL. *p13.*
heora. *g. pl. of them, their*, 794, 877.
heoran. *id.* 1101.
*heore. id. p264h.*
*heorda.* he heard, *p30m.*
*Heorotforda. *d.* Hertford, 913.
Heortforde. 673.
Heortfordscire. 1011.
heort. hart, *buck*, *p222l.*
heortas. *pl. id. p222l.*
*heorotogas. generals, chiefs, p32l.*
*heorðœ. d.* hearth, 1048*b.* [39*t.*
*heot* (=heht, hêt). *he commanded*, *p30m*,
*heowan. they hewed, 937 *twice.*
her. here; "this year," *p3.* 871 & *oft.*
*her* (*for* heora). *their*, *p262t*, 264*b.*
*heratoga. leader; Herzog, p3b.*
heræft' = heræfter. after *this*, *p236b.*
Herbeard e Losange. *Bp. Thetford*, 1094.
*herd. pt.* heard, *p256b.*
herdon. they heard, 851.
here. *army, host;* Heer, 837, 994, &c.
*here* (=heora). *their*, *p39h.*
*Herebryht. (aldorman), 838. [*p11.*
*Hereferþ. *Bp. Winchester*, 833. Stubbs,
Hereferð. *id. ibid.* E.

*herefleman. *fugitives*, 937*l*.
Hereford. *p*178, 190.
**Herefordа.** 918, 1060.
*Herefrid.* (*ældorman*), *p*33*h*. [1040.
*heregeold. tribute to the* (Danish) *host*,
**here huðe.** *spoil*, 885, 993, 1001.
*herehyð. *id. acc.* 894.
*herehyþe. *id. dat.* 885.
**Hereman.** *Bp.* 1043, 1077. *p*177.
Heremoding. *in genealogy*, 855.
**herereaf.** *spoil*, 473, 584.
**heres.** *g. of* here, 874, 878, 1003.
*heres. pl. id. p*156.
heretoga. *commander:* Herzog, 1003.
heretogan. 993, 1121. *p*13.
heretogena. *g. pl.* 794. [(Thorpe), 787.
Hereðalande. ? Haurthaland, *Norway*
Hereward. *the outlaw*, 1070.
Herewarde. 1071.
herfest. *autumn:* Herbst, *p*140*h*.
**hergas.** (*pl. of* here), *armies*, 871, 894.
*hergum. *dat.* 894*h*.
*hergaþ. *foraging*, 911, 918. *p*91.
*hergade. *he ravaged*, 875.
hergode. *p*220.
**hergedon.** *pl.* 910, 1001.
hergodan. *p*149.
**hergodon.** 794, 905, 1087.
hergende. 876, *pres. part. of*
hergian. *inf.* to harry, *plunder*, *p*151.
*hergon. *id.* 1070.
hergung. *devastation*, 793.
hergunga. *p*154.
hergunge. 904. [894.
*herige. *d. sing. of* here, 838, 851, 853,
*heriges. *gen. id.* 937.
Hering. NM. 603.
**Herode.** *dative*, 2.
hersumie. *obediat: be he subject*, *p*33*l*.
**hersumnesse.** *d. submission*, 828, 1131.
heruest (= herfest). *autumn*, harvest, 1126.
Hestingan. *d. pl.* Hastings, *p*203*t*.
**het.** hieß, 626, 777, 903. [hight]
hetelice. hotly, *acriter*, *p*23*t*.
*hethen.* heathen, *p*262*l*.
hettend. *antagonists*, 937.
*heðene. *pl. adj.* heathen, 851. *p*23, 257.
*heðenra. *gen. pl.* 793.
heðenum. 616.
*heðenscipe.* heathen*dom*, 634.
Heðfelda. Hatfield (W. Riding), 633.
*heuenrice. the kingdom of* heaven, *p*38*b*.
**hi.** *they*, 565, 891, 1064. *p*171, 208.
*Hibernia. *Ireland*, 891.
hida. hides (of land), *p*19.
hidum. *d. pl.* 1008.
hidon. *id.* 1008.
hidde. *pt. pl.* hidden, 963*l*.
**hider.** hither, 895, 1002, 1057.
hiderward. hitherward, 1085.
*hie. *they*, 577, 694, 855, 917.
*hiene (= hine). him, 544, 709, 885.
*hiera (= heora). *their*, 465, 534, 718, 875.
*hieran. *pl. adj.* higher, *p*95*m*.
*hierde (= hyrde). heard, 835. *p*91, 108.
*hierdon. *were subject*, 851, 912. *p*104.
hiere (= hire). *gen. fem.* of it, *αὐτῆς*, *p*80*h*.
*hig. they*, *p*51*t*.
Higbald. *Bp. Lindisfarne*, 780, 803.
Higbalde. 795.
*Higebryht. *Abp. Lichfield*, 785.
*higegleawe. *pl. adj. learned*, *p*126*l*.
*Hii. *Iona*, *Icolmkill*, 565, 716.
**Hild.** *Abbess of Whitby*, 680.
*hildering. *war-hero*, *p*114. [& *oft.*
**him.** *d. sing.* to him, *αὐτῷ*, 789, 855,
**him.** *d. pl. to them*, *αὐτοῖς*, 851, 871.
*himsylf.* himself, *p*225*l*. [*p*158.
**hindan.** *from behind*, *ὄπισθεν*, 877, 911,
hinde. hind: dama, *p*222*l*.
**hine.** *acc. masc.* him, 568, 865, &c.
*hio. *she*, 718. [*p*91.
*hiora (= heora). *their*, *of them*, 891, 894,
*hira. *id.* 887, 905, 917.
*hire. accusative* her, *αὐτήν*, 1127*h*.
hird. *court:* curia; *Dan.* Hirde, 1127*t*.
hired. *id.* 1085, 1104.
hirede. *p*221.
**his.** *ejus:* his, its, 584, 755, 868, 901.
hise. ? *pl. id.* 1070.
**hit.** it, 755, 860, 999, 1031.
*hiue. bee-*hive, *p*256*m*.
hiwan. *household, family*, 716, 757.
hiwes. *g. of colour*, hue, 1104.
hlafdige. lady, *queen*, *p*149.
*hlafes. *pl.* loaves, 852.
**Hlafmæssan.** Lammas, 1101. *p*106.
hlam mæssan. *p*142.
hlā mæsse. 1100.
**hlaford.** lord, 755, 1014. *p*51, 187.

hlaforde. *p*107, 214.
hlafordes. 1104.
hlæfdian. *acc.* lady, *p*180*l*, 187, *of*
hlæfdig. *p*214.
hlæfdige. 918, 1002.
hlefdige. 1003.
hlæwe. *hill, eminence:* "-low," *p*140*l*.
*hleaperas. *couriers:* "-loopers," 889.
*hleaperes. *ibid.* E. [to leap]
hleop. *he ran*, leapt, 1087*l*.
*hlehhan. to laugh, *p*114.
*hleo. *shelter, refuge*, 942.
Hlidaforda. Lidford (Devon), 997.
hloþ. *band, troop, gang*, 879.
hloð. *ibid.* E.
*hloþum. *d. pl.* 894.
*Hloþhere. *Bp. Wessex*, 670.
——— king of Kent, 685.
Hlothere. 670.
*Hloþwig. Lewis, Louis, Ludwig, 885.
*Hloþwiges. *g. ibid.*
Hloðeringa. Lorraine, 1080.
hlutres. *g. adj. clear, pure*, lauter, 852.
(*ge*)hnades. *g. collision, p*114. [? knead]
ho. high *ground*, 822, 1001.
Hocneratune. Hokenorton (Oxon), 917.
Hoge. NL. 686.
*hold. *as a title*, 905.
*holdas. *pl. p*104, 107.
holde. *pl. adj. loyal*, 1083.
holdaðas. oaths *of allegiance, p*219.
holdhlaford. *liege* lord, 1014.
holdscipe. *loyalty, honour, p*209*m*.
holme. *d. island*, 1025.
*hond. hand, 853, 871, 882, 937.
*honda. 887.
Honori'. *Pope* Honorius, 1125.
Honorius. 653.
hoo (Clofes-), 822, *s.* ho.
hopiað (we), we hope, 1089.
hopode. hoped, *sperabat, p*142*m*.
hord. hoard, *store*, 418, 937. [*p*260.
hordere. *treasurer, burser*, Thesaurarius,
horderwycan. *treasury, p*263.
horn. *pl.* horns, *bugles, p*256*l*.
hors. horse, Ros, 852, 994, 1076.
horse. *d.* 1048*b*.
horsa. *g. pl.* of horses, 917. *p*92*l*, 157.
horsan. *d. pl. p*234*t* =
horsum. 891, 892. *p*93.
Horsa. the chieftain, 449.
*horsad. *pt. mounted on* horses, 881.
horsian. *inf. p*148, 151.
horsodon. *they found in* horses, *p*153.
*horsþegn. horse-thane, *p*95, 96.
*Howel. "Da" *kg. of N. Wales*, 922.
*hramige. *pl. adj. flushed, 'high-flown,'*
*Hraþraing. *patronymic*, 855. [*p*115.
hrade. *quickly, speedily*, 999. [rather]
hraðost. *superl. id. most quickly, p*51*t*.
*hræ. *carcase, p*115.
hrædlice. *suddenly*, 876, 979.
*hredlice.* 876.
*hræfn. raven, *p*115.
*hreman. *to exult, glory, p*114.
*Hreopadune. Repton, 755.
Hreopedune. *id.* 874, 875.
hreowlice. *sadly, miserably, p*233*m*.
Hrepingas. NL. *p*39*m*.
Hripum. Ripon, 785.
*Hroald. *Danish eorl*, 918.
Hrofeceastre. Rochester, 885, 986.
Hrofesceastre. 604, 741, 802, 839, 885.
Hroðulf. *of Burgundy, p*87.
*hrusan. *surface of the earth, p*126*b*.
hryðera. *g. pl. oxen, cattle*, 1012.
hu. how, 963, 1070. *p*145, 208.
Huda. *ealdorman*(?) *of Surrey*, 852, 853.
*huerf (eft). *returned*, 633.
Hugo (eorl of Ceastre), *p*230.
Hugo (eorl of Scrobscire), *p*230.
Hugo (Gerueises sunu), 1124.
Hugon. *acc.* (Frenciscan ceorl), 1003.
Hulme. NL. *p*230.
Humbran muðe. mouth of Humber, 993.
Humbre. the Humber, 827.
Huna. *g. pl.* of the Huns, 443.
Hunberht (ealdorman), *p*69.
*hundes.* hounds, *p*256*l*.
hund. hundred, 409, 852, 895, 911.
*hunde. 893.
hundeahtatig. 'eighty, 1001. *p*142*t*.
hundeahtatigum. *d. p*5*t*.
Hundehoge. NL. *p*253.
*hundnigentigon. *d.* 'ninety, 993.
hundnigontigum. *id.* 994.
hundred. "100," centum, *p*33*b*.
hundred. *centuria, p*123*t*.
*hundseofenti.* 'seventy, *p*33*b*.
hundtwelftig. E892, *or*

*huntwelftiges. *g. sing.* "120," 893.
*Hunferþ. *Bp. Winton*, 744.
*Húnferþe. *d.* 754.
Hunferðe. 754.
*hungær.* hunger, *p*262.
hunger. *id. p*210.
hungor. 1082. *p*126, 127.
*hungre. *d. p*92, 104.
Hungrie. Hungary, *p*233. [123.
Huntandune. Huntingdon, *p*106, 107, *Huntendune porte.* Huntngdn-*town*, *p*31*m.*
Huntadunscire. Huntingdonshire, 1011.
Huntandunscire. *p*154.
*hunten. inf.* to hunt, hunting, *p*256*l.*
*huntes.* hunters, huntsmen, *p*256*l.*
huntnoðe. *n.* hunting-*excursion*, 1100.
*hure* (=huru). *any*-how, *p*260*t.*
hús. house, *p*196, 258*h.*
husan. *d. pl. p*247.
husas. *pl. acc. p*246.
huse. *d. sing.* 1048*b. p*209*t.*
*huses.* houses, *p*31*l*, 209*t.*
husbunda. house*holder*, 1048. [husband]
husbundon. *d. and acc. ibid.*
hus carles. *retainers*, 1070.
Hussan. *g.* NM. 603.
*hustinga. council*, 1012. [husting]
huðe. *spoil*, 997.
huðe (=uðe). *pret. granted grace*, *p*30*m.*
hwa. who, 1086.
*hwam. acc.* whom, *p*250*h.*
*hwar.* where, *p*259.
*hwat.* what, *something*, 1070.
*hwate. *pl. adj. keen, brave*, acres, 937.
*hwaþerre. whether, *ποτέρᾳ*, 894*h.*
hwæðere. *p*154, *s.* ðeah hwæðere.
*hwæðre. d. either, both*, 871.
*hwær. where, 891. *p*94.
hwæs. *p*222*h*, *genitive of*
hwæt. what, 787.
hwæte. wheat, 1124*b.*
hwætes. *gen. id.* 1039.
Hweallæge. Whalley (Lanc.), 798.
hwearf. *he turned back*, 584, 813.
*hwelc. which, *p*50*t.*
*hwelce. *d. id.* 874.
*hwenne. when, 1031.
hwere. where, *p*32*t.*
Hwerwillon. Wherwell (Hants), *p*180*l.*
hwet (=hwæt). what, *p*141*t*, 183*t.*
*hweðer.* 1087*l*, *s.* þeah hweðer.
*hweðere. p*142*l*, *s.* þeah hweðere.
hwi. why, 1070. *p*30*h.*
*Hwiccium. *d. pl.* Huicciis, 800.
Hwiccum. *the people in Severn Vale*, 800.
hwilc. which, *p*38, 51.
hwilce. *p*218.
hwilces (cinnes). *p*38.
hwilcne. *p*221.
hwile. *time*, while, 837, 894, 913, 994.
hwilon. *dat. pl. id.* 963=
*hwilum. *at times*, 891. [whilome]
*hwit. white, *p*115.
*Hwitanwylles. *g.* Whitwell, Derb., 942.
*Hwitcircean. *d.* Whitchurch, 1001.
Hwiterne. Whitehorn, 762, 791. *p*19.
hwites. *g. adj.* white, 1104.
Hwitsand. Wissant (near Calais), 1095.
*hwonne.* when, *p*30*l.*
*hy. they, 993.
hy. her; eam, *p*180*l.*
hyda. *g. pl.* of hides (of land), *p*218*l.*
hyde. *d. sing.* 1083.
*hyde. hide, *skin:* corium, 891.
hyder. hither, *p*230.
Hygebald. NM. 710.
Hygeberht. *Abp. Lichfield*, 777.
Hygebriht. *id.* 785.
hyndan. *they desecrated*, 684.
*hyra* (=heora). *of* them, 560.
hyre (=hire). her, *p*229.
hyrde. herd: gregem, *p*23*t.*
*hyrdes. *g. keeper, controller*, 973. [681.
hyrdon. (cf. hierdon), *were dependent*,
hyred. *court*, 1114.
hyrede. *d. id.* 1074. *p*229.
hyrnesse. *jurisdiction, domain*, 1087.
hyrne. *corner*, *p*260*t.* [*p*115.
hyrned nebban. (bird of) horned *beak*,
hyrsumedon. *they served*, *p*220*l.* [*p*208.
hyrsumnesse. *obedience, subjection*, 828,
Hyrtlingb'. Irlingboro' (*Northampt.*),
*hyþa. *spoils*, 894*l.* [Gibs. *p*263.
*-hyþe. *haven, port*, 785.
-hyðe. 1041.
Hyþe. Hithe (Kent), *p*184.

*J* and *i*. I; ego, *p*262*m.*
*iaf.* he gave, *p*265*t.*
*iafen. pl. id.* they gave, 1137.

*Iaenbryht. Abp. Cant. 790.
Ianberht. *id.* 762, 785.
Ianbriht. *id.* 785, 790.
*iateward.* gate-warden, *p*32.
*iauen* (=iafen). they gave, *p*265.
*iæde* (=eode). *she went*, *p*265*h*.
*iæf* (=iaf=geaf). he gave, 1127*m*.
*iæfen. pl. id. p*254*h*.
*iærnde* (=geornde). *he desired*, *p*256*h*.
*iætte* (=geatte). *he granted*, *p*256*h*.
ic. I; ego, 905. *p*31, 95, 122.
Icanhoe. 653, ? Boston (Gibson).
Ida. *founder of NH. dynasty*, 547.
Iding. *patrony. id.* 593, 670, 685, 731.
*íé* (=Híi). Iona, Icolmkill, 716.
*ieden. p*262*l*, *and*
*iedon. p*250*h* (=eodon), they went.
Iehmarc. *a king in Scotland*, 1031.
*ielde. age: "Ætat." p*4*m*.
*ieldestan. eldest: proceres, p*104.
*ieornden* (=georndon). *they desired*, *p*258
*Ieoþwel. Welsh king: "Idwal," 922.
Ierl'm. Jerusalem, *p*257.
*ierre. *angry:* iratus, 584.
Ieruman. *Bp. Mercia*, *p*30*l*.
*iete. I grant, confirm, p*39*b*.
*ietten. pl. id. they affirmed, p*32*m*.
*iett* (=giet, get). yet, *p*256*b*.
ifel. evil, 1124.
ifele. *p*203.
*igbuend. *inhabitants*, 973.
-ige. *isle, island*, 964. *p*81.
*-igge. *id.* 716, 855.
*iggað. *islet:* "eyot," 894*l*.
igland. 'iland,' 895. *p*3, 38.
iglande. *p*3, 104.
*Iglea. 878, *s. n.*
Ií (=Híi). Iona, Icolmkill, 729. *p*19*t*.
*iiuen* (=gifan). to give, *p*264*l*.
ilc. *same;* Scotch 'ilk,' *p*261*t*.
ilca. *id. def.* 777, 852, 868.
ilcan. 495, 626, 866, 878.
ilce. 755. *p*149.
ilces. *p*257. [*p*3.
*imbe* (=ymbe, embe). *about, in course of*,
Immine (ealdorman), *p*33*h*.
in. *prep.* in, into, 565, 635, 731, 782, 868.
in. *subst.* inn, *lodging*, *p*209*m*.
in com. he came *home*, 685.
*incumen. inf.* to come in, *p*209*t*.
Indea. India, 883.
Ine. king of Wessex, 688, 694. *p*2.
Ines. 718, 855.
infangen þef. *p*122: cf. Cod. Dipl. i. xlv.
infare. *invasion, inroad*, *p*178*h*.
ingang. *entrance*, *p*256*b*.
Ingild. *Ine's brother*, 718.
*Ingilding. *patrony. id.* 855. *p*4.
*Ingui. }
*Inguing. } 547.
Ingwald. *Bp. London*, 731.
ínn. *adv.* in-*wards*, *p*155.
inne. *adv.* 491, 867, 868, 910. *p*50*l*.
*innæ. id. p*209*b*.
innan. *prep. within*: intra, 693, 789, 868.
innon. *id.* 870.
innfor. *he marched in*, 1071.
innhere. *home-forces*, *p*140.
innian. *to lodge*, 1048.
insegle. seal, 1048.
intihte. *invited*, *p*121.
into. into, 852, 876, 1015.
*Inwæres. *g. Danish chief*, 878.
*inwidda. *trickster, traitor*, *p*114.
Inwona. *Bp.* 777.
Iohan. John, *p*245.
Iohannes. *Bp. York*, 685.
Ioh's. *the same*, 721. [887.
Ionan. *the river and vale of the* Yonne,
Iotum. *d. pl.* Iutes, *p*13.
Ircingafelda. }
*Ircingafeldes. } 918, *s. n.*
*iren.* iron, *p*262.
*Irlande. Ireland, *p*104.
is. is; est, 455, 457, 892, 893, &c.
Ispanie. Spain, *p*223.
*it* (=hit). it, *p*257*h*.
*Itermon. }
*Itermoning. } 855.
Ithamar. *Bp. Rochester*, *p*33*t*.
Iðamar. *Bp. Rochester*, 655.
*Judeus.* Jews, *p*263.
*iuele.* evil, *p*259.
Julies. *gen.* July, 1115.
*Iulius. *the month* July, *p*126.
*iunga.* young, *p*225.
*iunge. p*187.
Iunies. of June, *p*243.
Junii. *id. p*252.
*iure.* your, *p*32 *twice*.

*iustisc.* justice, 1137. *p265b.* [625.
**Iusto.** *Bp. Rochester,* 604; Abp. Cant.,
Justum. *id.* 604.
Justus. *id. p23, Abp. Cant.*
Iutna (cynn). *race of* Iutes, *p13.*
*Iuþyttan. *g.* of Judith, 885.
Iweres = Inwæres. 878.

*Kadum. Caen; Cadomum, 1070.
Kantwarabyrig. Canterbury, *p32.*
**Kantwareberig.* 1070.
Karl. Charles, 812, 887.
Karle. 1127.
Karles. 885.
Kasere. Cæsar; *Emperor,* 380. *p5.*
*keie.* key, *p33l.*
Kenred. *"S. Humbrian king,"* 702.
Kentland. the land of Kent, 456.
Kenulf. *Ab. Peterb', Bp. Wint.* 992. *p123,*
Ketering. NL. *p122.* [140
Kiæresburh. Cherbourg, 1091.
Kineburh. *Mercian princess, p39.*
kine helm. *crown, p221.*
kine rice. *kingdom, p253.*
**king.** king: rex, 963, 1040, 1066, 1122.
**kinge.** 1017, 1043, 1124.
kinges. 777. *p123.*
kining. king: rex, 654.
kinnes = cynnes. of kind, *p38.*
*Kola. *a king's head-reeve,* 1001.
kydde. *he announced, made* known, *p196.*
*Kyneburges. p30, gen. of*
Kyneburh. *p123.*
kyneciñ (= cinn). *royal family, p3.*
kynekynne. *p236.*
kynehelm. *crown, p209.*
kynelice. *royally,* kinglike, *p31.*
Kynegils. *king of Wessex,* 611.
kyne rice. *kingdom, p30.*
Kynesuith. *Mercian princess, p39.*
Kynesuið. *id. p123.*
*Kyneswiðes. g. id. p30.*
*kyng.* king, *p236, 251.*
*kyngas. p209.*
kynges. *p251.*
**kyning.** king, 777, 878.
*kyningas. 577, 887.
*kyninge. 785.
Kynric. *king of Wessex,* 519, 552.
Kynsige. *Abp. York,* 1060.

la. lo, *p30.*
laces. lakes, *p31m.*
ladlice. *ugly,* loathly: Fr. 'laid,' *p256l.*
*laf. *remnant,* 867. *p93.*
*lafe. id.* 867.
*lafum (here-), *remnants of army, p114.*
*lafan. *d. pl. results, works (of...),* 937*h.*
**lafe (to-),** *remaining,* 491, 973. *p108t.*
lafe. *acc. relict,* 616, 633, 1017, 1037. *p152t.*
*Laferd* (= hlaford). lord, 1123.
laga. laws, *p222l.*
lages. *id. p254h.*
lage. *id.* 959. *p196, 236m.*
lagon. they lay, *pressed, p165.*
*lai* (læg). he lay, 1135.
Lambhyðe. Lambeth, 1041.
*Lammœssan.* Lammas, *p219.*
*Lammasse. id.* 1135.
land. land: terra, 787, 866, 874, &c.
lande. 794, 1031, 1070.
landes. 1068. *p31, 174.*
landfolc. *inhabitants,* 1070. *p171, 203.*
Landfranc. *Abp. Cant.* 1089. *p208.*
Landfrance. *p223.*
*Lanfranc. 1070.
landfyrd. *local militia,* 1001.
landfyrde. *p201.*
landhere. land-*force,* 933.
landheres. *g. local force, p107m.*
landleoda. *g. pl. the people of the* land,
landleodan. *p187m.* [1055. *p108.*
landleode. *nom. pl.* 917.
landleode. *d. sing. p140m.*
landsittende. *occupier of* land, *p218l.*
lang. long, 892, 893. *p3, 95.*
langan. *d.* 1114.
Langbeardna lande. Lombardy, *p87.*
lange. *adv.* diu, 871. *p106l,* 183*h.*
*lange. adj.* long, *tall:* procerus, *p209m.*
langfridæi. *Good* Friday, *p263l.*
langsuman. *distant:* longinquo, *p121.*
*lareow, *teacher:* Lehrer, 891.
*lareowas. *pl. id.* 601.
*larewas.* 601.
*lastede* (ð). that lasted, *p262m.*
late. *adv.* late: serò, 867.
lator. later: serius, 1089.
*laþra. *g. pl. adj. 'of the enemy,* 937*h.*
*laþum. *d. pl.* 937*l.* [loathe]
lað. *repugnant, p141, 178 twice.*

*Laudan (Sant) S. Lo (Normandy), 890.
*lauerdes* (=hlafordes). *g.* lord's, *p*38*h*.
*lauerd. acc. p*264*h*.
Laurent'. S. Lawrence, *p*254.
*lawed.* lay, *p*30*h*. [lewd]
*læd.* for *læden*, they led: duxerunt, *p*264*h*.
lædan. *inf. p*232*h*.
*læden. id.* 1126.
lædde. he led, 603, 827, 887, 1078.
læddon. *pl. id.* 418, 796. *p*209.
*læden (boc-), Latin, 891, *s. n., p*280.
læfde. he left, *p*50, 51*h*.
*læfdige.* lady, *p*149.
læfe. leave: venia, 1043.
*læg.* he lay, 755, 937. *p*51, 149, 185.
*lægde.* he laid, *p*214.
lægdon. *pl. id.* 1064. *p*209*t*. [rum, 972.
Lægeceastre. Chester; Castrum Legio-
*lægen.* they lay, *p*123*b*, 174*t*, *for*
*lægon. p*50*h*.
*lægun. id.* 937.
Lægre ceastre scire. Leicestersh. 1087*b*.
lægt. light*ning*, *p*219.
læhte. *he took captive, p*230*h*.
*læi.* he lay, 777, 1127.
*læide.* he laid, *p*265*m*.
*læiden. pl. id. p*262*m*.
*læne. *poor, miserable,* 975. [lean]
*læng* (=leng). longer, *too* long: longius,
*længten.* Lent, 1106. [*p*236*h*.
*længtene.* 1093.
*læranne. *to teach:* lehren, 565.
lærde. *he instructed, lectured,* 1042.
lærede. learned, *professional, p*30.
læs. less, 641, 643, 901. *p*145.
*læstan. *to serve, follow,* leiſten, 874.
*læste.* it lasted, 1122.
læsunge. leasing, *falsehood, p*257*l*.
læswe. *meadow,* 'leasow,' 777.
læt (man..). *they* let, *baulk, baffle, p*253.
lætan. *pret.* they let *go, escape, p*145.
lætre. *more backward,* 999.
lætsum. late, *backward,* 1089.
*læuede* (=læfde). he left, *p*256*l*.
*læuued.* 1127=
læwed. lay, *unprofessional, p*256*m*.
læwede. *pl.* 1014, 1046.
læwedes. *g. sing. p*236*h*.
-lea. lea, *plain:* campus, 584.
*leaddon* (=læddon). they led, 1012.
*leaf* (=leof). *dear, beloved, p*203*h*.
leafe. leave, *permission,* 901, 1048.
*-leag. *plain,* lea, 584.
*-leaga. *id.* 508, 527.
*-lease. -less: expertes, 897. *p*104.
*leawede. pl. adj.* lay, 1012. [lewd]
ledde. he led, 1125.
lede. laid, *p*180*m*.
*Legaceaster. Chester, *p*93.
Legeceastre. *id. p*154.
Legceastre. *id.* 1000.
legat. legate: legatus, *p*38, 39.
legden. *pl.* they laid, *p*183*m*.
*legdun. *id.* 937*l*.
*leide.* he laid, *p*251*h*.
*leidon. pl. p*33.
lencten. *spring, p*143. [Lent]
leng. longer: amplius, 409.
lengde. 3. *s. pret.* prolonged, *p*183.
*lengest. longest, 755, 894.
lengost. *id. p*165.
lengre. longer: prolixius, *p*218*l*.
*lengs. corrupt for* lengest, 755.
lengten. *spring,* lent, 1140.
lengtene. 1002.
lengþe. *d.* length, 1122.
lented. *p*256*b*, *for*
lenten. 1122. *p*250*b*.
lentenes. 1048.
Leo (iii). 814.
Leo (iv). 853.
Leo (ix). 1046, 1054.
*leod biscopes. country* bishops, *p*258*h*.
leod b's. *id. p*218.
leod bisc'. *id. p*254.
leoda. *g. pl. of men:* gentium, 975.
leode. *people:* Leute, 1104*b*.
*leodon. id.* 1116.
leodum. *d. pl.* 855.
leodscipe. *people, nation, folk,* 1014.
Leodwalding. *patronymic,* 731, 738.
leof. *dear,* beloved, *p*30*h*.
leofodan. they lived, *p*221*m*.
leofode. *sing. id.* 959, 988.
leofra. *dearer, prefered,* liefer, *p*50, 51.
leofre. *id.* 1014.
*Leofric. NM. (at Whitchurch), 1001.
Leofric (eorl), 1036. *p*178*l*, 191.
Leofrices (eorles), *p*180*b*.
Leofric. *Bp. Devon,* 1044.

Leofric (abbot of Burh), *p*203.
Leofsig (ealdorman), 1002.
*Leofwine (cinges heahgerefa), 1001.
Leofwine. *Abbot of Ely*, 1022.
Leofwine. Harold's brother, *p*203.
Leofwine 'lange.' *a monk at Peterbro'*,
Leofwines. 1010, 1017. [*p*209*m*.
leoht. light, 789, 975.
*leohta. *g. pl.* of lights, 973.
leohte. *p*140*m*, *s. n.*
leohtlice. lightly, *p*142 *twice*.
leoma. light: lumen, 891, 1106.
leoman. *p*242.
leon. *p*223 (? fleon).
Leon. *gen.* Leo iii, 813.
Leone. *dat. id.* 797.
*leot* (=let). *he did* let, 852, 963. *p*39.
*leoue* (=leofa). *dear:* lieber, *p*30*h*.
*lerede*. learned, *p*33*b*.
let. he let: *sivit:* locavit, 777, 1042. *p*180*l*.
lett. *id. p*218*h*.
letan. *pl.* they let, *left*, *p*115, 180*h*.
lete. 2. *pres. subj. id. p*38*m*.
*leten* (ut). *inf.* let out, *p*264*l*.
leton. *they guessed, judged*, *p*234, *s. n.*
*leue*. leave: venia, 1127*l*.
libban. to live, 901. *p*222*m*.
libbendum. *d. part.* living: viventi, 979.
lic. *body, corpse:* Leiċ, 641, 716, 855, 860.
Licetfelda. Lichfield, 731, 716.
licgan. to lie (*dead*), 901, 755, *s. n.*
——— to lie *in harbour*, 1009.
lichama. *corpse:* Leiċnam, *p*149.
lichaman. 1012, 1121. *p*175.
*lides. *g. ship's*, 937*l* & *b*.
*Lidwiccium. *d. pl. Armoricans*, 855.
*Lidwiccum. *id. Bretagne*, 918.
Lidwicum. *id.* 910.
*lien. inf.* (=licgan), to lie, *p*262*h*.
lif. life, 975, *p*32*t*.
life. 978, 979. *p*145, 187.
lifes. *g.* 709. *p*155. NB. *p*232*l*.
lifes(fangan). *ζωγρεῖν, to take alive*, *p*232*t*.
lifede. he lived, *p*203*l*.
lifode. 616. *p*187.
lifedon. *pl. p*143.
*lifgendum. *d. part. pres.* 718=
lifigendum. *E. ibid.*
Lifing. *Abp. Cant.* 1013.
*Ligeraceastre. Leicester, 917. *p*106.
*Ligoraceastre. *id.* 917.
ligð. lieth: jacet, 792, 796, 962. *p*51*b*.
*liggeð. id. p*31*h*.
*liggen. they* lie, *p*31*m*.
*liggan. id. ibid.*
lihtede. lighted, *p*264*t*.
lihtunge. lightning, 1118.
Lillan. *acc. NHumbrian thane*, 626.
*Limene muþan. *Portus Lemanis*, 893,
Limine muðan. *id. E. ibid.* [*p*91*m*, 94.
*limes*. limbs, *p*262*h*=
limu. *pl. neut. p*222*h*.
*lin. for liggen, p*122*t*.
Linċ. Lincoln, 1132.
Lincol'. 1137.
*Lincollan*. 627.
Lincolne. 1130.
Lincolnascire. Lincolnshire, 1064.
Lincolne scire. *p*154.
*Lindcylene. 942. [*p*151.
Lindesige. Lindsey (Linc.), 993, 1013,
Lindesse. 838, 873, 874.
Lindisse. 627.
Lindissi. 678. [*sey*, 678.
Lindiswarum. *d. pl. the people of Lind-*
Lindisfarena. *Holy Island*, 793. [995.
Lindisfarna. 779, 803. 'Haligealond' Fl.,
*lising. loosing: 'solutio' (Asser), 878.
litel. little, *p*31, 265*m*.
litelne. *acc. masc. id.* 1005.
litlan and litlan. *by* little & little, 1110.
litle. 937, 988, 1009.
littelre. *d. fem. p*222*l*. [107*cb*.
litles hwat. *small matter(s)*: Kleinigkeit,
*litsmanna. g. pl. mariners*, 1047.
*litsmen. n. pl. p*175.
liðsmen. *ship*men, 1036.
*liþ. lieth, 855, 888.
lið. 893, *s. n.*, 963.
lið. *naval armament*, 1069. *p*183, 210.
*liue. d.* (*for* life), life, *p*30*m*.
*liuede*. he lived, *p*265*l*.
*liuode. id. p*257*t*.
*liuen*. to live, *p*263*h*.
*Liuing. Abp. Cant.* 1020. [1044.
*Liuing*. Bp. Worc. & Dev. & Cornw. 1038,
loc. lo! look! 1031. *p*142*b*.
locade. he looked, 755.
*locuðe. *ibid.* T.
*locen*. to look to, look after, *p*258*t*.

*locon. inf.* look at, *inspect*, 963*b*.
Lodeshac. NL. "Lud's oak"? *p*39*m*.
Lodewis. Louis, Lewis, 1124.
lof. *glory, praise*, 959. *p*126*h*, 143.
lofe. *d.* 855.
Loherenge. Lorraine, 1126.
lond. land, 709, 787, 866. *p*39.
*londe. *d.* 887, 894, 1001.
*londes. *g.* 855.
*londum. *d. pl.* 887. [887.
*Longbeardna. *g. pl.* of the Lombards,
*longe. *adv.* long: diu, 871.
Losange. *Bp. Thetford*, 1094.
losedan. *they were snatched*, 1120.
Loðen. *Danish commander*, 1046.
Loþene. Lothian, *p*254.
Loðene. *id.* 1091*b*.
*loue*=lofe. *p*32*t*.
*louien. we approve*, *p*32*b*.
Lucas mæssan. S. Luke's day, 1119.
*Lucumon (cynges gerefa), *p*96*t*.
*luddor.* loud, *clear*, *p*30*b*.
Ludecan. *acc. Mercian king*, 825.
lufan. love, 891, *p*126*m*.
lufe (ic). *I approve*, *p*32*h*.
lufedon. they loved, *p*22*ct*.
lufode. he loved, 959.
lufian. *inf.* love, *p*22*ot*.
lufelice. *adv. kindly*, 1083.
Lufgeard. NL. *p*39*m*.
Lunden. London, 731, 992.
*Lundenburg. 851, 886, *s. n.*
Lundenburh. 886, 1077. *p*23.
*Lundenbyrg. 457, 912.
Lundenbyrig. 456, 604, 718, 872, 992.
Lundene. 839, 883. *p*148, 159, 183, 185.
Lundenne. 839, 898. *p*234.
*Lundone.* *p*30*l*. [*p*230.
Lungeuile. Longueville (*Normandy*),
forluron. they lost, 1102.
Luuaine. *d.* Louvain, 1121.
*luue.* love, *p*263*l*.
*luuen.* love, 777. *p*30*t*.
*luuede.* he loved, 654, 656, 777.
*luueden. pl.* *p*263.
lyf. *cœnobium; Dan.* Munkeliv, 718.
lyfe. *d.* life: è vitâ, 693.
lyfes. *g. id.* 634.
lyfode. he lived, *p*239.
*Lygan. *the river* Lea, 895 *twice*.
*Lygean. *id.* 913.
*Lygeanburg. Leighton *Buzzard*? 571.
Lygeanbyrig. *id. ibid.* E.
lysing. loosing: solutio, *p*81.
lyt. little, 755.
lytel. little, *p*234.
*lytle. 755, 871, 878.

m̊. *abbrev.*=monk, *p*193.
má. more, 1001, 1043. *p*5!, 95, 99, 222.
*Maccbethu. 'Macbeth,' 891.
*maced. pt.* made, *p*262*h*=
*macod. p*203*m*.
macode. he made, 963.
macedon. they made, *p*75=
macodon. *p*187.
*macen. inf.* to make, 963.
macunge. *s.* making, *dealing*, *p*238.
madmas. *treasures*, *p*140.
madman. *d. pl. id.* 1110. [*p*223*l*.
madme hus. *treasure*-house, *treasury*,
*Maelinmun. *Irish anchorite*, 891.
maga. *g. pl. clansmen*, 942. *p*51.
magas. *n. pl. kinsfolk*, 979.
magan. *gen. fem. kinswoman*, *p*236*b*.
magum. *d. pl. kin*, 823.
magon. *id.* *p*51*m*. [*p*158.
Magesæton. *d. pl.* Herefordshire-men,
Mahald. "*queen* Molde," *p*247.
Mahalde. *id.* 1119. *p*236*b*.
Mahtild. Matilda, 1083.
Maies. of May (month), 1080.
makode (=macode). 963.
*maked. pt.* made: factum, 1137.
*makede. p*263, 265*l*.
*makeden. p*265*b*.
*makedon. p*230.
*maket.* maketh, *p*263*l*.
mal. *speech, apology*, *p*187*m*.
male. *d. terms, bargain*, *p*220*h*.
Malcolmes. *g. king of Scotland*, *p*236*b*.
*Malculme. *another Scots king*, 945.
Malduit. NM. *p*263*m*.
*Malueisin.* Castle of —, 1095.
Mameceaster. Manchester, *p*110.
man. *s.* man, Mann: *homo*, 1005. *p*33*l*.
man. mon: Fr. 'on,' 455, 678, 1055.
*mann. *id.* 1006.
man bryne. *conflagration, fire*, 962.
*man cwealm. *plague*, 664.

**man cwealm.** 664, 962. [237*h*.
**manega.** *pl. acc.* many, 910, 1111. *p209h*,
manige. 1104. *p241*.
manege. 1108. *p233h*.
maniga. 584.
manegan. *d. pl.* 1121 =
manegum. *p165*.
*mani.* many, *p262m*, *263m*.
*manie. id. p263m*.
manig feald. manifold : multiplex, *p241*.
manig fealde. 641.
*manifældlice. pl. adj. repeated, p263l*.
mann. man : homo, *p154*.
manna. *g. pl.* 661, 784, 979. *p107*.
*manne. id. p203l*.
mannan. *d. pl.* 1087*l*. *p178m* =
**mannum.** 1083. *p107h*, *178t*.
mannon. *id. p218h*.
*Mannan (eorl). *p107t*.
manncynn. mankind, *p151*.
manncynnes. *gen. p151*.
Mannie. Maine : *Cenomannia*, *p243*.
mannoden. they manned, 1087*m*.
manræden. *homage :* homagium, 1115.
*manred. id.* 1137.
Mans. Le Mans (Maine), 1073.
mansleht. slaughter *of* men, 793.
manslihtas. *pl.* 1104.
manslihtum. *d. pl.* 994.
**mara.** more, *p13*, 106.
maran. *acc.* 994. *p25*. [264*h*.
**mare.** more, *greater*, 1048. *p106*, 115,
*mar. id. p264h*. ['*Geldrechnung.*'
marc. 1103. *p203l*, *222m*, *223l* : v. Schmid
Margareta. *queen of Scotland*, *p236b*.
Margaretan. *acc. id. p204*.
Margarita. *the same*, *p229h*.
*Margarite. gen. p234b*. [874.
**Marian** (Sča—ciricean). *g.* S. Mary's,
Mariæ (nativitas Sče—). Sep. 8 : *p254*.
Marie (assumptio Sče—). Aug. 15 : *p220*.
**Marinus.** the Pope, 883. *p84*, 85.
*market.* market, *p122*.
*markete. p122b*.
Mart'. 1154 =
Martin. Abbot Peterboro', *p263t*.
Martinmæssedæg. 1099, *and* [1021.
Martin' mæssan. Nov. 11 : Martinmass,
**Martines mæssan.** 913, 919. *p104*, 108,
*Martinus mæssan. p140m*. [234*m*.
Martine (Sče). St. Martin's (Cant.), 1061.
Martini (Octab' Sči—). Nov. 18 : 1114.
martires. *g.* martyr, *p147*.
*martyrs. pl. p262*.
Maserfeld. NL. 641, *see note*.
Maurici' = Mauricius. BpLondon, *p242*.
*Mauricius. A 449, *error for* Martianus.
*Maximianus = the Emp. Maximus, 381.
*mæcan. *of swords*, *p114*, *s. f. n.*
mædwe. meadow, 777. [*p50*, 51.
**mæg.** *relative, kinsman*, 740, 754, 962,
*mæga. *g. pl. id. p114*.
*mægas. *pl. p50m*.
*mægum. *d. pl.* 755, 823.
**mæge.** *d. sing.* 648, 755, 1048.
*mæge. *subj. pres.* 3. may, *can*, 1031.
mægen. *force, host*, 1004.
*mægest'*. mightiest, *most powerful*, *p222t*.
**Mægla.** son of Port, 501.
*mæi* = mæg. may, *can*, *p209h*.
*mæi* = mæg. *relative, cousin*, 710, 726.
*mæj. id. p256h*.
**mæl.** *standard, emblem*, 773. *p123l*.
Mælbæþe. a Scottish king, 1031.
Malcolm. king of Scotland, 1031.
*Mældune. *d.* Maldon (*Essex*), 913, 920,
-mælum. *See* folc mælum. [993. *p107m*.
*mæn.* men, 1120.
*mændon.* they meant, 1083.
mæne.
**mænig.** many, 937. *p233l*.
mænige. *pl.* 798.
mænig fealde. *pl.* manifold, *p233l*.
*mænifealde. id. p239t*.
mænigfealdlice. *pl. adj.* multiplices, 1104.
mænu. *company, band*, *p229l*.
mæra. *great, distinguished*, *p127*.
**mære.** *glorious, magnificent*, *p112m*,
Mæredune. 871, *s. n.* [221*m*.
Mærlebeorge. Marlboro' (Wilts), 1110.
Mærleswegen. NM. *p204*.
mærsces. *g.* marsh, *p142m*.
mærsode. *he magnified*, 979.
*Mærðafruma. *Source of marvels*,
**Mæse.** Meuse *river*, 882. [*p126m*.
**mæssan.** mass, *festival*, 901, 1014. *p159*.
mæsse æfan. eve *of festival*, *p151*.
mæsse æfen. 1119.
mæsse æfne. *p230*.
mæsse dæg. mass-day, *festival*, *p239*.

mæsse *dæi. id. p263.*
mæsse hakeles. mass-*vestments*, 1070.
*mæsse preost. *sacerdos*, 565, 661.
*mæsse prioste. 669.
mæssode. *he performed* mass, 1022.
mæst, most, mostly, *almost*, 603. *p145*,
**mæsta.** *def. m. id.* 911, 1111. [187.
**mæstan.** 47, 878.
*mæsten. utmost, p223h.*
*mæston. p234m.*
**mæste.** *p46*, 104.
*mæstra. *gen. pl. id.* 894*m.*
mæstene. mast, *acorns*, 1116.
mæte. meat, *p14cb.*
**Mæterne.** Marne R. 887.
*mætton.* they met, 885.
*me* (*for* man). *pron. p253m*, *262b.*
*meahte. (he) might, 877. *p4l.*
*meahten. *pl. p95.*
*meahton. *p104.* [*p152.*
Mealdelmesbyrig. Malmesbury (Wilts), *Mearca.* Mercians, *p13m.*
Mearcredes burnan steðe. NL. 485E.
*Mearcrædes burnan stæðe. *id. ibid.* A.
*meast* = mæst. *p251b.*
*mecum. *d. pl. with blades*, 937*l.*
Medeshamstede. Peterboro', 852, 963, *Medeswæl.* (*name of a*) well, 654. [*p95*,
Medewægan. Medway R. 999. [123,
Medewæge. *p157.*
*megð. *family, tribe, p13.*
*megðum. *d. pl. ibid.*
*mehte. (he) might, 894. *p94*, 98, 106.
*mehten. 911.
*mehton. *p91.*
*mel* = mæl. *token, ensign*, 774. *p32b.*
*mele. d. p32m.*
Melcolm. king of Scots, 1072. *p204.*
Melcolme. *p229.*
Melcolmes. *p229.*
**Mellant.** Meulan *on Seine*, *p251l.*
Mellent. *id. p247.*
**Mellite.** Bp. London, 604. [913.
*Memeran. Mimran or Maran R. (Herts),
**men.** homini *or* homines, 530, 675, 838.
menn. *id. p145*, 203.
*menne. p230h.*
**Merantune.** Merton (Surrey), 755.
*Merce. Mercia, 853.
*Mercium. *d. pl.* = Merciis, 716.
Mercum. 731.
*Mercna. *g. pl.* 655, 905. *p106.*
*mere. *sea, p95l*, 115.
Merehwit. Bp. Somerset, 1032.
Merelade. NL. *p122.*
*meres.* meres *or pools, p31 thrice.*
*Meresige. Mersea (Essex), 895.
*Meretune. ?Merton *or* Marden, 871, *s.n.*
**mergen.** morrow, 1001 *twice*, 1012.
*Mersc. Romney-Marsh (Kent), 796.
Merscware. *inhabitants of id.* 796E.
*Merscwarum. *men of the Fens*, 838.
Merwala. a Mercian prince, *p30t.*
mæsse. mass, *festival*, 827.
*messa. *id.* 827E.
*messe dæi.* mass-day, 1122.
*mest.* most, *p250l.*
*meste* (=mæste). *utmost, p223h.*
**mete.** meat, 891, 894. *p225.*
metes. *p157*, 183.
metelieste. *d. lack of meat, p92l.*
metian. *to supply with* meat, *p148t.*
*Metodes. *g. Creator, p126.*
metsod. *pt. provisioned, p141.*
metsoden. *they provisioned*, 1087.
metsunga. *provisions, p149*, 184.
metsunge. 994, 1002.
*mette. met, 877.
**metton.** *pl.* 755, 868, 885. [*p252.*
**micel.** much, *great;* mickle, 664, 877,
*micela. *def.* 962.
*micla. *id. p91m.*
micele. 1127.
miccle. 1124.
*micelne. *acc. masc. s.* 835, 851, 885, 917.
*miclne. *p92l, see note.*
*micelre. 855, 887, 973.
*micla. *pl.* 885.
*micle. *dat. or abl. sing.* 823, 875.
*micle. *acc. fem.* 867, 871.
*micle. *nom. neut.* 671.
*micle. *pl. acc. m.* 877. *p80m.*
*miclum. 755, 878, 882.
Michael'mæsse. 1119.
Michaeles messe. 1126. *p254.*
**mid.** *with:* mit, 845, 853, 918, 978.
**mid ealle.** *altogether*, 892, 893. *p96.*
middan. *adj. dat.* mid, middle, 1114.
*middangeardes. *g. the world*, 4, 655.
middan eardes. *id.* 11.

*middæi.* mid-day, 1135.
**Middal** Engla. 652.
**Middel Seaxe.** 653, 1111. [894, 1052.
**Middeltune.** Milton (Royal), *Kent*, 892,
——— Milton Abbas, *Dorset* 964.
midfestene. Mid-*Lent*, 1047.
midlenctene. 1055.
midlengtene. 1094.
*midsumer.* 1131.
*midsumeres.* *p*182. [*p*106.
*middum (sumere). midsummer, 898,
middesumeran. midsummer, 1097.
midne (sumor). *p*140.
**midne (winter).** 878.
*midwint' dæi. Christmas*-day, 1154.
middan wintran. *p*140.
**middes wintres.** midwinter, *i.e. Christ-*
middewintres. *p*140. [*mas*, 827.
midewinter. 762.
midewint'. *p*225.
midewintra. 1103.
midewintre. *p*218.
middewardan (on). in medio —, *p*236*m*.
middewarde. *p*209.
**mide** (wæron). *with*, *p*187*l*.
midþan. *thereupon*, *p*63.
*midwyrhta. *co operator*, 945.
*Mierce. 655, 868, 872.
*Miercna. 657, 796, 851, 868.
*Miercna lond. 877.
*Miercna rice. 827.
mihta. *δυνάμεις, miracles*, *p*147. [might]
**mihte.** *could, was able*, 797, 994, 1001,
**mihton.** *pl. id.* 418, 1070. *p*180.
*mihten. p*218.
**mila.** miles, 891, 892, 896. *p*3.
*mile. p*31.
*milce. mercy, compassion*, *p*257*h*.
miltse. *id.* 1083.
mildheortnisse. *mercy*, 994.
mildhertnesse. *p*209.
Mildred. Bp. Worcester, 772.
*Milred. *id.* 772.
**mine.** *pron. poss.* my, mine: meine, *p*123*h*.
minre. 675.
*minitere.* minters, 1125.
minstra. monasteries, 963.
minstre. 675, 686, 777. *p*123.
minst'. *p*263.
*mint.* was minded, meant, *p*263*h*.
*miracles. p*263*l*.
Mircena. 704.
misbead. *he misgoverned*, 1083.
misdæda. misdeeds, 959. *p*121.
misdon. *v. id. p*261.
mislic. *widely, vagrantly*, 1071.
mislice. *divers, various*, *p*169.
mislicum. *p*169. [ʒüċten.
mistukian. *to punish wrongly*, 1083,
mittan. *measures*, ? *barrels*, 852, *s. n.*
*mittinge. meeting, *p*114. [*p*126*m*.
**mode.** *d.* mood, *mind, spirit*, 1087*l*,
moder. mother, 1075. *p*265.
modor. 639, 994. *p*165.
modrian. materteræ, *p*233*h*.
**moldan.** mould, *earth*, 975. *p*221*t*.
Moll. NH. king, 759, 761. [877.
**mon.** *indef. pron.* 519, 544, 584, 685,
**mona.** moon, 195, 734, 827.
monan. 1106.
*mone.* 1135.
*Monendæig.* Monday, *p*258*t*.
*Moneniht.* Monday night, 1131.
**monaþ.** month, 855, 871, 894.
*monoð. *p*126*t*.
**monþe.** 868, 885.
monðe. 1013, 1080.
monðas. 678.
monþum. *p*218*l*.
*monig. many, 853, 895. *p*107.
*monige. *pl.* 477, 584, 838, 905.
*monna. *gen. pl.* 'of men,' 787, 882.
*monnan. *acc. sing.* = *virum*, 501.
*monnum. *d. pl.* 838, 894.
monude. *he admonished*, 1042.
*mor.* more, 1132.
morum. moors, 565 *a*.
moran. *p*232*h*.
Morœl (of Bæbbaburh), *p*229*h*.
Moreal. *id. p*232*m*.
Morcær. 1015.
Morcares. *p*152.
Morkere. 1064, 1071. *p*201.
Mortoin (Will'm of), 1105.
Moretoin. *id.* 1104.
*morfæstenum. moor-fastnesses, 878.
morfestenum. *id.* E878.
morgen. morn, morning, *p*51.
*morgenne. 755.
*morgentid. morning-tide, 937*m*.

moste. *sibi liceret*, 626. §must, *p*141.
moston. *might be permitted*, 1064. *p*3.
*mosten. id. p*250*h*.
mote. *may be allowed*, *p*32*m*.
*moten* (we, hi). *liceat* (nobis, illis), *p*32*t*.
*mot*. meeting, mote, *p*39*h*.
*motes. courts, pleas, p*253*m*.
**Muca** (aldorman). 822.
*muge* (*for* mæge). may, *can*, *p*38*h*.
*muhte. pret. id.* 1004.
*muhton*. 992.
**Mul.** Ceadwalla's brother, 685, 686, 687.
**mundbora**. *patron, protector*, 942, 975.
*mundboran. 823. p*107, 108.
mundburan (*sic*). E823.
mundbyrde. *protection, p*108*t*.
mundode. *he protected*, 1037.
Mundford (Hugo). *p*251*b*.
munec. monk, *p*53, 169, 263*m*.
*munac*. 963.
munece. *p*187.
muneces. *p*149, 250.
**munecas**. 716, 852, 963.
**muneca**. 963, 973, 984.
**munecan**. *p*38, 208.
*munek'. p*263*m*.
*munekes. p*262*l*.
*muneke*. 777.
**munuchade**. monk-hood.
munechadesman. *regularis, p*250*h*.
munechadesmen. *regulars, p*250*m*.
**muntes**. of the mountain (Alps), 887.
Muntgumni (? n *for* r). Montgomery, Must. nr. Crowland, *p*123*t*. [*p*232*t*.
*muþa. mouth, embouchure*, 893.
muða. *ibid*. E.
*muþan. 867, 893. p*104.
**muðan**. 892, 893.
muþe. 794, 892.
mycel. *great*, 798, 866, 934.
*mycla. 761.*
myccla. 761.
myccle. 867.
mycele. 823, 877, 993.
mycle. 871.
myceles. *p*142.
mycelre. *p*230.
mycelne. 654, 851.
mycclum. 755, 855. *p*79, 81.
myclum. 882.
*mycelon. p*230*t*.
*myd* (*for* mid). *p*79.
*myhte* (*for* mihte). *p*262*l*. [sharp, 937.
mylenscearpan. mill- (*i.e. grindstone*)-
myneter. minter, monetarius, *p*122.
*mynstær. monastery, 673.
**mynster**. 565, 654, 851. *p*190.
mynst'. *p*263*h*.
mynstr'. 1132.
**mynstre**. 964. *p*260.
mynstres. *p*220.
mynstra. 1070.
*mynstren. d. pl.* 1093.
mynte. was minded, meant, 616.
Myran heafod. 'Mare's head,' 1010.
**Myrce**. 774, 796, 868, 942.
Myrcean. 796, 868, 1017.
Myrcena. 874, 910, 1007.
*Myrcene*. 868. *p*51*b*.
Myrcum. 716.
*Myrceon. p*126.
myrringe. marring, *destruction, p*233*l*.
*mystlicean* (=mislicum). 1120.

na. not, nor, 1001*b*, 1083*h*. *p*3, 31*h* & *b*.
*nadres*. adders, *p*262*h*.
Nafanan. *gen.* NM. *p*154.
naht. nought, not, 1016, 1072. *p*140.
nahtlice. *futile: nihili*, 979.
nahtscipe. *nothingness, feebleness, p*13.
*nahte. ought not, p*208*h*.
**nam**. *he took:* nahm, 787, 867, 872.
**namon**. *pl.* 800, 845, 866.
*namen. id.* 1124*h*.
**nama**. name: Name, 508, 794, 871, 890.
*nama. p*123*l*, *for*
**naman**. 959. *p*126*l*.
*name*. 688.
namcuðlice. *nominatim, p*256*h*.
nan. none, no, 868, 887, 963.
nane. 654. *p*77, 122.
nanes. *p*38.
**nanre**. 876. *p*148.
*nanum. 937.*
nænne. 443. *p*247.
*nareu*. narrow, *p*262*h*.
Natal' Dñi. *Christmas*, 1121.
Natiuiteð. *id.* 1106.
*Natanleod. British prince*, 508, *s. n.*
Nazaleod. *E. ibid.*

*naþer.* 1110.
*naðor.* *p*149.
naðelæs. none-the-less, *p*145*t*.
naðema. none-the-more, *p*255.
naþing. nothing, *p*233.
*nawer. nowhere, *p*104.
*nawðer. neither, *p*95*m*.
*Nazanleog.* NL. 508.
**nædran.** *snakes,* adders, 773.
**næfde.** had not, 897. *p*233.
næfdon. *pl. id.* 1009.
**næfre.** never, 409, 756, 994. *p*234.
*nægled. nailed, *p*115.
*næh* (=neah). nigh, 999.
*næht* (=niht). night, *p*69.
**nænig.** not any: *nullus,* 418. *p*50, 51.
**nære.** were not, 755, 1014.
**næron.** *pl. id.* 1003, 1070.
**næs.** was not, 975. *p*19, 86, 178.
Næsse. *Denge* Ness (Kent), *p*182, 184.
*næt* (=neat). *horned cattle,* neat, 852.
*næure* (=næfre). never, *p*262*t*.
**ne.** *neg. particle,* 868, 1154.
*neafe* (=nefa). nephew, *p*245*h*.
**neah.** nigh, 895, 1000. *p*177.
neah*he*buras (h*for* g). neighbours, 1100.
*Neatanleaga. ?Netley, 508.
*neaweste. neigh*bourhood,* 924. *p*94.
neawiste. *id. p*230*l*.
**nede.** *abl.* need, ἀνάγκῃ, 937. *p*154.
nedes. *adv.* '*of necessity,*' *p*260*t*.
**nefa.** nephew, 670, 789.
nefan. 1116.
**nefum.** *d. pl.* 534.
*nefe.* 1132. *p*251*m*, 258*m*.
*neues.* nephews, 1137.
*nefdon* (=næfdon). they had not, 443.
*nefra* (=næfre). never, *p*258*h*.
*nefre. id. p*203*m*. [236*m*.
**neh** (=neah). near, 465, 1031. *p*197,
nehst. next, nearest, *p*81*h*.
nellaþ. nolunt, 605.
*nemde. *I have* named, 905. *p*95.
*nemnaþ. *they call,* name, 973.
*nemneþ. *appellat,* 519, 584.
**nemned.** *pt.* 508, 794.
Nen. The Nene or Nen (*Northants*), *p*122.
Neod (S'). S. Neots (Huntgdns.), 1132.
neode. need, 906, 1042. *p*38.
*nes* (=næs). not-was, *p*19.
*neure* (=næfre). never, *p*262*m*.
*neuuæ.* new, *p*263*h*.
nextan (æt-). at *last,* *p*221*b*. [*p*258*l*.
Nicholaes (S'). S. Nicholas' day; Dec. 6:
Nicolaus (papa). 1059.
*niehst. nighest, next, 894*h*. *p*8*ch*.
*niehstum. *proximis,* 918. *p*106*b*.
*nihstum. *id. p*107*h*.
Niel. NH. prince, 921.
**nigon.** nine, 855, 898. *p*4, 183.
*nigonum. *dat. id. p*95*m*.
nigonðe. ninth, 634.
**niht.** night, 688, 871, 878, 1004.
nihta. *gen. pl. p*180*m*.
nihtan. 1101.
nihte. 1077.
**nihtes.** *adv.* 876. *p*93, 104, 106.
*nihtum. 901.
niman. *to take:* nehmen, *p*236*l*.
*nimon. id. p*152*t*.
*nimen. id. p*254*b*.
nime. *capiat, recipiat, p*38*t*.
nimende. *pt. p*32*m*.
Nimia. *p*19 = Nynias, Bd. E. H. iii. 4.
nis. is-not, 1104*b*.
nið. *envy, jealousy, malice:* Neid, *p*222*l*.
*niðweorca. *g. pl.* works *of spite,* 973.
*niða. *g. pl. of men: hominum,* 973.
niðer. *down:* nieder, 1012. [nether]
niwa. new, 1066.
niwan. *dat.* 792.
Niwan mynstre. *(at Winchester),* 964.
*niwena. *p*95*m*.
niwade. *he renewed, p*196*t*.
niwianne. *sup.* 785.
no' Sept'. Nones of September, *p*257*h*.
**noht.** nought, 81. *p*257*l*.
*nolæs. no-less, *p*96*h*.
nolde. he would not, 1114. *p*187.
**noldon.** *pl.* 755, 876, 963.
noldan. *id. p*51.
*nom. *he obtained:* nahm, 837.
*noma. name: Name, 794.
non'. Nones, *p*234*h*.
nontid. noon-tide, *p*264*t*.
Normandige. Normandy, 1074. *p*241.
Normandiges. 1101.
Normandig. *p*241*t*.
Normandie. *p*251.
Normandi'. 1137.

Normand'. 1130.
Norrena. Norsk, *p*201.
*Norhthamtune*. Northampton, 1122.
*Norhtwic*. Norwich, 1122.
*Noruuic*. *id*. *p*263*m*.
*norþ. north, 823. *p*91*h*.
norð. 828, 852, 910, 1131. [203*t*.
norþan. *à parte septentrionali*, *p*65, 106,
norþanweard. *p*3.
norðeast. 1122.
norðaneastan. *p*243.
*Norþanhymbra. 547, 867, 876.
Norþanhymbre. 867.
Norðhymbra. 761.
Norðhymbrum. 794.
Norðhymbran. 1095.
*Norþhymbre. 867, 873.
*norþerran. northerly, 922.
*norðran. 913.
*norþerna. northern, 890, 937.
norðerne. 890. *p*195.
Norðburh. Northborough (Northants),
Norðfolc. 1075. [*p*31*h* & *l*.
Norðfolce. 1075. *p*218*m*.
Norðman (Leofwines sunu). 1017.
*Norþmen. 924. *p*115.
Norðmanna. 787, 937*b*.
Norðmuðan. *p*185, *see note*.
*Norþ Walas. Wales, 828, 853. *p*65, *s.f.n*.
Norð Walum. 997.
Norð Wealan. *p*190.
*Norþ Wealas. 918.
Norð Wealas. 828, 852.
*Norþ Weall cyn. 922.
*Norþ Wealum. 922.
norðweard. northward, *p*154.
*norþweardes. 894.
norðwest. 1095. *p*243.
Norðwic. Norwich, 1004, 1075, 1087.
Norwæge. Norway, *p*209*l*.
Norwegum. 1028.
nosa. noses, *p*151.
Noþhelm. Abp. Cant. 736.
*nouther*. neither, *p*262*l*.
*nowiderwardes*. οὐδαμόσε, *p*262*h*.
nu. now, 519, 905, 979. *p*13.
numen. *taken*: genommen, *p*31*l*.
Nun (*relative of* Ine). 710.
*nun*. nuns, 963.
*nunna*. 963.
*nunnan. *d. sing. p*98.
nyde. *of necessity*, 942. *p*141.
nyste. wist-not, 787. *p*171.
nyston. *pl. id*. 1083.
nystan. *p*178.
nytt. *useful*: Nutz: χρήσιμος, 1009.
*nytwyrðoste. *most efficient*, *p*95*m*.
nyxt. nighest, 1031. *p*143.
nyxtan (æt-). *mox*: ἔπειτα, 994. *p*144.

*o* (*quasi* o'). on, 1131.
*oc* (=ac). *but*, *p*30 *twice*, 32.
*Ocging. 731.
*Oda. 887.
Odan. Bp. 1082, 1087. *p*225.
Oddan (eorl). *p*182.
of. *prep*. 733, 836, 867, 880, 891, &c.
*ofdred. terrified*, *p*261*t*. [dread]
ofeode. *had bargained*, *p*235, *s. n*.
ofer. over, *after*, 670, 800, 891, 917.
ofercom. he overcame, *p*203*t*.
*ofercoman. *pl. id. p*115.
*ofereode. *he* over-*ran*, 993.
oferferde. *he came upon*, *p*157.
oferfore. *transfretaret*, 1105.
oferforon. *they met with*, over-*took*, *p*157.
ofergan. over-*run*, 1070: *pt*. 1011.
*oferhergade. *he ravaged*, 905, 933.
*oferhergeada. *id*. 676.
*oferhergeade. *id*. 796, 865.
*oferhergeadon. *pl. id*. 832.
oferhergode. 676, 796, 945.
oferhergodon. 832.
*ofermedan. *arrogant*, 750.
oferswiþde. over*powered*, *conquered*, *p*4*l*.
oferswiðe. ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ, *p*220*t*.
Offa. (1) genealogical patriarch, Æ626.
—— (2) NH. prince, 617.
—— (3) king of Essex, 709.
—— (4) king of Mercia, 777, 792, †794,
Offan. 787, 836. [796, 836. *p*52.
*Offing. 626, 755.
offaran. *to overtake*, *p*157.
offæred. 'afeard,' 1131.
*offeoll (hine). *slew himself*, 962.
*offoron. *they overtook*, 911. *p*92*l*.
offerde. *he overtook*, *p*158*t*.
offrede. he offered, *p*123*b*, 149.
ofridan. *to overtake*, 877. *p*98.
ofsænde. *he* sent *for*, *p*178*h*, *s. n*.

*ofsceoten.* shot, 1100.
ofscute. *subj.* *escaped, slipped,* 1055.
*ofslagan. pt.* slain, 656, 789.
ofslagen. *id.* 617, 789.
ofslagene. 800, 822, 1079, 1083.
ofslagenra. 871.
ofslægen. 465, 651. *p51.*
ofslægene. 800, 822, 867, 871.
ofslæð. slayeth, *p253m.*
ofslean. 650, 792, 1002.
*ofslegen. 1001.
*ofslegenra. 1001.
*ofslog. 46, 71, 755, 878.
ofslogon. they slew, 568, 1083.
ofsloh. *p183.*
ofstang. *he stabbed,* 626, 755.
ofsticod. *perfossus, 2, 3.* [stick]
ofstingan. *to stab,* 626. [sting]
ofstungen. *pt.* 948. [stung]
oft often, 755, 871, 937, &c.
*oftar.* oftener: *pluries,* 1114.
oftor. *comp.* 894, 1009, 1016.
oftost. *superl.* oftenest, 959.
oftorfod. *stoned,* 34.
oftorfodon. *oppresserunt,* 1012. [87.
oft rædlice. oftentimes, *repeatedly,* p86,
ofþuhte (hit —). it *offended,* 1127*h.*
of uundred. *amazed,* p261*t.*
of wundred. *id.* p264*t.*
*Ohtor (eorl). 918.
Ohter. *E. ibid.*
Olaf (cyning). 1028. [*p159.*
Olanige. Alney *Island* (nr. Gloucester),
on. *prep.* 614, 874, 992, 1045, & *oft.*
onbugan. *to* bow *in obeisance,* 979. [p106*l.*
onbutan. about: *prep.* 1104: *adv.* 917,
onbuton. *id. prep.* p171: *adv.* 1001.
*ond. and, 853, 855. *p2.*
*ondlongne. *whole, continuous,* 937*m.*
ondrædendlic. *formidable,* 1100.
ondreddon. they dreaded, p149*t.*
onfand. he found, p228*h.* [p91*l.*
onfangen. *pt. received, welcomed,* 1014,
onfeng *he took,* 47, 639, 794, 827.
onfengon. *pl. id.* 633, 653.
*onfengun. 519.
onfon. *inf. id.* 878. *p81.*
onfeohtende. *pt.* fighting on, 871.
onforan. *before,* 1116. *p93t.*
onfuhton. *they attacked,* 1095. p107.
*onfunden. *they discovered,* 755.
onfundon. *id.* p50, 51*t.*
ongan. *he began,* 597, 673, 685.
*ongon. *id.* 597, 654, 673.
ongean(1)again: *rursus,* 777, 1067. p178*t.*
———(2)against: *adversus,* 1010. p148,
ongean ward. p123*t.* [165, 185.
ongeat. *he became aware,* 755.
ongefeaht. *maintained (it) by* fight. p223*t.*
*Ongel cyn. *The* English *Nation,* 901.
Ongel cynnes. 885.
*Ongol cynnes. 816.
*ongen. against, *p95 bis* = ongean (1).
*ongeon.* again, p257*h* = ongean (2).
*onget (= ongeat). *perceived.*
ongunnan. they began, 654.
*ongunnen. id.* p30*h.*
ongunnen. *pt.* 656. p94*h.*
ongytan. *to perceive,* 979.
onhagode. *it pleased (them),* 918, 1016.
on lede. laid *to his charge,* p180*m.*
on legden. they laid on (*imposts*), p183*m.*
*on leide. he imposed,* p251*h.*
onlocodan. *we* looked on, p221*h.*
onmang þam þe. *interea . . . dum,* 1105.
*onmunden. *they* minded, *cared about,*
*Onna. king of E. Anglia, 654. [p50*l.*
*onne.* one: *unum,* p262*h.*
*onoh.* enough, p262*h.*
*onridon. *they* rode on (*raids*), p76.
onriden. *id. ibid.* p77.
*onsended. sent on (*a mission*), 430.
on sette. *he put* on, 1022.
onsting. *claim,* 777. p31*h,* 33*l.*
ontendan. *to kindle, set on fire,* 994.
*onwalde. *ditione, imperio,* 901.
*onwoc. *rose, sprung,* 547. [awoke]
openlice. openly, p262.
openlicor. *more* openly, 1106.
openum. *dat. sing. manifest,* p208*l.*
ora. *strand, shore,* 495, 514.
*oran. *dat. id.* p2.
*Ordbirht. Abbot of Chertsey, 964.
*Ordheh. "king's thane," p92*b.*
Ordulfes. *g.* Founder of Tavistock Abbey,
orf. *cattle,* p196. [997.
orfe. *p183.*
orfes. *p169.*
orfcwalm. *murrain,* 1131.
orfcwealm. *id.* 1054. *p239.*

orfcwealme. *p*219.
ormæte. *immense*, 1001, 1114.
ormætne. 1112.
*ormete*. 1138.
ormætre. 1090.
ormætlica. *prodigious, tremendous*, 1117.
orreste. *combat*, *p*233*l*, & *see note*.
Osbearn (eorl). 871.
*Osbryht. NH. king, 867.
Osbriht. *E. ibid*.
Oscytel. a Danish prince, *p*78, 79.
——— "hold," 905.
Osfriδ. NH. prince, 633.
Osgar (abb'). *p*123*m*.
Osgot Clapa. 1044.
Oslac (*or* Oslaf). 568.
—— NH. prince, 617.
—— ealdorman, 966. *p*123*l*, 126*m*, 127.
Oslaf. aldormon, 568.
—— NH. prince, 617.
Osmod. progenitor of Offa, *p*52.
——— aldormon, 833.
*Osmoding. son of Osmod, *p*52.
Osmund. Bp. Sarum, 1099.
Osred. NH. king, 705, 716.
——— NH. king, 789, 792.
Osric. NH. prince, 634.
—— NH. king, 716, 729, 731.
—— aldorman, *p*50, 51.
—— aldorman of Dorset, 845.
—— aldorman of Hampshire, 860.
Osrices. 643.
Ostriδe (Æδelredes cwen). *p*39*b*.
Ostryδe. NH. queen, 697.
Osulf. NH. king, 757.
Osuuald. NH. king, 641: [*p*64.
Oswald. NH. king, 617, 634, 641, 642,
——— "se æþeling," 728, 730.
——— Abp. York, 992. *p*123*l*.
Oswaldes. 827, 992.
*Osweo. NH. king, 670.
*Osweoing. 685.
*Oswi. id. p*30*t*, 32*l*.
—— 1010.
Oswine. king of Deira, 643, 651.
——— 761, *see note*.
*Oswio = Osweo *or* Oswiu. 670.
Oswiu. NH. king, 617, 641, 667, 670. *p*65.
Oswold. NH. king, 635.
Oswudu. NH. prince, 617.

*other*. other: *alterum*, *p*264*b*.
*othre. pl. id. p*264*h*. [774.
Ottanforda. Otford (*nr. Sevenoaks*), 773,
oþ. *up to, until: usque*, 189, 682, 755, 868.
oþær. *the second:* alter, *p*65.
*oþer. other: alter, 709, 794, 885.
oþerne. 796, 887, 1063.
*oþerra. *p*95, 107.
*oþeru. *p*91.
*oþre. 687, 851, 917, 1070.
*oþres. 876.
*oþru. 875.
*oþrum. 871, 894, 901.
*oþflugon. *effected their* flight, *p*107*h*.
*oþiewde. *appeared*, 678, 729, 773.
*oþþæt. *until*, 755, 878, 885.
*oþþe. *or*, 597, 891, 894.
oð. *up to, until: usque*, 755, 871, 901.
oðbærst. *escaped*, 1101.
oðer. other, 709, 794, 901, 963.
oðerne. 1048.
oðra. 1001, 1010. *p*183, 196.
oðran. 984. *p*174.
oðre. 798, 998. *p*142, 203.
oðres. 796, 1017. *p*154.
oðru. *p*95, 222.
oðrum. 871.
oððe. *or*, 167, 685, 901.
oððet. *until*, *p*226*h*.
*oðwand. *escaped*, *p*95*l*.
Ou. Eu (*Normandy*), *p*230 *twice*.
*ouer* (=ofer). over, *p*256*m*, 265*h*.
*ouersithon. p*262*l*, *see note*.
ouþer. or, *p*32*m*.
*ouðer. id.* 777. *p*38*h*.
oxe. ox: Ðȝſe, *p*218*b*.
Oxnaford. Oxford, 910, 912, 1018. *p*148.
Oxeneford. 1137.
Oxneforda. *p*143.
Oxonaforda. 1015.
Oxenford. 1154. *p*265*h*.

Paccelade. NL. *in the Fens*, *p*31*m*.
*-padan. *p*115*m*, *s. n.* ['Paddock.'
*pades. toads, p*262: cf. Glos. H. Coleridge
*Pafian. Pavia, 888.
*pais*. peace, *p*261.
*Palladius. 430.
*Pallig. NM. 1001.
*Palmes Sunendæi*. Palm Sunday, 1122.

papa. The Pope, 814.
papan. 815, 1022, 1054.
*pape. p251h.*
*papes. ibid.*
*papedom.* Popedom, *p253.*
*papdome. p247.*
*Paris. Paris, 886, 887. *p87.*
Paschal' (se papa). 1115.
Paschalis. Pope Pascal i, 815, 816.
*Pasches. Easter,* 1122. [*p107l, s. n.*
*Passanhamme. Passenham (Northants),
Passeflambard. Bp. Durham, *p257h.*
Pastun. Paston nr. Peterboro', Gibs.,
*Pauian.* Pavia, 888. [*p122t.*
Paule. S. Paul's (London), *p220m.*
Paules. *p251m.*
Pauline. Bp. 627.
Paulinum. 625.
Paulinus. 601, 625, 627, 644.
pællan. *robes,* palls, *p223l.*
*Peaclond. The Peak of Derbyshire, 924.
Peada. king of Mercia, 654, 655, 675.
Peadan. 653.
*peanega. g. pl.* pennies, 1083.
*pearruc. park, *inclosure, 918, s. n.*
Pecceð. Rob. Peche ; Bp. Chester, 1123.
Pedredan. R. Parret (*Somerset*), 845,
*Pedridan. *id.* 658, 845. [*p35, 92.*
Pefenesea. Pevensey (*Sussex*), *p183twice.*
*Pefenesæ. id.* 1101.
Pehtas. The Picts, *p79.*
Pehtwine. Bp. Whitern, 776.
Peiteuin (Rogger). *p230h.*
Peitou. Poitou, *p257h.*
Peitowe. 1127. [380.
Pelaies (gedwild). Pelagius's (heresy),
Penda. king of Mercia, 626, 658.
Pendan. 628, 645.
Pending. 654, 704.
*Pendinges. 716.
penega. pennies, 777, 1039.
penegas. 1124.
penig. 1124.
*peni.* 1125.
Pentecostes. 1104. *p187.*
Pentecoste. *p251.*
Pentecosten. 1107. [*s. n.*
Penwihtsteort. The Land's End, 997,
Peohtas. The Picts, 443, 565, 597, 875.
*Peonhó. Pinho (nr. Exeter), 1001.
Peonnho. *id. ibid.* E. [658. *p35.*
Peonnum. Pen *or* Penzlewood (Som.),
Peonnan. *id. p156t.*
Persa. Parisi[an]orum, 660.
Perscoran. Pershore, *p223.*
Petr'. Abbot of Clugny, *p259.*
Petres (*messe*). 1131.
Peuenesea. Pevensey, *p174.*
Philipp' de Brause. *p243.*
Philippe de Braus. 1112.
Pihtum. Picts, 681.
pilum. piles, *posts, p5.*
Pincanheale. Finchale (Durh.), Ingr. 788.
*pined. tortured, p262t, 263l.*
*pineden. they tortured, p263l.*
*pining. torture, p263l.*
*Pippenes. 885.
*plantede.* he planted, *p263m.*
pleagode. he played, *p222h.*
*plegan. play, 937.
*plegodan. they played, plyed, *p115t.*
*ploges.* ploughs, 1131.
p'ma = prima. 1099.
Port. the mythic adventurer, 501.
Port. Portland, 837.
port. *town, p144m.*
porte. *p31m.*
*Portesmuþa. Portsmouth, 501.
Portesmuða. *E. ibid.*
Portesmuðan. 1101.
Portesmuðe. *p251.*
portice. porch, *aisle,* 738, 1072.
Portlande. Portland (Dorset), *p183m.*
*Portlocan. Porlock (Somerset), *p104.*
portmen. *citizens, p207t.*
*Posentesbyrg. Pontesbury (Salop), 661.
Posentesbyrig. *E. ibid.*
Prœn (Eadbryht). kg. Kent, 794, 796.
preost. priest, 710, 903, 1032.
preosta. *g. pl.* 605.
preostes. *p262l.*
*prestan* (= preostum). *p229h.*
prior. 1107.
priores. 1129.
*prisune.* prison, 1112.
*p'sun.* prison, 1137.
p'uilegies. privileges, *p263h.*
processionē. *p254.*
*p'cession.* procession, 1154.
p'uost = provost. *p203m.*

*Pryfetes flodan. ? Privet, *Hants*, 755.
Pryftes flodan. *E. ibid.*
Puille. Apulia, *p*233*m*.
punda. pounds, 1002, 1018. *p*151.
punde. 777.
*pundum. 918. [Rille, *p*251*b*.
Punt Aldemer. Pont Audemer *on the*
Puntiw. Ponthieu, 1120.
Pusa. Abt. Medeshamstede, 777.
Putta. Bp. Rochester, *p*39*b*.
*Pybbing. 626, 755.
*Pybing. 716.
Pyhtas. Picts, 699, 710. *p*3, 13, 43.
Pyhtum. 565.
Pyhtisc. *adj.* Pictish, *p*3.
Pyhtwine. Bp. Whitern, 762.

*quarterne. jail, prison, p*262*h*.

*rachenteges. chains, p*262*h*.
Raculf. Reculver, 669.
Raculfe. 692.
rad. rode, 787, 800, 894, 917, 1123.
rada. raids, *p*77.
*rade. *id.* 871.
*radlice* (?=hrædlice). *soon, p*256*l*.
*radost. *quickest, p*50*t*.
Raggewilh. NL. *p*31*m*.
*Ramesœie.* Ramsay, 1154.
Randolf. Earl of Chester, *p*264*t*.
Randulf. Bp. Durham, *p*257*h*.
rang (=ranc). *bold, gallant,* 975.
rancne. *acc. id. p*140. [rank]
*Rannulf.* Bp. Durham, 1101.
*Rannulfe. id.* 1099.
*raþe. *quickly, soon,* 917. *p*106*h*.
raðe. *id.* E991, 1013, 1038. *p*155, 180*t*.
raðor. *quicker, sooner, p*142, 174. [rather]
*raðost. *quickest,* 905.
ræd. *counsel,* 'rede:' Rath, 991. *p*3, 30,
rædas. *pl.* 979. [178*m*.
ræda. 1043.
ræde. 1070. *p*180*h*.
rædes menn. *counsellors,* 1039.
rædan. *to deliberate, p*144*h*.
*rædon. id. to take measures, plan, p*178*l*.
rædde (=gerædde). *counselled,* 959,
ræddon. 1075. [*p*144*h*.
rædleas. rathlos, *p*142*h*.
rædlicost. *most advisable, p*141.
*rædehere. ? *mounted host,* 891.
*Rædend. *Ruler, Governor, p*126*m*.
*Rædingan.* Reading (Berks), *p*140.
*rædon. inf.* read: *legere, p*39*h*.
*Rædwald. EAnglian king, 827.
ræfen. raven, *p*81*h*.
ræf. *robe, p*123*h*. [1116.
*rœfunga. plunderings, maraudings,*
*rœflac. spoliation, p*261*h*.
*rœuede. plundered, p*261*t*. [bereaved]
*rœueden. they stripped, p*262*l*.
*rœueres.* robbers, rovers, *p*262*b*.
*Rægenolde. NH. kinglet, 942.
Ræins. Rheims, 1119.
ræpling. *prisoner, captive, p*145*b*, *s. n.*
ræpton. *they captured, seized, bound,*
ræpon. *they* reaped, 1089. [1089.
*rærde. he* reared *up,* 959.
read. red, 773, 774. *p*209*h*.
Readingum. Reading (Berks), 871, 872.
*Redingum.* 872.
*Reding'. p*261*h*.
reafes. robes, 1070.
reafian. *to plunder,* 1087*l*.
reaflac. *plundering,* 793.
reccent. ruler, 975.
*Reculf. Reculver, 669.
*red* (=ræd). *advice, p*30*h*.
Reduers. (Balduin de), *p*261.
Redwald. EAnglian king, *p*65.
*refen. to furnish with hangings, p*263*h*.
Regnald. 924, 944.
Regnold. 923.
*regol.* rule: regula, *p*250*m*.
regul. 963.
regule. *p*221.
*reil-þein. keeper of the robes, p*260.
reinas. rains, 1116.
renas. *id.* 1117.
reine. rain, 1117. [1046.
Remei (Sce). Ch. of S. Remi *in Rheims,*
Remis. Rheims, 1046.
*renneð.* runneth, *p*31.
*reonneð. id. p*123.
*rentes.* rents, *p*263*h*.
Reoda. leader of Irish Scotti, *p*3.
Reodwalde. 617.
Reopandune. Repton (Derbysh.), *p*53.
reowan. they rowed, *p*174.
reowlic. rue*ful, woful, p*220.

reowlicor. *comp. id.* p220.
*rest. *vb.* resteth, 962.
*restaþ. 738.
restað. 716, 738. *p19.*
rest. *n.* rest, *repose,* p219*m.*
reste. *d.* p32*h.*
reðe. *terrific,* 793.
reuede (=reafode). *he plundered,* p265*m.*
Ricard. prince, 1120.
——— earl of Chester, 1120.
Ricarde. p149.
Ricardes. 1000, 1017.
rice. *kingdom,* 593, 685, 855, 874. p2, 87.
rices. *g.* 658, 755, 784, 821. p50*m.*
ricum. 12. [rich]
rice. *adj. great, influential,* 654, 777,
riccere. *comp.* 654.
riceste. *most powerful,* 1087*t.* [richest]
*ricsian. *to rule,* 597.
*ricsode. 534, 588, 670, 855. p2.
Ricolan. Kentish princess, 604.
*ridan. to ride, 901.
ridon. they rode, 871, 994. p50.
*riden. id.* 1123. p77.
*ridone.* p256*l.*
ridende. *pt.* 1114.
ridendra. *g. pl.* p218.
rideras. *troopers,* riders, 1090. Ritter.
ridere. *knight:* Ritter, p219*t.*
Rihala. Ryhall (Rutl.), p123*b.*
riht. *adj. direct,* 784. p31, 51*b.*
rihte. p31*h.*
rihtan. p236*b.*
riht. rite: ritus, p210*t.*
riht. right, *justice,* p236*t,* 250*l.*
rihte. p250*l.*
*rihtes.* rights & rites, p258*t.*
rihtfullum. *honorable,* p236.
rihting. p122.
rihtlice. *secundum regulam,* 1083*h.*
rihtlicor. *more according to law,* 1014.
rihtne. 652.
rihtre. p236.
rihtum. 627.
rihtwisnesse. right*eous*ness, p220*t.*
riman. brim, *edge, coast,* 991, 994. p95.
*rim cræfte. *science of number,* p126*t.*
rimde. *counted,* p76, 77.
rimdon. p152.
*rimes. 973.
Rin. Rhine, 887.
Rine. p87.
*rina. course,* p3*l.*
*ring (=rinc). *hero, champion,* p114.
*ringden.* they rang (*the bells*), 1131.
*ripes. *g.* reaping, p94.
Ripum. Ripon, p45.
risen. they rose, p261.
rixade. *he ruled,* p222.
rixian. *to rule,* 597.
*rixan. id.* p265*m.*
rixiendum. p23.
*rixsade. 955.
Rodbeard. p233.
Rodbearde. 1094.
Rodbeardes. p218.
Rodbert. 1050. p187.
Rodbriht (eorl). p210.
Rodb't. 1140.
Rodb'tes. p187.
Rodbyrd. 1048. [123, 209.
rode. *the emblem of the Cross,* 855. p85,
*roden. pl.* p209.
*rodera. *the sky, firmament,* p126.
*roderum. p126.
Rofeceastre. Rochester, 731, 802.
*Rofescæstre.* 740, 839.
Rofescestre. 633. p33.
Rog'. (Canceler), 1137, *s. n.*
Roger (eorl). 1075.
Rogere. 1087.
Rogeres. p225.
Rogger. p230*h.* [p263*m.*
Rogingham. Rockingham (Northants),
rohton. they recked, *cared,* 891. p250.
*rohten.* p209.
*rohtan.* p220.
rohte. p220.
Rollo. 876.
Rom. Rome, 927.
Romana. Romanorum, 409. p4*l.*
Romana bisc. 736.
Romana burh. 409.
Romane. Romani, 409, 418, 797.
*Romaniscan. Romish, 650.
Romanisce. 690, 692.
Rome. 709, 721, 728, 737, 853, 855,
*Rome burg. 409. [874, 888, &c.
Rome scot. Peter's pence, p250.
*Romgesceot.* p232.

Romanum. Bp. Rochester, *p*23.
Romare (Will'm of). *p*251*l*.
Rotbeard. *p*232.
Rotbearde. 1079.
Rotberd (arc̄b.). *p*187.
Rotbert. *p*232.
Rotb't. *p*241.
Rotb'te. 1101.
rotfest. *established, secure, p*256*h*.
rotteste. *fairest, most substantial, p*220*m*.
Roðem. Rouen, 1124.
*Roþulf. 887.
Roðulfe (b'). 1048.
*Roueceastre*. Rochester, 1130.
*Rouecestre*. *p*264.
Rugenore. Rowner (Hants), *p*245.
Rumcofan. Runcorn (Ches.), 915 (*p*270).
Rumenea. Romney (Kent), *p*182, 184.
Rumesige. Rumsey (Hants), 971.
Rumesege. *p*219*m*.
*ryht. right, 716. [*age*, 784. *p*50*b*.
*ryht fædren cyn. *direct paternal line*.
*ryhtne. 653.
rymde. *retired, retreated*, 999.
*rymet. room, *accommodation*, 894.

saca. *right of holding pleas, p*122.
sac leas. *unimpeached, unchallenged*,
*sah. sank, 937*m*. [*p*241*m*.
sahte. *compromise, p*265*l*.
sahtlede. settled, *p*264*l*.
sahtleden. *p*264*l*.
sahtloden. *they mediated, p*203*l*.
sahtnysse. *reconciliation, p*203*l*.
*salde. *he gave*, 669, 836, 874, 877, 878.
*saldon. *pl. id.* 534. [sold]
*saluwigpadan. *dusky-coated, p*115, *s. n.*
*same. *likewise, also*, 891, *s. n.* [same]
sammæle. *united under* same (*law*), 1018.
*samne (æt). at *the* same *time, p*115*h*.
samodlice. *in a body, p*250*h*. [same]
samworht. *half*-wrought, 892.
sanct. saint, 979.
sande. *embassy, legation, p*232*l*. [send]
sandermen. *envoys*, 1123.
*sandes. *messengers, p*261. [1039.
Sandwic. Sandwich, 993, 1013, 1031,
sang. cantavit, *p*254*t*.
*Sant Laudan. St. Lo (Normandy), 890.
sár. *grief*, sore, 1120.
sare. sore*ly*, 1116.
*sari*. sorry, *grieved*, 1114.
saule. soul, *p*30, 203.
sawle. *p*32, 39, 121.
sawon. (we) saw, 1106.
Saxulf. first Abbot of Burh, 654. *p*33*h*.
Saxulfe. 686.
*sæ* = swa. so, *p*262*b*.
*sæ* (= se). is, ille, *ð*, 755.
sæ. sea, 877, 878, 911, 994, 1072.
Sæbalding. 560.
Sæberht. king of East Saxons, 604.
*Sæbrihte. 604.
*sæcce. *battle, fight, 937t. p*114.
*sægen*. (to) say, 1070.
sæclede. *he fell* sick, 1154.
sæclode. *p*203.
*sæd. sated, 937*l*. [sad]
sæd. seed, 1124*b*.
sædan. (we) said, 1090 *init*.
sæde. (he) said, 81, 901. *p*203*l*.
sæden. *p*250.
sædon. 1004.
Sæfern. Severn, 995. *p*92.
*Sæferne. 918. *p*92.
*Sæfugling. 560.
*sægen*. (to) say, 1070.
*sægon*. *they* saw, 1122.
sæhte. *concordes*, 1077.
sæhte. *concordia, p*265*l*.
sæhtleden. *they treated, p*265*h*.
sæhtlod. *reconciled, p*209*l*.
*sæide*. said, *p*123*h*, 256*h*.
*sæidon*. 1124.
Sæis (Johan of). *p*245*t*.
*sælde*. sold, ἀπέδοτο, 1124*l*.
*sænde*. sent, 885, 1058, 1115.
*sændon*. they sent, 1091*l*.
Særesbyrig. Salisbury, *p*250 *twice*.
*Særesbyri*. 1126.
sæster. a corn measure, 1039.
sæt. sat, 865, 869, 874, 879, 1079.
sætt. *p*150.
sæton. *pl. id.* 851, 855, 875, 887, 905.
*sætun. 855.
sæte. sederet, *p*165.
Sæternesdæg. Saturday, 1012.
*sætta*. (he) set, *placed*, 963 =
sætte. 963 *twice*.
Sæxulf. *p*30.

*scadeþ. *divideth*, 942, *s. n.* ſcheiden.
*Scald. *the river* Scheldt, 883.
scan. shone, 678.
Scandlaudan. St. Lo (Normandy), 890.
*scare. *tonsure*, 716. [share]
Scarioth. Iscariot, 1087.
scatered. scattered, *squandered*, 1137.
scaðan. *assassin*, 626.
scawe (fore). (pro-)videat, *p*256*b*. [shew]
Scæftesbyrig. Shaftesbury, 980.
Sceaftesbyrig. 1036.
Scælfremere. name of a lake, *p*31.
*scære* (=scare). 716, 737.
*scærp*. sharp, *p*262.
*scærpe*. *p*262: *cf*. scearpa.
sceal. shall, *must*, *p*19.
sceame. shame, *p*218.
Sceap ege. Sheppey, 832, 855.
Sceapige. 832, 855. *p*157.
*sceard. *bereaved of*, shorn, *p*114.
scearpa. sharp, *severe*, 1086. Scharf.
scearpum. sharp-*pointed*, *p*5.
*scearpan. 937. [Schatz.
sceat. *money, plate, valuables*, *p*209*h*, sceatt. *p*219.
sceattas. 1064, 1067, 1069, 1071.
Sce Aðelwold. Bp. Winton, 963.
Sce Augustine. 1073. *p*172, 223.
sceawede. shewed, *offered*, *p*180.
sceawode. (he) *viewed, inspected*, *p*223*l*.
scegð. *boat*, skiff, 1008.
*Sceldwaing. 855.
*Sceobyrig. Shoebury (Essex), *p*92*h*.
sceoc. (he) *absconded, deserted*, 992.
sceoldan. (they) should, 992, 1000. *p*154.
*sceoldon. 887.
sceolde. 994. *p*92, 142, 177.
Sceorstane. *p*156, *s. n.*
*Sceotta. of Scots, 937*h* & *b*.
Scepige. Sheppey, *p*185.
Scesscuns. Soissons, 1127.
*scild. shield, 937*m*.
scillinga. shillings, 852.
scillingas. 1124.
scinende. shining, 1106, 1110, 1114.
scip. ship, 1031.
scipa. 851, 882, 891, 1012.
scipan. 1001. *p*142.
scipe. 633, 1031, 1070.
sciperes. *sea-men, sailors*, *p*174. [skipper]
*scipflotan. shipfloaters, *sea-rovers*, 937*h*.
scipfyrd. *naval armament*, 1009. *p*183.
scipfyrde. 1009.
scipfyrding. *navalis armatura*, 999.
*scipheras. ships' *crews*, 882.
sciphere. *fleet, squadron*, 885, 1001.
sciphlæsta shiploads (of men), 833, 837, [840.
sciphlæstas. 882. *p*78.
sciphlesta. 837, 840. *p*79.
scipmen. ship-men, 1122.
scipo. ships, 885. *p*142*h*.
scipu. 787, 891, 911, 992, 1008.
scipum. 851, 878, 1028.
scipon. 1001. *p*142, 148, 183.
scipode. *took* ship, *p*228.
scir. shire, 1001, 1010. *p*144.
*scira. 709.
sciran. *p*234.
scire. 867, 894, 898, 1064, 1069.
scirum. *p*143.
*Sciraburnan. 860.
Scireburnan. Sherbourn, 860, 867, 910.
Scirburnan. 860.
Scithian. Scythia, *p*3.
*Scittisc. Scottish, 937.
scoldan. (they) should, *p*87, 208.
scolde. 852, 1012.
scolden. 894. *p*250.
scoldon. *p*250.
scole. school, 855, 874. *p*84, 85.
scolu. *id*. 815, 816.
scop. (he) *made, appointed*, 688. ſchuf.
scort. short, *p*262*h*.
scotedon. (they) shot, 1083 *twice*.
*scoten. shot, 937.
scotienda. shooting, 744.
Scotl'. Scotland, 1138.
Scotland. *p*261.
Scotlande. 1126. *p*201.
*Scotta. Scottorum, 924.
Scottas. 597, 684, 891. *p*119.
*Scotte*. 1126.
Scrobbesbyrig. Shrewsbury, 1102.
Scrobscire. Shropshire, *p*230.
Scrobscyre. 1087.
scrydan. *to clothe*, *p*147. [shroud]
Scs Benedict'. *p*221*m*.
sculde. should, *p*264.
sculdest. shouldest, *p*262.
scuton (to-). *they fled, dispersed*, 1083.

scyfte. shifted, *p*174.
scyfte (to-). *divided*, *p*232.
*scyphere. *navy*, 933.
*scypu. ships, *p*94*h*.
scyr. *adj. clear*, *p*31*m*. [sheer]
scyre. *s.* & *pl.* shire, -*s*, *county*, -*ies*, *p*196.
scyrbiscop. shire-bishop, *p*38*t*.
scyrreue. sheriff, *p*122.
scyrte. *ran* short, 1131.
Scyttisc. Scottish, *p*3. [978.
se. *dem. pron.* & *art.* 597, 648, 777, 855,
*se*=swa. so, *p*265*m*.
*seagon*. (they) saw, 1122.
*sealdan. *they gave*, *p*118.
sealde. 669, 874. *p*91.
sealdon. 534, 874, 877. *p*171, 203.
*Sealwuda. Selwood *forest*, *p*92.
*Sealwyda. 878.
Searbyrig. Salisbury, 552, 1003. *p*233*t*.
Searebyrig. *p*219*t*.
Searesbyrig. *p*250*b*.
*Searobyrg. 552.
Searobyrig. 552E.
Seaxa. Saxones, *p*77.
*Seaxan. 885. *p*193.
*Seaxe. *p*115.
*Seaxburg. WSaxon queen, 672. *p*2.
Seaxena. 605.
*Seaxwulf. Bp. 705.
secan. *visere*, seek, 894*h*. *p*31*b*, 115*t*.
*secean*. 1091*b*.
*secen*. *p*260.
Secandune. NL. *p*53.
*Seccandune. *id.* Ap52.
*secg. *man, warrior*, 937*m*.
*secgas. *pl. id.* 937*h*.
secgan. to say, 851. *p*13.
*secgað. they say, *p*115.
*secgean*. to say, *p*217.
*segcean*. *id.* 1116.
*secgen*. *id.* *p*252.
*secræ. *gen. pl.* sick: *infirmorum*, *p*209.
sedlæpas. 'seedlips,' 1124, *see note*.
Sefærn. Severn, 910.
Sefred. Abbot Glastonbury, *p*251*t*.
segel. sail, *p*174*m*.
seglode. sailed, 877.
*segge. *inf.* (to) say, *p*38.
*seggen*. we say, *p*256*l*.
*seggon*. *inf.* (to) say, *p*256*b*.
*segon*. *pt.* seen, *p*256*b*.
seht. *pacification*, *p*159.
sehta. *p*222.
sehte. *p*159, 228.
*sei. *inf.* (to) say, *p*261*h*.
*seide*. said, *p*39*h*.
*seidon*. *pl. id.* 1127*l*.
*seiþ*. *imp.* say *ye*, *p*33*h*.
Seintes. Saintes (France), *p*256*t*.
selcuð. *rare*, 1114. [seldom]
*selestena. *of the choicest*, 897.
Seletune. Silton (Yorks.), 779.
*self*. selves, 1131.
*selfe. selves, 885.
selfum. 855, 867, 874.
*seolf*. *p*39*m*.
*seolue*. 1127*b*.
*selue*. *p*33, 122.
Selred. EAnglian king, 746.
Sempigaham. Sempringham (Linc.), 852.
sende. sent, *should* send, 601, 684, 853,
sendon. *pl. id.* *p*13. [992, 994.
*senoþ. Synod, 673, 680, 785, 822.
seo. *fem. art.* ꝥ, *p*148*h*.
*seo. masc. or neut.* 660, 777. *p*30, 31.
seoc. sick, *p*152, 209.
seocne. *acc. id.* 1003.
seofan. seven, 1086.
seofen. *p*230.
seofon. 891, 905. *p*221.
Seofonburgum. 1015.
*seofene. 937*l*.
seofaðe. seventh, *p*65.
seofeðan. *p*81.
seofeniht. se'nnight, *p*210.
*seofenti*. seventy, 409. *p*33.
*seofoþa. seventh, 827.
*seofoþe. 946.
*seofoðan. 878.
*seogen*. seen, 789.
seolfer. silver, *p*187*b*.
seolfor. 1064.
seolferne. argenteas (cistas), *p*209*h*.
seolfre. 1001*m*. *p*103, 171, 209.
seolfres. 1101.
seolure. *p*251.
seon. (to) see, *p*145.
*seonde*. sent, 1004. *p*30*h*, 33*m*.
*seonden*. *inf.* (to) send, *p*30*m*.
seonod. synod, 782.

*seotte.* set: *ordinavit, edixit, p30l.*
seoð. seeth: *videt, spectat, p253.*
seoueniht. se'nnight, *p251h.*
seoueðende. seventh.
*seox.* six, *p33b.*
Sept'. 1122.
Septemb'. 1114.
Sepulchrum Domini. 1120.
*Sereb'i.* Salisbury, 1137.
*Seresb'i.* 1132.
*Seresbyrig.* 1123.
**serfise.* service, *p208h.*
sester. a corn measure, 1043.
setle. seat, 'See,' 797, 922, 937.
setlangange. sunset, 774.
*setlgonge. 773.
sett. set (on foot), *p257l.*
sette. *imposuit,* 1063. *p123b, 180l.*
*setten. inf.* (to) *place,* set, *p250l.*
*setton. id. p39h.*
*setum. *camps,* 894*m.*
*seð.* seeth: *videt, p253.*
seþe. *he-who: is-qui,* 46, 81, 827.
sex. six, 852. *p95.*
Sexburh. WSaxon queen, 672.
Sexena. of the Saxons, 649.
Sexlande. Saxony, 1127*h.*
si. *subj. be:* Latin *sit, p143.* [1127*h.*
sibbe. *peace, alliance,* 605, 785, 959,
Sibbi (kyning). *p32l.*
*sibreden. consanguinity,* 1127*m. p256m.*
*sibsumnesse. *peacefulness,* 860.
Sicga. NM. 793.
Sicilie. Sicily, *p258.*
side (wide and—). *far and* wide, 959, 975.
Sidrac (eorl). 871 *thrice.*
*Sidroc. *id.* 871 *twice.*
*sie. 3 *pres. subj. be: sit* (Lat.), 891.
*siexta. sixth, 827.
Sigan. NM. 789.
sige. *victory,* 800, 845, 853. Sieg.
Sigbriht. WSaxon king, 754.
Sigebrihte. 755.
Sigebrihtes. 755.
*Sigebreht (Sigulfes sunu). 905.
*Sigebryht. 754, 755. *p4.*
Sigeferð. 1015.
Sigeferðes. *p152.*
Sigefrid. Bp. Chichester, 1130.
*Sigegar. 560.
*Sigegaring. *ibid.*
*Sigegeat. 560.
*Sigegeating. *ibid.*
*sigelede. sailed, 877.
*Sigelm (ealdorman). 905.
Sigene. Seine R. 660, 886, 897.
*Signe. *id.* 660.
*Sigeric. Abp. Cant. 994.
siges. *victoriæ, p201.* Sieges.
*Sigferð (cyning). 962.
Sighelm. NM. 883.
Sighere (kyning). *p32l.*
*sigora. 973 *s. n., p126m.*
*Sigulf. 905.
*Sigulfes. 905.
Sihtric (cyng). 921.
*silue.* self-*same, p123b.*
simle. *always,* 597, 755, 894, 959.
Simon. Bp. Worcester, 1130.
Simones. *p195.*
sinað. synod, *p33.*
sinoþ. *id.* 785, 822. *p33.*
sind. *are:* sunt, 565. *p3.*
sindon. *id.* 641, 675. *p19,* 31, 197.
singað. singeth, *p256l.*
*sio. *art. fem.* 718, 867, 879, 888, 894*l.*
Siric. Abp. Cant. 989.
sittan. (to) *remain,* sit, 895. sitzen.
*sitten. p262.*
sittende. *p262.*
sitteð. *p259.*
siþ. *march, journey: iter,* 893, 1001.
*siþe. *time:* vice (Lat.), 894*m.*
*siþe. *times:* vices, *p209m.*
*siþan. 409=
*siþþan. since, *afterwards,* 418.
sið. *journey, march,* 892, 1001.
siðe. 992. *p156.*
siððan. 1127.
siððon. *p32,* 33.
*siððen.* 1127.
*sithen. later, afterwards, p264l.*
Siward. Abp. Cant. 1043, 1046.
——— Bp. Rochester, 1057.
——— (eorl), 1055. *p178,* 190.
——— Bearn, 1071.
six. éξ, 731, 1124.
sixta. sixth, *p65.*
*sixtiga.* sixty, 852.
sixtigum. *dat. pl. id. p5t.*

slæge. *thunder*, 1118. [sledge *hammer*]
*slægnæt. oxen for* slaughter, 852.
slæp. sleep, 1131.
Slæpperne. *Dormitory*, *p*246.
slætinge. *killing game*, *p*225*h*, *s. n.*
slean. (to) slay, *p*222*t*.
sleht. slaughter, 839.
*slep*. slept, 1135. *p*263*t*.
*slepen*. (to) sleep, *p*262*m*.
Sliowaforda. Sleaford (Linc.), 852.
*slog. slew, 746. *p*104. ſcȟlug.
slogon. *pl. id.* 699, 823. *p*75.
sloge. *p*222.
*sloghen* = slogon. 1138.
sloh. slew, 633, 746.
*smægende. considering*, 1090.
smeade. (he) *meditated*, 959.
smeagenne. *to deliberate*, *p*141.
smeagunga. *contrivances*, 979.
smeate. *beaten*, *p*209*h*.
*smoke. καπνός*, fumus, *p*262.
*smoked. p*262.
snaccum. *ships*, *p*201.
snakes. *p*262.
Snawdune. Snowdon, *p*232*h*.
snawe. snow: Schnee, 1115.
snædde. *he took food*, 1048.
*Snotengaham. Nottingham, 868.
Snotingaham. *id.* 868, 922, 924, 942.
Snotingahamscire. *p*154.
Snotingham. 868.
Snotinghamscire. 1064.
*snotor. *clever*, *p*126*m*.
Soccabyrig. ? Sockburn (Durham), *p*57.
socne. *right of search*, *p*122.
softe. soft, *mild*, 1137.
*sohtan. they sought, 922.
*sohte. 894.
sohton. 867. *p*107, 115.
sol'. solidos: *shillings*, *p*263*m*.
*somne* (æt-, to-). *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*, 905, 1016.
somnian. *to assemble*, *p*154*t*.
*son*. soon, *p*256*l* =
sona. 667, 797, 885, 948, 1057.
*sone. id.* 1123.
*Sondwic. Sandwich, 851.
sorhfull. sorrowful, 1112.
sotscipe. *folly*, *p*263.
sotlice. *foolish*ly, 1137.
soðan (to-). *for a* sooth, 1085.
soðes. *of truth*, *p*228.
*soðboran. *pillars of truth*, *p*126*l*.
soðfeste. *trustworthy*, *p*253.
spac. spake, 264*m*.
Spall'. Spalding, 1154.
Sparhafoc. 1048. *p*180.
sparode. spared, *p*221*b*.
spæc. spoke, 1048. *p*220*h*.
spæce. speech: *oratio*, *p*208*m*, 218*m*.
spæcon. (we) spake, *p*223*m*.
*spec*. spake, *p*174.
specað. (we) speak, *p*221*h*.
spæddon. (they) sped, *p*245.
spedde. *p*30*m*.
speonan. *they drew, allured*, 1075.
spilde. *pt. deprived, mutilated*, *p*253*h*.
*spilt*. spoilt, *destroyed*, *p*254.
spiwenne. to spew, *vomit*, 1003.
spræc. (he) spoke, 1083*h*. ſprach.
spræce. speech. *p*251*h*.
spræcon. we spoke, 891, 1009.
*spreac*. 1131.
sprecan. 797. *p*208.
sprece. 1114.
sprecende. 1123.
*sprecon*. 654, 674. *p*123.
spure (fot-). *bracket, rest*, *p*209*h*.
stafas. *writings*, 167; § staves, 1102.
stal. stall, *office*, 678, 727, 796.
stall. *id.* 779.
*stali*. stole, *p*264*l*.
standan. to stand, *p*178*b*.
*stande. *subj. id.* 1031.
'Standard.' Battle of the —, 1138. [178*m*.
stane. stone: *saxum*, 603. *p*25, 80*h*,
Stane. Staines (Middlesex), 993. *p*143.
*stanen*. stones: *testiculi*, 1125.
*stanes. id. p*253*h*.
Stanford. Stamford, 942. *p*31, 123, 264*l*.
*Stanforda. p*154.
Stanforde. 1070.
*stan wealle. stone-wall, *p*107*l*.
*staþe. *bank, shore: terra firma*, *p*12, 92*l*.
*staðole. *firmament: στερέωμα*, *p*126*l*.
stæf. staff (pastoral), 1094.
Stæffordscire. Staffordshire, *p*154.
stælherge. *a marauding party*, *p*106*m*.
stælhergum. *plundering bands*, *p*95*h*.
Stængfordesbrycge. Stmfrd Bdge, *p*203*t*.
stæðe. *bank, shore, dry land*, 485, 794.

*steal.* 'stall,' *pastoral office*, 803. *p57t.*
*steall. id.* 693.
stealdon (on-). *set example of*, 993.
*Steanforda. Stamford, 922. [ſtarf.
stearc. *stern, inflexible, p221m, 222m,*
stede. *place*, stead, 485, 495. *p13, 39, 149.*
stedum. *d. pl. id.* 887.
*stef. p177, see* stæf.
*stefne. *prow*, 'stem' *of ship*, 937*b.*
stefne. *voice:* Stimme, *p30b.*
stefnede. *summoned, p180h.*
stefnode. *id. p180t.*
*steofnode. id.* 1093.
*stemn. *term of service*, 894*b. p107b.*
stent. standeth, 891. *p143.*
*steode.* stead, *place, p221m.*
steorde. *commanded, p174h.* [steered]
steorra. star, 678, 729, 891, 995.
steorran. 540, 1095.
steort. *tail, promontory*, 997.
stepel. *tower*, steeple, *p209h.*
Steph'. king Stephen, *p263m.*
Stephan'. pope S. *p191.*
Stephanus. 814, 1058.
Stephne de Blais. *p261h.*
sticodon. sticked: infigerentur, 1083.
Stigand. 1042, 1045. *p187.*
stihte. *ruled:* disposuit, 1086.
stið. stiff, *inexorable, p222l.*
*stiðferhþe. *strong minded, p126l.*
stiward. steward: *dispensator, p233h.*
stod. stood, 1010. *p13, 144.*
stodon. *pl. id.* 978. *p95.*
stol. stool, 984, 1048. *p123.*
stole. 795, 992, 1013. *p140.* [ſtor.
stor. *huge, terrible:* ingens, *p219m.* Dan.
storm. *tempestas, p209l.*
*stowa.* stow, *place*, 527.
stowe. *id.* 455, 501, 514.
stowum. *places:* locis, 1032.
strang. strong, 975. *p183t.*
*strangan. *p208.*
strange. 1039.
stranglice. strongly, *p156.*
*Strængled. Strathclyde, 924.
*Strætled. id. p79.*
*stream. stream, 942.
streddon. *they proceeded, p144.*
strenges. strings, *p262h.*
strengere. *ἰσχυρότερος, p221h.*
strengre. *more severe*, 1115.
strengthe. strength: *copiæ, p264l.*
strengþe. *id. p222h.*
strengðe. *id.* 1119.
*streongðe. id. p241h.*
Streonesheale. *Whitby*, 680.
Stretford. NL. *p39m.*
Stuf. NP. 514.
Stufe. 534.
*Stufemuþan. 885, *for* [885.
Sturemuþan. the mouth of the Stour, *sturuen. died:* ſtarben, *p262l.* [starve]
*styred.* stirred, *p264h.*
styrne. stern, 1070.
*sua* = swa, so, *p261t.*
sudan. from the south, 1012.
*Sud Seaxna. of the South Saxons, 661.
*suicdom. treachery*, 1132.
*suikes traitors*, 1137.
*suilc.* such: talis, 1135. *p263t.*
*suilce. pl. p262b.*
*suinc. toil, pain, p263t.*
*suencten. they oppressed*, 1137.
*suithe.* valdè, 1132, 1138.
*suiðe. id. p261t.*
*suythe. greatly, p263h.*
*suyðe. id.* 1137.
sum. some, 605, 794, 877, 913, 1018.
sume. *d. sing. p94h.*
sume. *pl. id.* 418, 794, 867, 993, 1048.
*suman.* 1119. [106*h* =
sumera. 885, 1002. *p79*, 94*t*, 96, 102,
sumere. *æstate*, 885, 898, 1045.
sumeres. *τοῦ θέρους*, 1121. *p204*, 210.
*sumeran.* 1113.
sumerlida. æstivus exercitus, 871.
*sumorlida. *id. ibid.*
Sumersætena. of Somerset folk, *p81.*
Sumersæton. 1060. *p180.*
Sumærsæton. *p152.*
Sumersetescire. Somersetshire, 1122.
Sumorsæte. 878. *p81.*
Sumorsætisces. *adj. gen.* 1001.
Sumorsæton. 845.
Sumortun. Somerton, 733.
*Sumurtun. 733.
sumne. some: aliquem, quemdam, 785.
sumre. *p5.*
sum siðe. *on a time:* quâdam vice, *p142b.*
*sumu. *pl.* 895.

**sumum.** 875, 913. *p*95, 104.
**suna.** *gen. sing.* *p*165.
**suna.** sons, 477, 501, 688. *p*13*m*, 91*l*.
*sunan.* sons, 501.
*sune.* 1064, 1140.
*sunes.* *p*32.
**sunnan.** *g.* sun, ἥλιον, 773, 884, 963, 1012.
Sunnan efen. eve of Sunday, 1012.
**sunne.** Sonne, 538, 664, 733, 879, 937.
sunne beam. sun-beam, 678.
sunnon dæg. Sunday, 963.
**sunu.** son: Sohn, 790, 823, 901, 1014.
*suor.* swore, *p*264.
*suoren.* they swore, 1137.
suster. sister, 604.
**suþ.** south, 851. *p*23.
**suþan.** νοτόθεν, 827, 910, 918.
suþan weard. south-ward, *p*3.
*suþhealfe. south *side*, *p*102.
Suþhymbrum. Southhumbrians, 641.
*Suþrige. Surrey, 722, 823, 851.
*Suþrigea. 836, 855.
*Suþrigium. 853.
*Suþrigum. *p*107.
*Suþ Seaxe. South Saxons, 722, 823.
*Suþ Seaxna. *gen.* 827, 836, 855.
**suð.** south, 851, 1038. *p*19.
suðan. *from* south, 697. *p*13, 149.
suðewearde. *meridionalem*, *p*3.
Suðfolc. Suffolk, 1075.
**suðhealfe.** south *side*, 922, 997. *p*155.
Suðhymbrarice. *Mercia*, 702.
Suðrege. Surrey, 722.
Suðrig. *id.* 823, 1011.
Suðrigan. *p*67.
Suðrige. 851.
Suðrigean. *p*71.
Suðrigum. 852.
**suð riman.** south *coast*, 1009. *p*96.
**Suð Seaxe.** Sussex, 607, 722, 823.
Suð Seaxena. 661.
Suð Seaxna. 827. *p*67.
Suð Seaxscian. Südsächsischen, 1009.
**Suð Seaxum.** 998. *p*95, 142.
*suðstæðe. south *coast*, *p*95*h*.
*suðweast.* south-west, *p*234.
suð west. *p*243.
*suyken. *they betrayed*, *p*264*h*.
*suythe* = swiðe. *very, greatly*, *p*264*t*.
*suyðe. *id.* 1137.
**swa.** so, as, 473, 797, 877, 878. *p*31, 151.
swa hwaswa. whoso, *p*123.
*swa hwer swa.* wheresoever, *p*13.
swa hwilce . . . swa. whichsoever, 874.
**swán.** swine-*herd*, 755.
**Swanawic.** Swanage, 877.
swang. *scourged*, *p*23.
swarte. *black:* schwartz, 1122. *p*256.
**swaswa.** so as, 675. *p*108, 123, 201.
Swaðeode. The Swedes, 1025.
Swægn. Sweyn; *Danish king*, *p*209.
Swægenes. *p*214.
Swægnes. 1069.
Swegen. 994, 1003, 1013, 1070.
Swegene. *p*148.
Swegn. 1070. *p*172.
**swealt.** *died*, 2, 3.
*sweartan. *black*, swarthy, *p*115.
*Swebdæging. 560.
*swein* = swán. swine-*herd*, *p*257*t*.
*swelce. *likewise, like as*, 47, 734.
swencean. *to urge, force, oppress*, *p*222*m*.
swencte. 999.
*swengt. injured, harassed*, *p*257*l*.
Sweon. The Swedes, 1025.
sweord. sword, *p*33*l*.
*sweorda. *ensium*, 937*t*.
*sweordes. *gen. gladii*, *p*115.
*sweostor. sister, 888.
*sweren.* to swear, *take oath*, 1127*t*.
*swerene. *sup. id.* *p*256*h*.
*swerunge. swearing, *p*208*t*. [*p*251*h*.
swe ðolode. *relented, was pacified*, ἄπαξ.
swica. *traitor*, 1055.
swican. *proditores*, *p*214.
*swikes. *traitors*, *p*261.
swicdome. *treason*, 1014, 1118. *p*178.
swicon. *prodebant*, 1118.
*Swifneh. an Irish teacher, 891.
*swiftran. swifter: *velociores*, *p*95*h*.
swilc. such: *talis, tantus*, *p*142*t*.
**swilce.** 734, 937. *p*142.
swin. swine, 1131.
swincfull. *toilsome, painful*, *p*219.
*Swineshæfed. *p*39*m*, &
*Swinesheafde.* Swineshead (Hunt.), 777.
*swiþe. valdè, *very*, 501. *p*50*h*, 91*h*.
*swiþor. magis, 897.
*swiþost. maximè, vehementissimè, 897.
swiþust. *p*95.

**swiðe.** 917. *p*219.
**swiðor.** *p*219.
**swiðost.** 959.
***Swiðulf.** Bp. Rochester, 897.
**swor.** swore, 874. *p*108.
**sworan.** they swore, *p*236.
**sworon.** *id.* 876, 877. *p*119.
***swostor.** sister, 658.
***swostur.** sisters, 718.
**swulte.** *should die,* 1091*m.*
**swulton.** *morerentur,* 1086.
*swulten.* peribant, 1131.
***swummon.** swam, *p*104.
**swuster.** sister, 697. *p*204.
**swustor.** 888. *p*35.
**swustra.** 718.
*swustre. p*30 *twice.*
**swyster.** *p*180.
**swutelað.** *demonstrates, p*147.
**swylc.** such, 1086.
**swylce.** *as if,* ὡσανεί, 1117.
**swylcere.** such, so *woful* (gravantis), 1086.
**swylces.** *id.* 1086.
**swyþe.** *exceedingly,* 1119.
**swyðe.** *id.* 654, 963.
**swyðost.** *superl.* 1119.
*swyðran. more powerful, p*121.
*sy* = sie. *ea, illa,* 547.
***Syhtrices.** *gen.* NH. king, 944.
**sylf.** self, 1001, 1080.
**sylfa.** *ipsum, p*184.
**sylfan.** 1048.
**sylfe.** *p*123, 144, 156.
**sylfum.** 867, 992.
**syllen.** *to give, provide, p*141. [sell]
*sylure.* silver, *p*261*t.*
*syluer. id.* 1137.
*symble. continually,* 597.
**symle.** *p*51.
***synderlice.** *separately, p*108.
**syndon.** *they are,* 979.
**synlice.** *sinfully, p*220*h.*
**synna.** sins, *p*220*t.*
**synoð.** synod, 1046.
**syrewian.** *see* besyrewian.
**syrewrenceas.** *treacherous dealings, p*145.
*sythen. afterwards: postea, p*263*l.*
*syð. march, passage,* 1001.
*syðan.* '*time:*' Fr. *fois, p*179.
*syðe. journey:* itinere, *p*121.
**syððan.** *thereupon,* 1086.
**syðþan.** *id.* 1077.
*syððon.* 1087.
***syx.** six, 901.

T. *p*254 = Thurstan, Abp. York.
*tacen.* to take, *p*256*m.*
**tacna.** *portents,* tokens, *p*242.
**tacne** (rode-). *sign of the cross, p*39*l*, 123*h.*
**Tamer muðan.** mouth of Tamar, 997.
***Tameworþige.** Tamworth, 922.
***Tantun.** Taunton, 722.
***taper æx.** a . . . . . axe, 1031.
**Tatwine.** Abp. Cant. 731.
*tæcen.* to take, *capture, p* 264*m.*
*Tædbalde.* Theobald, 1116.
**tæhte.** 1022, *see note.*
*tællen.* tell, *enumerate, p*209*m.*
**Tæmese.** Thames, 892. *p*106, 210.
**tætforan.** *beforehand, p*178*l.*
**Tætwa.** **Tætwaing.** } 855.
*te.* the, 1132. *p*264*h*, 265*t.*
**teah.** *drew,* 167. *p*183*h.* [tug]
**tealde.** he told, *said, p*174.
**tealdon.** *they pronounced, p*230*t.*
**tealdon.** we told, 1086.
**team.** *warranty-jurisdiction, p*122.
**Tefingstoce.** Tavistock, 997.
***Tegntun.** *Kings*teignton, 1001.
***tela.** *very,* 942.
**tellan.** *to account, p*222*b.*
**tellanne.** to tell, *recount, p*218*b.*
**telle.** tell, *p*218*l.*
*tellen.* to tell, *p*262*m.*
**Temesan.** Thames, *p*143, 144.
**Temese.** 823, 851, 871, 879, 891.
**Tenercebrai.** Tinchebrai, *p*241.
**Tenet.** Thanet, 851, 852, 853, 865. *p*171.
**Tenetland.** *id.* 969.
**tenn.** ten, δέκα, 1131.
*tenserie* = censerie. *chief rent, p*262*m.*
**Teodbald.** Theobald, *Abp. Cant. p*264*t.*
*teollan.* tell, *say, p*220*l.* [222*m.*
**teonan.** *harm, injury, disgrace, p*107*m,*
***teoþan.** tenth: decimam (partem), 855.
***teoþe.** tenth: ȝeȟnt (ȟalb), 855, 955.
**teoðan.** tenth: δεκάτην (μερίδα), 855.
**tēple** = Temple. *p*257*m.*
*thare.* there, *p*263*h.*

*tharof.* thereof, 1137.
*the. art. def.* the, 1132. *p262m.*
Theodbald. NH. prince, 603.
Theodorus. Abp. Cant. 690. *p33.*
Theophanie. Epiphany, 1118.
*ther.* there, 1137.
Thomas. Abp. York, 1070.
sce Thomas mæsse. Decr. 21st: *p247.*
Thorp. near Peterborough, *p122 twice.*
*thre.* three, 694.
*throte.* throat, *p262.*
*thu.* thou, *p262m.*
Tibba (Saint —). *p123b.*
tid. *time, hour,* 'tide,' 540, 774, 879. *p149.*
tide. 654, 759. *p140, 149.*
tidum. 380.
tidde (=tiðode). *he granted, p250h.*
tidde (hit). it *be*tid, *befell,* 1123.
*til. un*til, ἕως οὗ, 1137.
Tilberht. Bp. Hexham, 780.
tilian. to till, *p234m.*
tilianne. 1092.
*tiled. cultivated, p262m.*
*tilede. p262b.*
*tilgende. tilling, 876.
tiligende. *id. ibid.* E.
tilode. *p140.*
tilð. tilth, *p235.*
tilða. *p234.*
tima. time, 852. *p75.*
timan. 1009. *p145, 152, 208.*
time. 654, 675.
*timbran. *to build,* 654. *p95.*
*timbrede. 722.
*timbredon. *p95.*
Tinan. river Tyne, 792, 875.
Tinemuðan. Tynemouth, 1095.
*tir. *glory, renown,* 937. *p126.*
tiðode. *granted, assented, p174.*
Tiwæsdæge. Tuesday, 1104.
to. ʒu, 625, 704, 877, 922, 1006.
to. too: *nimis, plus æquo,* 1004, 1042.
to beot. beat *about, dispersed, p142t.*
Tobian. *acc. of*
Tobias. Bp. Rochester, 727.
to bræd. *pt. spread abroad,* 979.
to brecan. break *up, p177.*
*to brece*ð. breaketh, *infringeth, p38l.*
*to bræcon. they brake *in pieces, p91l.*
to brocen. broken into, 409.
to brocene. *pl. smashed,* 794.
to brocon. 993 = to brocen.
to brokene. *p254.*
to bugon. *submitted,* 1063.
tóc. took, 1127*m.*
tocan. *pl. id.*
*tó com. *arrived, p106h.*
to cuman. *reach, catch,* 1064.
*to cumen. *pt. arrived, p91m.*
to dæld. *he divided,* 1017.
to dælde. *divided itself,* 885.
to dældon. *they divided,* 12. *p230.*
*to dældun. *id. ibid.*
to dæled. *pt.* 709. *p87.*
*to deled. p265.*
*to deld.* 1137.
*to dræfed. *dispersed, p126m.*
to dræfede. *p209.*
to drefodon. *p209.*
to eodon. *they separated, p156.*
*Tofeceastre. Towcester, *p106t.* [1012.
to ferde. *dispersed (in all directions),*
to flotan. *pt. washed away, p234l.*
*to for. *dispersed itself,* 897.
*to for. prep.* before, 1127*m.*
to foran. *be*fore, 1012, 1013. *p32l, 208l.*
*to foren.* ἐνώπιον (Θεοῦ), 963*b. p30b.*
*togadere.* together, 654=
togædere. 993, 998, 1001. *p152, 178.*
*togænes.* against: *obviam,* 1138.
togeanes. against, 835, 993, 1030, 1064.
*to geboren. born to (it), 887.
*togebugon. *submitted* to (*him*), 901.
*togebugen. id.* 1119.
to ge cyrde. *came over* to (*him*), 886, *s.n.*
*togedere.* together, 999.
*togedore. id. p5.*
togefaren. *arrived, p92h.* [p86, 87.
to gehalgode. *pt. consecrated there*-to,
*togenes. to*wards, 911.
*to ge wicod. *camped by, nigh, p94h.*
*Toglos (eorl). *p107.*
to habban. *inf. advance, pretend, p219h.*
to heawan. *inf.* hew *in pieces,* 1004.
to hwearf. *departed, broke up, p230m.*
to hwurfon. *they parted,* 827. *p152,*
*to ligge*ð. *belongeth, p39m.* [159.
toll. ʒolł: toll, *p122, 123t.*
Tonebricge. Tonbridge, *p225.*
*to numen. *split, divided,* 894.

torfedon. *they cast* (missiles), 1083*m*.
Torn'. Thorney (Cambridgesh.), 1154.
*toscyfton. to distribute*, *p*218*h*.
to somne. together, 1001.
Tostig (eorl). 1064. *p*174.
Tostige. *p*190.
to swiðe. *decidedly*, *p*121.
to tihtinge. *instigation*, *p*231.
*to tweamde. separated*, 1127*m*.
to þohte. *looked* to, 1004.
to þræsc. *dashed about*, *p*142. [thresh]
*toward. versus*, *p*31*m*.
*towardes*. towards, *p*230.
*towærd*. 1083.
toweard. 1083*m*.
toweardan. *future*, *p*219.
*to wærp*. 722= [722.
to wearp. *threw down, demolished*, 639,
*to wurpon. to dismantle*, *p*127.
trændel. *disk* (of moon), 1110. [trundle]
tregienne. *to harass*, 1104.
tremede. *should settle, secure*, *p*187*h*.
Trentan. R. Trent, 679, 1013.
*Treontan. *id.* 924.
*treothes*. troths, *pledges*, 1137.
*treowa. *pledges*, 894*t*.
treowe. tree-*timber*, 626.
treow wæstman. tree-*fruits*, *p*239.
treow westmas. *id.* *p*243.
*tresor*. treasure, 1137.
Treueris. Treves : Trier, 1046.
*treuthe. obligation, fidelity*, 1137. [truth]
*treuthes*. troths, *vows, pledges*, *p*264*b*.
trucedon. *they deceived*, 1090.
trucode. *failed, disappointed*, *p*260.
Trumbriht. Bp. Hexham, 681.
Trumwine. Bp. Whitern, 681.
truwude. trusted, 1043.
trymede. *should establish*, 430.
trymedon. *arrayed*, *p*178*b*.
trywe. true, *trustworthy*, *p*235.
tryw leasne. *traitorous*, 1094.
trywðan. *pledges*, 1095.
*tu. two, 882, 885, 887, 894. *p*94, 95, 96.
*tua. twice, 709. *p*84.
*tuæm. *duobus*, 534, 871*l*.
Tuda (biscop). 664. *p*30, 33. [833, 882.
*tuegen. two, 'twain' (*masc.*), 568, 822,
*tuelftan niht. Twelfth Night, 878.
tugon. they tugged, *drew*, 892, 893, 895, [*p*174.
tún. town, 777, 979. *p*122, 209.
tuna. *p*151.
tunas. 571, 584.
tune. 787, 867. *p*92. Zaun.
*tunes*. *p*254.
Tunberht. Bp. Lichfield, *p*69.
tungan. tongue, 797.
*tungon. *id.* 797.
*tunge. id. p*32*m*.
tungel-witegan. *astrologers : magi*, 2.
*tungel-witgan. 2.
*tungol. *luminary, celestial body*, 937*m*.
tunnan. tuns, 852.
tunscipe. town-*population*, *p*262*l*.
tur. tower, *p*234.
ture. *p*236.
turas. towers, 1117.
*Turcesiege. Torksey, 873.
Turcesige. *id. ibid.*
turfum. turfs : *cespitibus*, 189.
Turold. Abt. Peterborough, *p*209*b*.
Turolde. *id.* 1070.
*tuun. town, 777.
*tuwwa. twice, 894.
twa. two, 852, 882, 885. *p*92, 156.
twam. duobus, 871, 887, 894, 924.
*twæm. *id.* 871.
twægen = twegen. 822, 871. *p*203.
twælf. twelve, 852.
twealf monð. twelve-month, *p*257*h*.
*twegan*. 729= [918.
twegen. two (*masc.*), 495, 871, 889,
*twegra. duorum, 984.
*twelf. twelve, 894.
twelfe. *p*252.
twelfta. twelfth, 1066.
twelfniht. Twelfth Night, 1125.
*twenti*. twenty, 694. *p*209.
twentigan. twenti*eth*, 1086.
*Tweoxneam. Christchurch (Hants),
*twiges*. twice, 1120. [901, *s. n.*
twyfealdlic. two-fold, *double*, 1120.
*tyd. time*, 693. [tide]
*tyde*. 759, 997. *p*32.
*tydde* = tyðode. *granted*, *p*31*b*.
tylienne. *to procure*, *p*183*m*.
tyma. time, *p*250.
tyman. *p*236.
tyme. *p*169.
tymbrade. *built*, 722.

*tymbranne. *to build*, 669. Zimmer.
tymbrianne. *id. ibid.* E.
*tyn. ten, 973.
*tyrf. *see* eðeltyrf.
tyrwigende. *harassing*, *p*236*t*.
tyþian. *to grant*, *p*31*b*.
tyðian. *p*33.
tyðe. *p*32, 38, 123.
tyðode. 963.
*Tywesdœi.* Tuesday, 1122.

þ (=þæt). that: ðaȝ & ðaȝ, 1064, 1070.
þa. *art.* 457, 919, 1070.
þa. *adv. then, there,* 457, 628, 853, 911,
þā (=þam). 1084, 1104. [997.
þabb'. th' abbot, 1154.
þafunge. *permission*, *p*87*t*. [174*t*.
þam. *dat.* the, that, 867, 1022. *p*76, 107*h*,
þan. *id.* 1031. *p*30, 93, 169, 208.
þan. *than*, *p*264*h*. [*sure*, 883.
þances (Godes —). *of God's good plea-
þane (*for* þam). 1127*m*.
þankes. *id. voluntarily*, *p*265*h*.
þanne. than, *p*178*t*, 265*t*.
þanne. then, *p*265*t*.
þanon. thence, 547. *p*106, 148, 171.
þar. there, 877, 1020, 1031. *p*264*h*.
*þara. *g. pl.* τῶν: ðere[n], *p*92, 94, 98, 99,
þare. *d. fem. p*94*t*. [107.
þare. there, *p*264*l*.
þas. these, 1104, 1130. [those]
þat. that, *p*262*h*.
þaða. *when, as:* quum, 1083*m*.
þæ (=þe). *indecl. rel. which*, 1104.
þægn. thane: minister regis, 988.
þægnas. thanes: ministri regis, 1015,
þægne. *p*30*l*. [*p*77.
þæh (=þeah). though, *p*87, 165, 178.
*þæm. τῷ, τοῖς, 887, 894, 901, 917.
þæne. *acc. masc.* τόν, 991.
þær. there, 679, 755, 777, 800, 871.
þæra. *g. pl.* τῶν, 1012, 1014. *p*185.
þær æfter. thereafter, 1122.
þære. *g.* & *d. fem.* 855, 876, 1059.
þærfe. *need:* [Noth]durft, 874.
þærle. *exceedingly:* vehementer, *p*234.
þærnode. "*forfeited?, i. q.* þolode,"
þær on. thereon, 1102. [(Thorpe), 1119.
þærrihte. there right, *forthwith*, *p*236*m*.
þær to. thereto, *besides*, 1102.
þær to eacan. *moreover*, 1091. [*p*102.
þæs. *term whence of time*, 853, 855, 871,
þæs. *gen. art.* 813, 878, 1032, 1067. *p*210.
þæt. that, 633, 671, 792, 853. *p*250.
þe. *indecl. rel.* 417, 634, 871, 1013.
þeah. though, 755, 867, 885. *p*187.
þeah hweðer. *nevertheless*, 1087*l*, *for*
þeah hwæðere. *p*142*l*.
þear (=þær). there, 877. *p*258*m*.
þearf. *need*, 959.
þearfe. 874. *p*141.
þeawas. *manners:* mores, *p*121*t*.
þeawe. *sort, fashion:* moribus, 616.
þegn. thane: minister regis, 465, 755,
þegnas. *pl. id.* 755. *p*92, 221. [*p*51, 95.
þegne. 874.
*þeh (=þeah). 894, 905. *p*99.
*þelwæle. Thelwall (Cheshire), *p*110.
þe mare. *all* the more: eo ampliora, *p*177.
þe ma þe. *any* more than, 1009, 1016. *p*140.
*þena (=þegna). ministrorum, 897.
þeo (=seo). ἡ, 1087.
þeod. [?*the chief*] *people*, 823.
þeoda. 603, 975. *p*149.
þeodan. *p*233.
þeode. 627, 654, 794, 867, 959.
*þeoden. *chief, prince*, 942.
Þeodford. Thetford, 1010.
Þeodforda. *oblq.* 870, 1004.
þeodland. ?*the civilized world*, 959.
*Þeodor. Abp. Cant. 670.
*Þeodorius. *id.* 680, 690.
*Þeodorus. *id.* 668.
þeodscipe. *territorial dependency*, *p*142,
þeodscipes. *p*178. [148.
*þeodscype. 922.
*þeodum. *people, folk*, 937*l*.
þeofas. *robbers*, thieves, 1102.
þeonen. thence, *p*31*l*.
þeonest men. *retainers*, *p*33*h*, *s. n.*
þeonon. thence, *p*31*m*.
þeora. their, *p*13*t*.
þeos. *f.* this: αὕτη: ðieſe, 979.
þeosan (=þisum). this: τούτῳ, *p*236*l*.
þēperice. th' Empress, *p*264*m*.
þer. there, 456. *p*3.
þere (=þære). 456. §*p*30*m*.
þer eft'. thereafter, 1140. *p*264*t*.
þer inne. therein, *p*262.
þes. *m. nom. dem.* th's, 627.

þes. *gen. art.* 592, 963, 1043. *p77.*
þestrede. *grew dark,* 1140.
þet. 868, 876, 963, 1007. *p32.*
þeudom. *servitude,* 963. *p209.*
þewdom. *id.* 675.
þeuwian. *to serve, p123m.*
þi (=þy). *on* that : eo (Lat.), 823.
þicgan. *to accept, p51t.*
þiclice. thickly, 1095.
þider. thither, 755, 894, 1154. *p51.*
þin. thy, thine, *p123h.*
*þincgferþing. *p52h.*
Þingeferþing. *E. ibid.* [123, 208.
þing. thing, things, 963. *p33,* 38, 39,
þinga. *g. pl.* 1014. *p173,* 185.
þingan. *d. pl.* rebus, 1121. *p234, 248b.*
þingc. *p234.*
þinge. *p228.*
þingon. *d. pl. p18cl.*
þingū. *id. p227t=*
þingum. *p159,* 169.
þis. this, 852. *p104,* 154.
þisan. *oblq. p236h.*
þises. *gen. p3, 23h.*
þisne. *acc. masc.* 851, 1009. *p144.*
þison. *oblq.* 1113.
þisra. *g. pl.* 1118.
þissan. 692.
þisse. 885. *p149.*
þissū. 1086.
þisū. 1108=
þisum. 875. *p145.*
þohtan. they thought, *p225h.*
þohte. he thought, 626.
þohton. *p106h.* [*p261.*
þohuuethere þat. *notwithstanding* that,
þolen. *to endure, p264l.*
þolenden. *we suffered, p263t.*
*þoñ (=þonne).then, 381, 688, 894*h*&*m.*
þon (=þam). 1002. *p258l.*
*þonan. thence, 584, 905. *p106.*
*þonces (Godes —). Dei numine, 897.
þone. *acc. masc.* 755, 837, 860, 906.
*þon maþe. *any* more than, 755.
þoñ (=þonne). 455. *p144,* 145.
þonne. then, 755, 994, 1001. *p95.*
*þonon. thence, 547, 891.
Þored (Gunneres sunu). 966.
*þorfte. *had occasion :* þûrfte, *p114.*
*þorftun. *pl. id. p114.*
Þorneie. Thorney (Camb.), *p203m.*
Þorode (eorl). 992.
þorpes. *villages, 963b.*
þoþ. though, *p261.*
þoþwæthere. *nevertheless, p265l.*
þoþwethere. *p263.*
*þraga. *period of time,* 942.
þreo. three, *p94,* 254.
þre. *id.* 1124.
þrengde. *forced, jammed, p262h.*
*þrep. thorp, 455.
þridda. third, 686. *p64,* 65.
þrie. three, 891.
*þrim. *d.* threē : tribus, 897, 993.
*þritiga. thirty, *p80m.*
*þritiges. 893.
þritti. *p256l.*
þrittiga. 852.
þrittigum. *p81m.*
þriwa. thrice, *p221m.* [*p31m.*
Þrokonholt. Trokenhole (Cam.), Gibs.,
þrowade. *suffered,* 62.
þrowod. *pt. put to death, p123m.*
þrowode. 62.
þrowodon. *pl. id.* 69.
þrowude. 110, 885.
þry. three, *p79t,* 203.
þrym. τρισί, 1008.
þu. thou, *p262m.*
þūbes. thumbs, *p262t.*
þuhte. *it seemed, p165.*
þur (=þurh). through, *p263.*
Þurcylle. *d.* eorl of EAnglia, 1017.
Þurcytel (eorl). *p104.* [1010.
——— (Myran heafod). (Equæ Caput),
——— (Nafanan sunu). *p154.*
*Þurferþ (eorl). *p107.*
þurh. through, *p151,* 167.
þurhc. *id. p264b.* [*p222h.*
þurh smeade. *penetrated with his insight,*
þurh teah. *he carried* through, 167.
Þurstane. Abbot of Glastonbury, 1083.
þus. thus, *p33,* 123, 142.
þusend. thousand, 71, 1002, 1007. *p151.*
þusenda. *gen.* χιλιάδων, 71, 694, 871*l,*
*þusendo. 33, 614, 648. [911.
*þusendu. 4, 508.
þwærnessa. *obedience, p65h.*
þy. *abl.* eo, 815, 836, 867. *p75,* 76.
þyder. thither, *p174l.*

þyderweard. *on the passage* thither, *p*142*t*.
þyrnum (Hela —). thorns, 778.
*þys. this, 906.
*þysan. *p*208*m*.
þyses (geares). [in] this year, 1116.
þysses. hujus, *p*220*b*.
þysum (gemang —). inter hæc, 1002.

ð (= ðæt). *conj.* that, *p*265*m*.
ða. *art.* 885.
ða. *conj.* then, *p*106*b*, 142*h*, 250*h*.
ða ða. *when*, *p*19.
ðam. *dat.* 994, 1075.
ðan. *id.* 1117.
ðancod. thanked, *p*30*b*.
ðanon. thence, 993. *p*219.
ðara. *g. pl. art.* τῶν, 871, 905.
*ðare. *oblq.* (*for* ðære), 1031.
*ðas. *gen.* (= þæs), *p*208*b*.
ðas. this, these, 785.
ðæne (= ðone). τόν, *p*157.
ðær. there, 679, 789.
ðærþær. *where*, 789.
ðæræfter. thereafter, *p*241*t*.
ðære. *obl.* τῇ & τῆς, 794, 800, 922. *p*218*l*.
ðæs. τοῦ, 1001. *p*19*t*.
ðe. *indecl. rel.*; Fr. 'que:' אֲשֶׁר, *p*237.
ðe. *modern def. art.* 'the,' 963. *p*31.
ðeah. *yet*, though: ὅσπ, 867.
ðeahhwæðere. *nevertheless*, *p*154.
ðear (= ðær). there, *p*257*h*.
ðegn. thane, 626.
ðegnas. *pl. p*30.
ðeines. *id.* 1127.
ðeodde (under-). *subjected*, 852.
ðeode. *d. people*: genti, 1014.
*ðeoden. *lord, ruler*, 973.
Ðeodforda. Thetford, 870.
ðeodscipe. *the military tenantry*, *p*140*h*.
ðeodscipes. *gen. p*142*h*.
ðeos. *fem.* this, *p*142*m*.
ðeoses. *gen. neut. p*237*t*.
*ðeowa. *g. pl. servants*: servorum, *p*126*h*.
*ðeron. thereon, 882.
ðera. *g. pl.* (= ðæra), *p*180*m*.
ðere (= ðære). 867, 1001.
ðere (*for* ðæra). 654.
ðerto. thereto, '*at them*,' *p*51*m*.
ðes (= ðæs). 1045.
ðet (= ðæt). *p*31*h*.
ðeudom. *service*, *p*38*t*.
ðider. thither, 1125.
*ðioddum (under-). *pt. subjects, suf-*
ðis. this, *p*250. [*fragans*, 1070.
ðisan. *p*225*l*.
ðises. *gen. p*230*b*.
ðisū. 1102 =
ðisum. 1084.
ðissum. *id.* 993, 1090.
ðone. *acc. masc. art.* 871, 1001*b*.
ðonne. then, *p*51*t*.
ðre. three, *p*251.
*ðreat. *crowd, gathering*, 973.
ðrowode. passus est: ἔπαθε, *p*85*h*.
ðuhte. visum est: ἐδοκεῖ, *p*95*m*.
ðurh. through: per, 250*h*.
Ðurstan. Abp. York, *p*251*t*.
ðus. thus, *p*31*l*.
*ðusend. thousand, 973.
ðysra. of these, 1120.
*ðysum. τούτῳ, 897.

*Ualentines. Rom. Emperor, 449.
*uenden. they thought*, weened, 1137.
Uercel. Vercelli, *p*177.
*uerrien. to make* war *on*, *p*261*m*.
Uescam. Fécamp, 1091.
*ufan. ἄνωθεν, *p*110, *s. n.*
Ufegeat. son of Wulfgeat, *p*140.
*ufeweardum. up-ward, upper, *p*95.
ufon. *on top*, 189.
ufor. *higher* up, 881, 882, *s. n.*
Uhtred (eorl). 1013.
Uiana. Vienne, 1119.
Uictor (papa). *p*191.
uigilia. vigil, *eve*, 1121.
*Uirgilius (abbud). 903.
Uitalianus (papa). *p*33.
Ulf. Bp. Dorchester, *p*175, 187.
Ulfcytel. eorl of EAnglia, 1010.
Ulfkytel. *id.* 1004.
*umbe. *about*: ἀμφί, *p*208.
Un = Hunferþ. 744.
unarimedlice. *innumerable*, 584.
*unarimædlice. p*151.
*unarimedlico. 473.
unarimenlicu. *id. ibid.* E.
unasecgendlic. *impossible to* say, *p*145.
unasecgendlice. *indescribable*, 994, 997.
unateallendlice. *incalculable*, *p*221*h*.

*unbefohtene. unfoughten, 911.
uncafscipe. 47, *see foot-note.*
uncuðra. unknown, 1106. [uncouth]
Undalum. Oundle, *p*45.
*undep. shallow, p*262.
*under* = undern. 540.
under. *sub*, 604, 653, 688. *p*102.
under. *inter:* unter, 865, 876, 901, 1004.
*underfangan. received, p*239, 250*l*,
underfangen. *p*237, 251*k*, 254*t*. [251*k* =
underfeng. *suscepit*, 785. *p*197.
underfengon. *susceperunt*, 867.
underfengen. *id. p*250*m*. [*p*148.
undergeat. *perceived: cognovit*, 1004,
undern. 9 o'clock a. m., 538, 540, 1122.
underne. 538.
undernæðen. underneath, *p*209*k*.
*understanden.* to understand, *p*251*k* =
*understandene. sup.* 1127*l*.
*underþædde. subject:* subditi, *p*19.
*underþed. sing. id. p*31*b*.
*underþeden.* subigere, 1132.
*underþeoddan. pt. p*222*m*.
underþeodde. *he subdued*, 47.
underþeodde. *pt. pl. id.* morigeri, 959.
*underþeoded. 922.
underþeodnysse. *submission, p*251*m*.
undo. *open: reseret, p*33*l*.
úndón. to undo, *cancel, p*250*l*.
undyde. *p*33*m*, *s. n.*
unearhne. *undaunted, p*140*l*.
*uneðelice. *inconveniently, p*95*l*.
unfrið. *commotion, quarrel*, 1001, 1124.
unfriða. *p*178.
unfriðe. 905, 994. *p*106*m*.
unfriðflota. *hostile* fleet, 1000.
unfriðhere. *hostile army, p*142*m*.
unfriðehere. 1007.
*ungearwe. *unprepared, p*106*h*.
ungebrosnode. *unimpaired*, 641.
*ungecyndne. *acc. not having natural*
ungederad. *unmolested, p*222*t*. [*right*, 867.
ungefealice. *unhappily, p*52, 53.
ungehwærnes. *dissension*, 1083.
ungeleaflic. *incredible, p*165.
ungelimp. *misfortune, p*219.
ungelimpe. *p*227.
ungelimpes. 1086.
ungemæte. *extraordinary*, 1115.
*ungemetlic. *enormous*, 867.
ungemetlica. *immense, p*142.
ungemet'. 867.
ungerim. *without number*, 1010.
ungerime. *p*251.
ungerisenlice. *dishonorably, p*152*t*.
ungesælða. *woes, miseries, p*145.
ungetrywðan. *treachery, treason*, 1101.
ungewædera. *unseasonable* weather,
ungewederan. *p*234. [*p*243.
ungewyderu. Ungewitter, *p*169.
ungewiderunge. 1086.
ungewill. *displeasing, p*234.
ungewille. 1120.
ungyld. *irregular impost, p*235.
ungyldan. *p*234.
ungylde. *p*236.
unheanlice. *spiritedly*, 755.
*unieþelice. *painfully*, 878.
Uniu'sal. G. Universalis, Bp. Lond. 1130.
*Unlaf = Anlaf. 993.
unlaga. lawless laws, *p*220*m*.
unlagagelde. *illegal taxes, p*227.
*unlesan.* to unloose, *p*223*b*.
*unlytel. *much*, no little, *p*106.
unne. *indulserit, p*169.
unnfriðscipa. *hostile* ships, *p*173.
unniðing. not a 'nithing,' *p*226.
unnþances. *involuntarily*, 1055.
unræd. *evil counsel, p*157.
unræde. *p*229.
unrædes. *p*145.
*unreode.* 1075.
unriht. *wrong:* Unrecht, 1072.
unrihte. 823. *p*185.
unrihtlice. *wrongfully*, 1022.
unrihtum. unright*ful*, *ἀδίκοις*, 755.
*unrim. *ἀνήριθμον*, 937.
*unryhte. injuriâ, 823.
*unryhtum. *iniquis*, 755.
unsæhte. *enmity, p*250*m*.
unscildig. *innocent:* unſchuldig, *p*187.
*unscrydan. *to unrobe, p*208.
unseht. *discord, p*187.
unsehte. 1106.
unsibbe. *unquiet, p*87.
unsida. *immoralities:* Unſitten, *p*121.
*unstilnesse. *disturbance*, 755.
unstillnessa. *p*51.
*unswican. unharmed, p*180*h*.
untellendlice. *indescribable, p*262*t*.

untidgewidera. *unseasonable weather,*
untriwðe. *treason, p223h.* [*p232l.*
untrumnisse. *infirmity, p38.*
untrumnysse. *p170.*
unþances. 1091, *see note.*
unþankes. *p265h.*
unðances. 1048.
unþearfe. *damage, harm,* 1075.
*unþwærnes. *dissension,* 867.
*unðwœrnesse.* 867.
unwares. unawares, 1004.
unwæres. *p229.*
*unwealtran. *steadier, p95, s. n.*
*unweaxen. *not grown up, p126.*
unwederum. *bad* weather, *p169.*
unwisdome. *indiscretion,* 1083.
unwisum. unwise, *foolish,* 874.
unwræste. *shattered, crazy, p187h, s. n.*
unwrest. *insecure, p220b.*
unwreste. *futile, p260t, s. n.*
*unyðelice. adv. in distress,* 878.
up. *prep.* 860, 883, 891, 894, 918, 978.
up ahofon. *raised,* uphove, *p230l.*
úparas. up-rose, *p236t.*
*upbecoman. came *to land, p115.*
upbestæl. stole *a march inland,* 865.
úpeodon. *went* up *the country,* 998.
upgang. *inland march, p143.*
upganges. *landing, p171.* [209.
upp = up. 1001, 1013, 1069. *p104, 203,*
uppahebban. to upheave, *exalt, p222b.*
uppan. upon, *p220l.*
uppon. *id.* 978, 1048, 1083. *p232l.*
uppe. ἄνω, *p95l,* 126, 157.
Urban'. Pope, *p232l.*
Urbanes. *p257.*
ure. our, *p13,* 123, 145.
ures. *nostri : ἡμετέρου, p229m.*
urnon. they ran, 755. *p51,* 174.
us. *nos : ἡμᾶς,* 605.
Usan. R. Ouse, 1010.
út. out, 617, 891, 985. *p106,* 155, 201.
utadon. *to put* out, *p232h.*
utadraf. drove out, 1092.
utadræfdon. they 'drived' out, *p229.*
utadrifen. driven out, 591, 592.
*utafaren. *gone* out, *p91m.*
utaflymde. *fugavit,* 944.
utan. ἔξωθεν, 755, 894. *p104,* 106, 107.
utanweardum. *extimo,* 892, 893.
*utascufon. shove out, *p96.* [*p218l.*
utaspyrian. to 'speer' out : Dan. spörge,
*utbrengan. bring out, *p94.*
útdragan. drag out, 1083.
*utdræfde. drave out, *p86.*
ute. out : *foris,* 894*m,* 895. *p104h,* 140*h.*
utene. 992, *see note.*
*uter. outer, *p95m.*
uteweardum. *exteriori, p95l.*
utfaran. *to set forth,* 905.
utflemde. *in exilium expulserat,* 725.
*utforon. *marched out,* 894*h.*
utgan. to go out, 1083*m.*
*utgewat. *got away, p114t.*
uthere. *foreign army,* 1009. *p140m.*
uthlupon. *took flight, decamped,* 1071.
*útlaga.* outlaws, 1070. *p187l.*
utlagas. *id. p209m.*
utlagan. *id.* 1071.
*utlages.* outlaws, 1070.
utlagede. outlawed, 1014.
utlagode. 1055, 1069.
utlagodon. 1064.
utlah. exlex, *p180.*
utlændisce. outlandish, *p121.*
uton. ab extra : ἔξωθεν, 755, 885. *p155.*
utone. *id. p156.*
*utoðreowon. rowed *away, p96.*
*utræsde. rushed out, 755.
utresde. *id. ibid.*
útwikingan. *sea-rovers, p235.*
*uþon. *concederent, p50m.*
uðon. *id. ibid.*
uðe. 1043.
*uðwitan. *sages, p115.*
uuan. wan, won : *adeptus est, p263m.*
*uuard.* factus est : ward, 1135.
*uuare.* esset, 1135.
*uuaren.* 1137.
*uuæren.* fuerunt, *p262t.*
*uuæron. they were, *p2h.*
*uueron. p262b.*
*uuerre.* war : guerre, *p264t.*
*uuerse.* worse : pejus, *p262m.*
*Uuihtgar. 544.
*uuintra. annorum, *p2.*
*uuiþ. *against,* with, 597, 750, 755.
uuolde. ἐθέλησεν, 1132.
*uuoldan. they would, *p80m.*
*uurecce.* wretched, 1137. *p262.*

*uureide. accused,* 1132.
*uurythen. they twisted, strained, p262.*
*Uxfreaing. 560.

Vhtrede (eorl). *p154.*
Vithele (abbode). Vitalis, 1076.
Vlf (b'). 1025. *p177.*
Vndela. Oundle, *p122.*
Vsan. R. Ouse, 1069.

W. = William (Rufus), 1098, 1100.
wá. wo : Weh, *p222b.*
*wace. weak, *frail,* 975.
Wagele. 664, *see note.*
wala. wo, alas, 999.
*Wala. Walanorum, 823.
Walana. *id.* 605, 614.
Walas. Welsh, 552, 571, 597. *p5.*
Walaram of Mellant. *p251l.*
Walcelin. Bp. Winchester, 1098.
Walchere. Bp. Durham, 1080.
*Waldend. *Ruler, p126.*
*Waldendes. *gen. id. p126.*
Waldhere. Bp. London?, *p39b.*
Waleram (eorl). 1124.
Waleri. S. Valeri, 1090.
Wales. Wales, *Cambria, p250b, 251t.*
Walingford. *p265.*
Walingeforde. 1126.
Walon. *p230l* =
*Walum. *Britannis,* 495.
Walt'uile. Abbot Peterboro'. 1154.
Waltun. NL. *p122.*
Walþeof (eorl). 1070, 1075.
Walðeaf. 1069.
wan. *varred,* 597.
wann. *id.* 1095.
wana. wanting : *minus,* 972.
wandode. *p183m, see note.*
waniende. waning : *deficiens, p242t.*
wanode. *defecit,* 1110.
wansiaþ. *diminisheth, p32m.*
wansie. *minuat, p32m.*
*war.* aware, 1140. *p264l.*
*war.* where, *p262b.*
*ware. id. p265m.*
*waren.* were, *p262l.*
warnian. to warn, 992.
*wart* = wearð. *factus est :* warð, 1140.
*warth. id.* ἐγένετο, *p261t.*
*warð. id.* 881.
-waru. *populus, p159.*
-warum. *d. pl.* 838, 852.
was. *erat,* 632, 794, 827, 853. *p262b.*
wat. I wot : οἶδα : *novi :* weiß, *p32h.*
*wateres.* waters, *p31h.*
*watres. id. p122.*
Watteuile. 1124, *see note.*
*wæ.* we : *nos,* 1090.
Wæbheard. king of Kent, 692.
*Wæced. Watchet (Somersets.), *p104.*
Wæclingastræte. Watling-street, 1013.
*wædde. bond, covenant :* fœdere, 1014.
wæder. weather : Wetter, *p183.*
wædera. 1117.
*wæg. *bore :* gestabat, *p126m.*
*Wægdæging. 560.
wæge. way : viâ, itinere, *p233m.*
wæl. *slaughter, carnage,* 654, 671, 833, [867.
wælisce. *foreign, p178m, s. n.*
*wæll.* well : *benè, p220t.*
Wælsces. Welsh, *p178.*
wælsliht. slaughter, 839, 871.
wælstowe. *battle-field,* 837, 860, 883.
*wænde.* went, *proceeded, p151.*
*wændon. pl. id. p140m.*
*wændon. inf. id. p174.*
*wændon.* they weened, *thought,* 1070.
*Wæntan.* of Venta = Winchester, 731.
*wæpen gewrixles. *crossng of* wpns, *p114.*
wæpna. weapons : ὅπλων : armorum, 917, [1071.
wæpnon. ὅπλοις : armis, *p222m.*
wæpmen. men, *males, p251b.*
wær. were : esset, *p257h.*
wæran. they were, 755. *p208, 250.*
Wærburh (Ceolredes cwen). 782.
*wærd* = wearð. warð, 1154. *p265m.*
*wærdedon. kept* guard, *p225l.*
wære. were : esset, 167, 734, 836, 917, [1013.
wærede. exercitu, 823.
wæren. erant, 785.
wæres. weirs, *p122.*
Wærham. Werham, 784, 876, 979, 1113.
*wærhð* = wearð. warð, 833.
Wæringscire. Warwickshire, 1016.
*Wærmunding. 626, 755.
*wærod. army,* 999.
wæron. they were, 418, 787, 855, 994.
*wærsa.* worse, 979.

*wærse.* worse, *p*264*h.*
wærteres. 565, *see foot-note.*
*wærð* = wearð. *ἐγένετο*, 617, 687, 784.
wærum. *men:* viris: *ἄνδρασι*, *p*19. [867.
*wærun. they were, 690, 718, 755, 823,
wæs. was, 627, 871, 963. *p*81.
*wæst.* west, 799.
*wæstan. dat. def.* 709.
wæston. from the west, *p*152.
wæstma. fructuum, 1105. *p*239.
wæstmas. *p*243.
wæstman. fructibus, *p*239.
wæstmum. *id. p*169.
*Wæstminstre. p*219.
*Wæstmynstre.* 1091.
*Wæst Seaxa.* 868.
*Wæst Seaxna.* 688, 750.
*Wæst Wealas.* 835, *see foot-note.*
wæter. water, *p*31, 95.
*wætera. aquarum, *p*126.
wætere. *d. sing. p*156.
wæteres. *p*171.
*wæterfæstenne. water-fastness, 894.
Wætlinga stræte. Watling-street, 1013.
Wættelleburne. NL. *p*39*m.*
*wæx.* waxed, *grew,* 656. *p*187.
we. nos, 891, 892, 905. *p*68.
Weala. Wallorum, 710, 823, 924.
Wealan. 1081.
Wealas. 682. *p*79, 180.
wealcan. *p*165, *see note.*
weald. 'The Weald,' 892, 893. Wald.
wealda. *d. id.* 892, 893, 894.
*wealde. *id. p*115.
wealde. *he swayed, p*250*m.* [wield]
*wealden. sup.* ȝu walten, *p*251*l.*
*Wealhgefera. *p*96, *see note.*
Wealingforda. Wallingford, *p*141, 148.
weall. wall, *p*107, 189.
weallan. to well *up, bubble, spring,* 1100.
weal lande. *foreign parts,* 1040.
weallas. walls, 963.
wealle. 547, 963. *p*123.
*Wealles. *p*115, *see v. l.*
weall stowe. *field of battle,* 1025.
*Wealtham. Bishops Waltham, 1001.
Wealon. Wales, *p*233*l.*
*Wealum. *p*2, 104.
Wealwudu. 878, *see note.* [*p*126*l.*
weard. guard*ian: custos,* 1043, 1070,
-weard. -ward, *p*142*t,* 143, 154, 178*t.*
-weardes.-wards: wards, 894, 1106. *p*91.
wearp. *cast:* warf, 1055. *p*96, 142*h.*
*wearþ. warð, 465, 654, 687, 800, 871.
wearð. *id.* 948.
wearðan. *fiant, p*121.
*weas.* was, *p*87.
*weast.* west, *p*87.
*weasternan.* western, *p*148.
Weast Seaxum. 560.
*weastward.* westward, 892.
*weax.* waxed, *grew:* wuchs, *p*251*l.*
Wecced port. Watchet, 987, 997.
Wecta. son of Woden, *p*13.
wed broðeres. *p*30*t, see note.*
wedde. *dat. pignore, p*159.
weder. weather: Wetter, 794. *p*174.
wederes. *tempestatis, p*234.
wederunge. *tempestate, p*219*m.*
Wedmor. Wedmore (Somersets.), *p*81*m.*
wefod. *altar,* 1123. *p*254*t.*
weg. way, 901. *p*94, 95, 104, 223*t.*
weges. *p*154.
wel. *sat, p*91*b: benè,* 675: *prorsus,* 1001.
well. 1042.
wela. wealth, *p*220*b.*
welisce. *foreign,* Welsh, *p*178*m.*
*well. cædes, strages,* 671.
*wellwillenda. *benevolent,* 984.
Welmesforde. NL. *p*31.
*welneh.* well-nigh, 1132.
wendan. *they turned,* went, 905. *p*251*l.*
wendon. *id.* 885, 895, 1000, 1016, 1048.
wende. *sing. id.* 895, 1045. *p*91*h,* 148.
wende. *he altered, p*263*m.*
*wende. weened, *thought,* 911.
wendon. *pl.* 994. *p*203*m.*
*wenden. id. they thought, p*263*l.*
*Wendelsæ. *The Mediterranean,* 885.
weofede. *altar,* 1127.
weofode. *id.* 1083. *p*236.
Weohstan (ealdorman). 800.
weold. *swayed,* 1092.
weoldan. *were masters,* 1107.
*weolde. reigned over,* 1039.
weoll. welled, *gushed: scaturiebat, p*235.
*Weolud. Weland R. *p*107*l.*
*weorca. *ἀέθλων, p*114.
weorce. work: *corvée, p*234*l.*
weorcean. *to make, build,* 1114.

weorcenne. *sup.* to work, *p*243.
*weorkes.* works, *p*263*m*.
weored. *force, army, p*13.
weorod. 380.
*weorode. 937.
*weorð* (=wearð). ward, *p*258*h*.
weorðan. *γίγνεσθαι*, 1090.
weorðast. worthiest, *p*234*t*.
*weorþnesse. *magnificence:* dignitate,
*weorþscipe. *virtute*, 942. [855.
weorðscipe. *p*236.
weorþuste. *ἀξιώτατοι*, 876. *p*80*l*.
weorðuste. *id. p*81*m*.
weorðode. *he honored*, 959. *p*81*m*.
*weorðude. *id. p*80*l*.
weoruld þeudom. *secular service*, 963.
weox. waxed, *grew, p*230*b*.
*Weoxtan (aldorman). 800.
wepan. weep, 1086.
wependlic. *lacrymabilis, p*220*m*.
wepna. weapons, 1064.
wepnode. *armati, p*209*m*.
wer. *man:* vir, *ἀνήρ*, 716.
wera. *ἄνδρων*, 457, 508.
weras. *men, p*145.
*werce.* work, *p*30*m*.
*were. esset, p*5*t*.
*werede. *defended*, 755.
werede. *exercitu*, 878. *p*77.
weres. weirs, *p*31*t*.
*wergan. *inf. defend, p*107*t*. [877.
Werham. Wareham (Dors.), 784, 876,
Werhtred (abb'). *p*69.
werian. *defend, p*144.
*werig. weary, 937. [*p*122.
Wermingtun. Warmington nr. Oundle,
werode. he defended, 755. *p*155.
werode. *στράτῳ*, 1004.
*weron.* were: *erant*, 876.
*werscipe. *diplomacy, p*222*m, see note.*
*werðeode. *mankind, p*126*l*.
*wes* (=wæs). 675, 755, 963, 1055.
*Wesseaxan. 670.
*Wesseaxna. 643, 827, 836. *p*2.
*Wesseaxum. 560, 611.
west. 823, 877. *p*91, 94.
westan. *from the* west, 709, 1106. *p*154.
*Westerfalcning. 560.
westig. waste, *desert, p*13.
westlang. (*from east to*) west, 892, 893.
westme. *fruit*, 1125. [966.
Westmoringa. *of the* West-Moor-*men*,
Westmynstre. 1039, 1066, 1069.
*westre. waste, *deserted, p*93.
*West Seaxe. 514, 871.
West Seaxna. *gen. pl.* 994. *p*83.
*West Seaxum. 597, 634, 878. [835. *p*63.
West Walas. Welsh *of Corn*wall, 813,
west weard. west-ward, 891. *p*183.
west wearde. 813. *p*63.
*wetere.* water, *p*5.
*Weþmor. Wedmore, 878.
*wexan.* wax, *grow*, 999.
Wibbanduna. 568=
*Wibbandune. Wimbledon, 568.
*wicci.* wicked, *p*264*b*.
*wicenga. of Vikings, 879, 885.
wicinga. *id.* 879, 885. *p*107.
*Wicganbeorge. Wembury??, 851.
Wicgeanbeorge. *id. ibid.* E.
*wic gefera. *p*95*t*: see note, p*321.
wician. *to lodge*, 1048.
*wicode. *he lay, camped, p*94, 102.
*wicodon. *pl. id. p*92*b*. [887. *p*81.
wicum. *d. pl. encampment:* castris, 878,
*wid.* with, *p*264*m*.
wide. wide*ly:* late, 959, 975, 994, 1012,
*widuten.* without, *p*264*l*. [*p*151.
*wiecan. weeks: Wochen, 878.
*Wieht. *Isle of* Wight, 686.
*Wiehte ealond. 534.
*-wiellon. wells, 924. [145.
wif. wo*man:* Weib, 1075. *p*3, 91, 93, 98,
wifan. mulieribus, *p*233*h*.
wif cyþþe. wo*man's company*, 755.
wif cyððan. *id.* 755 E.
wife. 616. *p*152, 204.
wifes. *p*51.
*wifum. *p*91.
*Wiferþ (pegn). *p*50*h*.
Wiferð. *ibid.* E.
*Wig. WS. progenitor, *p*2.
Wigbriht. WS. bishop, 812.
*Wigbryht. *id.* 812.
wige. *battle, contest, p*148.
*wiges. *g.* 937. *p*115.
Wigeraceastre. Worcester, 992.
Wigferð (=Wigþen A). Bishop, 833.
*wiggendra. *of fighters:* prœliantium,
Wigheard (preost). 942. [942.

*Wiging. 552, 597, 855.
*Wigingamere. *p*106, *s. n.*
Wiglaf. king of Mercia, 825, 828.
*Wigorceastre.* Worcester, 1130.
Wigraceastrescire. Worcestersh. 1038.
*wig smiðas. *mastrs of craft of war*, *p*115.
*Wigþen. Bishop, 833. (=Wigferð E.)
Wiht. *Isle of* Wight, 661, 1001. *p*95,
*Wihte ealond. 530. [183.
Wihtgar. *ἥρως ἐπώνυμος*, 514, 544.
Wihtgare. *dat.* 534.
*Wihtgarabyrg. Castello 'Wihtgar,' 544.
Wihtgarasbirig. Castello Wihtgari, 530.
Wihtgarasbyrig. *id.* 544.
*Wihtgaræsbyrg. *id.* 530.
Wihtgilses. *gen.* genealogic name, *p*13.
Wihtland. *Isle of* Wight, 530, 1001.
Wihtlande. 998. *p*140, 149.
*Wihtlæging. *patronymic*, 626. [661.
*Wihtwaran. "Victuarii" (Bed. i. 15),
Wihtwarum. *corruptly E. ibid.*
Wihtred. king of Kent, 692, 694, 725.
Wihtred (abb'). *p*69.
*Wiiglaf. 825=
*Wilaf (=Wiglaf). king of Mercia, 828.
wikingan. *sea-rovers*, *p*235.
Wilberht (ældorman). *p*33*h*.
——— another, *ibid.*
wilde. *pl.* wild, 963*l*.
wildefyr. wild-fire, 1032.
wile. volo, *p*31*t*.
wile. velit, voluerit, *p*38*l*.
*wiles.* wiles: astutiæ, *p*257.
*Wilferþ. Bp. York, 664.
Wilferð. *id.* 664, 678, 709.
*Wilferþes. 661.
Wilferð (*seo iunga*). Bp. York, 685, 744.
Wilfriþ. 678, 685.
Wilgilsing. 560.
*Wilisce. Welsh, 465.
willan. will: arbitrium, *p*152, 241*m*.
willes. *p*234.
wille. I will, *p*31*t*.
Willelm (i). 1072, 1079. *p*200.
Willelmes. *p*234.
Will'm. *p*180*l*.
Will'me. *p*201.
-willon (Hwer-). *p*180.
Wilsæte. Wilt*shire men*, 800.
*Wilsætan. 800, 878.
Wilsætum. 800.
Willsæte. *p*81.
Wilsc. Welsh, *p*3.
Wilsce. 465. [77.
Wiltune. *d.* Wilton, 962, 994, 1003. *p*76,
Wiltunscire. 898, 994, 1003. *p*152.
wīman. woman, *p*265*m*.
wīmen. *pl.* 1137=
wimmen. *p*251.
*Wimburnan. Wimborne, 962.
Winburnan. 718, 871, 901.
win. wine: Wein, 1012.
Wina. Bp. London, *p*30*l*; Stubbs, *p*3.
Winceast'. Winchester, *p*236.
Winceastre. 1032, 1045, 1053. *p*148, 214.
Winceastre leod*an*. Winchester *folk*,
Wincestre. *p*256. [*p*140*l*.
wind. wind, *p*142.
windas. winds, 1114.
Windles ofra. Windsor, 1126.
Windlesoran. *p*194.
*Windlesoure.* 1127.
Wine. Bp. 660. *p*33*t*; Stubbs, *p*3.
Winfrid. Bp. Mercia, *p*33*b*.
wingeardas. vineyards, 1073.
*winiærd.* vineyard, *p*263.
winnan. *to fight*, 685.
winnende. *fighting*, 835, 878. *p*81.
*winnon. inf.* win, 1070.
*wiñt=winter. 855.
wint'. *id.* 1115.
*Wintaceastre. Winchester, 703.
Wintanceastre. 718, 754, 755, 855,
Wintanceastr*a*. 641, 963. [860.
*Winteceastre. 908. *p*95.
winter. hiems, 765, 836, 851, 1019.
*wintergeteles. tale of winters, 973.
wintersætu. winter *quarters*, 886.
winter settl. *id.* *p*143.
wintersetle. 866.
*wint'setl. 868, 872. [704, 878.
wintra. winters, 626, 654, 694, 703,
wintre. *p*123, 187.
wintres. *p*232.
wintrum. 1054.
*Wintunceastre. Winchester, 643. [654.
Winwidfelda. near Leeds (Beda iii. 24),
*wiotan. *counsellors*, 755, 853, 868.
Wippedesfleote. *i. e.* Wippedi tranato*wirce.* (*that they*) work, *p*30*m*. [rium Fl.
[465.

wircean. *inf.* to work, *make*, 1008.
*wircen. id.* 963*l*.
wircende (wæron). were working, 994.
*Wirheale. Wirral (Chesh.), 895.
*Wirhealum. *p*93.
wis. wise, *p*33*l*, 126*m*, 203*m*.
wise. *pl. p*187, 264.
wisan. *n. manner*, wise, 1001.
*wise. id.* 675.
Wisebec. Wisbeach, *p*31.
wisdom. *sapientia*, 979.
wislice. wisely, 959.
wistan. *they* wist, *knew*, *p*209*m*.
wiste. *sing. id.* 1003, 1043.
wistfull. *cibi plenus: fruit*ful, 1112.
witan (be-). *v. instruct, govern*, *p*149.
witan. γέροντες, 755, 868, 911, 978, &c.
witena. *g. pl. id.* 901, 1002, 1036. *p*178.
*witon.* 979.
wite. *penalty, doom*, *p*32*m*, 38*t*.
witegunge. *prophecy*, 605.
witenne. *supine: to be known*, *p*182.
*Witerne.* Whitehorn (Galloway), 762.
*Witham. Witham (Essex), 913.
Witles mere. Wittlesey mere, *p*31, 122.
*witnes.* witnesses, *p*32*m*.
witnesse. *id. p*32*h* & *l*, 39*m*.
witodlice. *certainly*: ȝwar, *p*222*m*.
Witting. *genealogical*, *p*13.
*wiþ. with, *for, against, towards*: ἀντί,
*Wiþa. Guido, 887. [495, 568, 628, &c.
wið. 870, 963, 993, 1047. *p*69, 81, 85,
Wiða. Guido, *p*87. [183.
wið æftan. *behind*, 1047. *p*183*b*. [aft]
wið cwædon. *gainsayed*, *p*221*m*.
wið cwæð. 1119.
*wið cwæðen. p*250*m*.
wið feaht. fought *against*, *p*156.
*wið ge feaht. *id.* 894*l*.
*wið ge fuhton. *pl. id.* 1001.
wið innan. within: *domi*, 1114.
wið inne. *id. p*260.
wið læg. *he resisted*, *p*173, 187.
wið stent. withstandeth, *p*3*m*.
wið stodon. they withstood, 1001.
wið stoden. *p*209.
wið trywsodon. *plighted their* troth, 972.
wiðutan. without: *foris*, 1114.
*wið uten. id. p*260.
wið uton. *except*, *p*241*t*.
wið ðan þe. eo pacto ut .., ἐπὶ τῷ .., *p*13.
wiðer ræden. *adverse, hostile*, 1101. wiðer.
*Wiðre ceastre scire.* Worcestersh. 1087.
*wiðre wines. enemies: inimici*, 1124.
Wiðrington. Wirington nr. Peterboro',
*wiue* (to-). in uxorem, *p*263*l*. [*p*122.
*wlance. *proud: superbi*, *p*115.
Wlencing. son of Ælle, 477.
Wlfric. Abt. S. Augustine's, 1046.
*wlitig. *beautiful*, 975.
Wocingas. Woking (Surrey), 777.
Wodne. *dat.* Woden, Odin, *p*13. [*p*2.
*Wodening. 547, 552, 560, 626, 755, 855,
*Woddesbeorge. Wanborough, 715.
Wodnesbeorge. *id.* nr. Swindon, 592, 715.
*Wodnesdei.* Wednesday, 1123.
woge (mid —). *indecorously*, 1102.
wolcne. *n.* & *d.* welkin, 1122.
woldberendlic. *pestilential*, 1086.
wolda. he would, *p*23*t*.
woldan. *pl. id. p*233.
wolde. 877, 878, 1014. *p*23*t*, 144, 197.
wolde he nolde he. vel invitum, 1114.
wolden. 654, 874.
woldon. 874. *p*156.
*won. *contested, contended*, 597. [won]
*worct (ge-) = geworht. wrought, *p*92*t*.
word. *vox*, 1055, § *news*, *p*173.
worde. 661, 1002, 1014. *p*32, 123.
wordum. 634.
*word snotor. word-*skilled*, *p*126*m*.
worhte. wrought, 565, 878, 892, 913.
worhton. 885. *p*94, 106, 234.
*worhtun. *id. p*92.
Worr (aldormon). 800. [ter, 1001.
*Worðige. Worthy, 3 m. NE. Winches-
worðodon. *they honored, worshipped*,
worulde. world, *p*236. [975.
*wracu. *vengeance*: Rache, *p*126*l*.
wrange. wrong: injuriâ, 1124*l*.
wrat. wrote, 84, 87.
wrað. *adj.* wrath: iratus, *p*203*l*.
wræc. wreaked, *revenged*, 755.
*wræccea. *a banished man*: exsul, 722.
wræc siðe. *banishment*: exsilio, 792.
wrægde. *discovered*, bewrayed, 1069.
wrecan. (to) *revenge*, 979. *p*107*m*.
wrecca. exsul, 722.
wrecce burh. *quasi* Wretch boro'. *p*203.
wrecce sið. 658 =

*wrece. *banishment:* exsilio, 658.
wreccan. wretched, '*poor*,' 1083.
*wreccæ. id.* 1086.
*wrecce. id. p*260, 262*m* & *l.*
wreccea. *id.* 1104*b.*
*wreccehed.* wretched*ness*, *p*262*l.*
Wrecend. *the Avenging* (God), 979.
*wrecon. inf. punish*, wreak, 1090.
wregde (for-). *accused*, 1009.
wregdon (for-). *impeached*, *p*178*l.*
*wrences. tricks, devices, p*256*t.*
*writ* (=gewrit). scriptum: 'writ,' *p*33.
writan. to write, *p*223.
write. *p*250.
*writes.* writings, 963*l.*
wrogen (ofer-). *covered* over, *p*221*t.*
wroht. wrought, 675, 963.
*wrohten.* they wrought, 654. *p*178.
wuca. weeks, 1004=
wucan. 887, 1039, 1060. *p*81.
*wuce.* 1102.
*wucena. 1066.
*wucon.* 1118=
wucum. *p*98.
wuda. woods, 685, 709, 852, 891, 963.
*wudan. p*234.
*wudas. p*225.
*wudes. p*256.
wudu. wood, 477, 709, 891, 892.
Wudestoke. Woodstock, 1123.
Wudiham. Odiham (Hants), 1116.
*wuldorfæstlice. *splendidly*, 167.
*wulf. wolf: *lupus*, *p*115.
Wulfeah. son of Wulfgeat, *p*140*t.*
Wulfelm. Abp. Cant. 925, 927.
Wulfere. king of Mercia, 656.
Wulfgar. Abb. of Abingdon, 989. *p*159.
Wulfgeate. *d.* minister of Æðelred, *p*140.
Wulfheard (aldorman). 823, 837.
———— (Friesa). *p*96.
Wulfhere. king of Mercia, 657, 661,
———— Abp. York, 892. [675, 963.
———— (bisceopes ðegn). 1001.
Wulfnoð. father of Godwine, 1009 *twice.*
Wulfred. Abp. Cant. 803, 812.
———— ealdorman of Hants, *p*95.
Wulfrede. *d.* NM. 852.
Wulfric. king's horse-thane, *p*96.
———— son of Leofwine, 1010. [1061.
———— Abbot St. Augustine's, 1043,
Wulfsige. Abbot, *p*158.
Wulfstan (i). Abp. York, 956.
———— a deacon, 963.
———— (ii). Abp. York, 1023.
wuna (be-). wont, *accustomed*, 1001.
wunade. *dwelt*, 755, 855.
wundan. wounds: vulneribus, 1119*b.*
*wunder. strange things, p*262*m.*
wunderlice. wonder*ful*, *p*263*l.*
*wunderleca. 773.
Wundford. 1124, *see* Errata.
wundode (for-). *pt.* (*badly*) wounded,
wundor. *miracles*, 641. [882. *p*96.
wundorlic. *illustrious*, 639.
wundorlice. *pl. monstrous*, 774.
wundredon. they wondered, *p*218.
*wundun. *with* wounds: vulneribus, *p*114.
wunedon. *we dwelt:* wohnten, *p*221*h.*
*wunen. inf. p*32*t*=
wunian. to dwell: wohnen, *p*3*m.*
*wunien. id. p*257*h.*
wunie. *subj. pres.* habitet, 1114*b.*
wuniende. *dwelling:* wohnend, 855,
wunigenne. *supine id.* 1092. [*p*38*l.*
wunode. *dwelt*, 688, 755, 887, 959. *p*87.
wununge. *residence*, 1037.
wurdon. facti sunt: wurden, 655, 794,
*wurdun. *id. p*114. [866, 1001.
*wurthen. id. p*264*l.*
*wurtscipe*=wurðscipe. *pomp, p*263*h.*
*wurð. imperative*, fiat, *p*30*b.*
*wurðe. id. p*38*l twice.*
wurðe. worthy: dignus, *p*173, 185.
*wurðen*=weorðan. *become, be, p*203*l.*
wurðful. *dignified, p*221*m.*
*wurðfulle.* wor*ship*ful, 675.
wurðfulre. *more self-assertatory, p*221*h.*
wurðlice. *majestically*, 167.
wurðminte. *honor* (token of), 654.
*wurðminten. to honor, p*30*t.*
wurðoden. colerent, 2.
*wurðon*=wurdon. 1129. [*p*31, 187.
wurðscipe. worship, 785, 855, 979, 1009,
*Wusan. R. Ouse, 905.
*wyd.* with, *p*264*m.*
Wyhtlæging. in genealogy, 755.
Wylisce. Welsh, *p*234.
Wyliscean. 1097.
*wynsum. *pleasant*, 975.
wyrcean. to work, *make, p*222*m.*

*wyrede. suite, retinue,* 755.
*wyrhta (mid-). *co-operator,* 945.
wyrnde. *refused, denied, p180m.*
*wyrndon. *refused, declined, p112l.*
wyrrestan. worst, 1086.
wyrs. *adv.* worse, 1043.
wyrse. *adj.* worse, 1001.
wyrsode. *it grew* worse, *p219.*
Wyrtgeorn. Vortigern, *p13t.*
*Wyrtgeorne. 449.
Wytles mære. Whittlesea mere, *p123t.*

Xp̃en (=Cristen). (XPιστ..) Christian,
Xp̃ena. *def. id.* (=Cristena), *p223.* [*p223.*
Xp̃enan. *d. pl. id.* Christianis, *p223h.*
Xp̃endom. *interests* of Christianity, *p187.*
Xp̃endome. *d. id.* Xtñ *polity,* 1102. *p172.*
*Xp̃es cyrican. Christ-church (Cant.),
Xp̃es cyrcean. *id.* 1048. *p193.* [1031.
Xp̃es cyrce. *id.* 1067.
Xp̃es mæsse. Christmas, *p228.*
Xp̃es mæssan. 1091.
Xp̃es þeudom. *Divine Service, p209b.*
XPist (=Crist). ὁ Χριστός, *p263t,* 265*m.*
Xp̃isten. *adj.* Christian, *p263m.*
Xp̃istien. a Danish bishop, 1070.
Xp̃us. XPιστός: Christus, 1154.

Ybernian. Ireland, *p3h.* [148.
yfel. *damage,* evil, 993, 994, 1009. *p95,*
yfele. *adv.* evilly, 1083.
yfeles. *gen. mischief:* ǖbleś, 1001, 1002,
yfelnesse. *wickedness, p223t.* [*p230.*
*Yffing. in NH. pedigree, 560.
ylca. *the same,* 'ilk,' 1058, 1075.
ylcan. *gen.* or *dat. def.* 1083. *p239.*
ylce. 1117.
ylces. *p245.*
yld (seo). *the aristocracy,* 1004.
yldast (=yldest). 1075.
ylde. *I hesitate, shrink from, p236.*
yldest. *chief, foremost,* 1087*m.*
yldesta. *def. id. p221t.*
yldestan. 978, 1012, 1015. *p165t.*
*ylecan (=ylcan). 942. [777, 885.
ymb. *about,* ἀμφί: *at end of,* διά, 606, 755,
ymbe. *about,* 937, 1009.
ymb sæton. *they besieged,* 491, 885,
ymbe sætan. *id. p145h.* [*p106l.*
ymb utan. *round about,* 877.
Ymma (Ælfgiue —). the queen, 1052.
*Ypwines fleot. landing-place of Henyre. iron, "ire" (Devon), 1012. [gist, *p12.*
yrfcwalm. *murrain,* 986.
yrfe. *cattle,* 910, 1010.
yrfenuma. *heir, p236.*
Yric. NH. king, 954.
—— earl of NHumberland, *p154.*
Yrice. *id.* 1017.
Yrlande. Ireland, *p180,* 183.
Yrling. a Norwegian chief, *p171.*
Yseran. Gesoriacum, *Boulogne, p182.*
*Ysopa (hold). 905.
yst. *storm:* æstus, 877. [?yeast]
*Yttingaforda. Ifford (Hants), conj.
*yðа. *waves, p126.* [Gibs., 906.
*yuel.* evil, *p264m.*
*yuele.* 1127.
Yware. churchwarden Peterboro'. 1070.
*ywed (æt-). *shewn, manifested, p126.*

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